

Major (Kilgus) Henry F. S.A. (The Old Prince's House)
at New York, New York, the 1st of January, 1881.
The following is the text of the letter which was
sent to the Hon. John A. B. (The Old Prince's House)
at New York, New York, the 1st of January, 1881.
The letter is in the handwriting of the Hon. John A. B.
and is signed "John A. B." at the bottom.

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Editor: John A. B.

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STUDENT'S HEBREW GRAMMAR.

GESENIUS' HEBREW GRAMMAR

TRANSLATED FROM RÆDIGER'S EDITION

BY

BENJ. DAVIES, LL.D.

THOROUGHLY REVISED AND ENLARGED WITH THE HELP OF
PROF. E. KAUTZSCH'S GERMAN EDITION, AND OTHER
RECENT AUTHORITIES

BY

EDWARD C. MITCHELL, D.D.

WITH FULL

SUBJECT, SCRIPTURE AND HEBREW INDEXES.

—○—

New Edition.

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1885.

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P R E F A C E.

But little over a year had passed after the third edition of this grammar was issued, before both the German Editor and the English Translator finished their earthly labors. Dr. Røediger of Berlin died on the 15th of June 1874 and Dr. Davies of London on the 19th of July 1875, each eminent in his sphere and honored by all as painstaking and conscientious workers in the field of Biblical science.

After the decease of Prof. Røediger the work of revising and editing the Grammar of Gesenius was committed to Prof. E. Kautzsch, D.D., then of Basle, whose thorough scholarship and well known skill as a Hebrew teacher eminently fitted him for the task. His edition, published in 1878, has already been accepted as a standard authority among teachers, on both continents. His revision of the work of Røediger has been so extensive and thorough that it has become practically a new grammar, though retaining, for convenience of reference, the old divisions of chapters and sections. Hardly a sentence has remained unaltered and some whole sections have been substantially or entirely rewritten, such as the sections on the accents (§ 15), the methegh (§ 16), the daghesh euphonic (§ 20, 2) and the noun (§§ 93. 94. 95), and one new section (§ 144 *a*) has been added.

So radical a change in the original work has prepared the way for a corresponding thoroughness in the revision of the English edition. The endeavor has been to prepare a grammar specially adapted to the wants of English students, in all that pertains to simplicity of method and practical convenience, at the same time that it combines the best results of

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modern Semitic research. For this purpose the Editor has availed himself of the essential improvements of Kautzsch, with such modifications of the text as were thereby rendered necessary and has drawn from other recent sources whatever would contribute to the real usefulness of the work.

The notes of Dr. Davies have been retained so far as they have not been superseded by the text in its present shape. They are designated by the signature *Tr.*

Some hints derived from the grammars of Ewald and Stade have also been incorporated, and a few notes more fully illustrating certain points have been derived from Delitzsch and others. The references have been carefully verified, (using the corrected text of Bær-Delitzsch upon Genesis, Job, Psalms and Isaiah), and the 8th edition of Gesenius' Lexicon (by Mühlau and Volck), has been constantly consulted.

A new and important feature of this edition consists in the addition of very full indexes of Subjects, of Scripture and of Hebrew words, by means of which the entire contents of the grammar are made available to the students. The Hebrew index will be found especially useful, converting the grammar into a philological clavis in which a large share of all the difficult forms in the language may find explanation.

The work has been performed in the midst of a heavy pressure of other labors and in the accomplishment of it the editor has received efficient help from his son as an amanuensis, preparing all the copy for the printers, and from his friend Mr. Max Meyer of this city, a native German and an accomplished linguist, who has revised all the translations and performed much patient toil in the reading of proofs.

E. C. M.

Paris, August, 1880.

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1

TABLES
OF
SEMITIC ALPHABETS;
PARADIGMS
OF
VERBS AND NOUNS,
ETC.

Ancient Semitic Alphabets

| Inscr. of Dibon. 9th. cent. B. C. Gram. § 2, 2 § 5, 1. | Phoenician Coins and Inscript. | New- Pu- nic. | Old. Hebr. Coins and Gems. | Sama- ritan. | Aram.- Egyptian. 5th. — 1st. cent. B. C. | Palmyra Inscript. 1st cent. B. C. — 4th. cent. A. C. | Heb. Inscr. Christ's Time. | Square Char. | Raschi. |
|--|--------------------------------------|---------------------|----------------------------------|-----------------|---|--|-------------------------------|-----------------|---------|
| 𐤀 𐤁 | 𐤀 𐤁 | 𐤀 𐤁 | 𐤀 𐤁 | 𐤀 𐤁 | 𐤀 𐤁 | 𐤀 𐤁 | א ב | א ב | א ב |
| 𐤂 𐤃 | 𐤂 𐤃 | 𐤂 𐤃 | 𐤂 𐤃 | 𐤂 𐤃 | 𐤂 𐤃 | 𐤂 𐤃 | ב ג | ב ג | ב ג |
| 𐤄 𐤅 | 𐤄 𐤅 | 𐤄 𐤅 | 𐤄 𐤅 | 𐤄 𐤅 | 𐤄 𐤅 | 𐤄 𐤅 | ג ד | ג ד | ג ד |
| 𐤆 𐤇 | 𐤆 𐤇 | 𐤆 𐤇 | 𐤆 𐤇 | 𐤆 𐤇 | 𐤆 𐤇 | 𐤆 𐤇 | ד ה | ד ה | ד ה |
| 𐤈 𐤉 | 𐤈 𐤉 | 𐤈 𐤉 | 𐤈 𐤉 | 𐤈 𐤉 | 𐤈 𐤉 | 𐤈 𐤉 | ה ו | ה ו | ה ו |
| 𐤊 𐤋 | 𐤊 𐤋 | 𐤊 𐤋 | 𐤊 𐤋 | 𐤊 𐤋 | 𐤊 𐤋 | 𐤊 𐤋 | ו ז | ו ז | ו ז |
| 𐤌 𐤍 | 𐤌 𐤍 | 𐤌 𐤍 | 𐤌 𐤍 | 𐤌 𐤍 | 𐤌 𐤍 | 𐤌 𐤍 | ז ח | ז ח | ז ח |
| 𐤎 𐤏 | 𐤎 𐤏 | 𐤎 𐤏 | 𐤎 𐤏 | 𐤎 𐤏 | 𐤎 𐤏 | 𐤎 𐤏 | ח ט | ח ט | ח ט |
| 𐤐 𐤑 | 𐤐 𐤑 | 𐤐 𐤑 | 𐤐 𐤑 | 𐤐 𐤑 | 𐤐 𐤑 | 𐤐 𐤑 | ט י | ט י | ט י |
| 𐤒 𐤓 | 𐤒 𐤓 | 𐤒 𐤓 | 𐤒 𐤓 | 𐤒 𐤓 | 𐤒 𐤓 | 𐤒 𐤓 | י כ | י כ | י כ |
| 𐤔 𐤕 | 𐤔 𐤕 | 𐤔 𐤕 | 𐤔 𐤕 | 𐤔 𐤕 | 𐤔 𐤕 | 𐤔 𐤕 | כ ל | כ ל | כ ל |
| 𐤖 𐤗 | 𐤖 𐤗 | 𐤖 𐤗 | 𐤖 𐤗 | 𐤖 𐤗 | 𐤖 𐤗 | 𐤖 𐤗 | ל מ | ל מ | ל מ |
| 𐤙 𐤚 | 𐤙 𐤚 | 𐤙 𐤚 | 𐤙 𐤚 | 𐤙 𐤚 | 𐤙 𐤚 | 𐤙 𐤚 | מ נ | מ נ | מ נ |
| 𐤛 𐤜 | 𐤛 𐤜 | 𐤛 𐤜 | 𐤛 𐤜 | 𐤛 𐤜 | 𐤛 𐤜 | 𐤛 𐤜 | נ ס | נ ס | נ ס |
| 𐤞 𐤟 | 𐤞 𐤟 | 𐤞 𐤟 | 𐤞 𐤟 | 𐤞 𐤟 | 𐤞 𐤟 | 𐤞 𐤟 | ס ע | ס ע | ס ע |
| 𐤡 𐤢 | 𐤡 𐤢 | 𐤡 𐤢 | 𐤡 𐤢 | 𐤡 𐤢 | 𐤡 𐤢 | 𐤡 𐤢 | ע פ | ע פ | ע פ |
| 𐤤 𐤥 | 𐤤 𐤥 | 𐤤 𐤥 | 𐤤 𐤥 | 𐤤 𐤥 | 𐤤 𐤥 | 𐤤 𐤥 | פ צ | פ צ | פ צ |
| 𐤨 𐤩 | 𐤨 𐤩 | 𐤨 𐤩 | 𐤨 𐤩 | 𐤨 𐤩 | 𐤨 𐤩 | 𐤨 𐤩 | צ ק | צ ק | צ ק |
| 𐤫 𐤬 | 𐤫 𐤬 | 𐤫 𐤬 | 𐤫 𐤬 | 𐤫 𐤬 | 𐤫 𐤬 | 𐤫 𐤬 | ק ר | ק ר | ק ר |
| 𐤰 𐤱 | 𐤰 𐤱 | 𐤰 𐤱 | 𐤰 𐤱 | 𐤰 𐤱 | 𐤰 𐤱 | 𐤰 𐤱 | ר ש | ר ש | ר ש |
| 𐤳 𐤴 | 𐤳 𐤴 | 𐤳 𐤴 | 𐤳 𐤴 | 𐤳 𐤴 | 𐤳 𐤴 | 𐤳 𐤴 | ש ת | ש ת | ש ת |
| 𐤷 𐤸 | 𐤷 𐤸 | 𐤷 𐤸 | 𐤷 𐤸 | 𐤷 𐤸 | 𐤷 𐤸 | 𐤷 𐤸 | ת | ת | ת |

Modern Semitic Alphabets.

| Hebrew | Rabbin- ical | Sama- ritan | Syriac | | | | Arabic | | | |
|---------|-----------------|----------------|--------|---|---|---|--------|--------|---------|---|
| | | | | | | | Final | Medial | Initial | |
| א | ה | Ⲁ | ܐ | ܬ | — | ܐ | ا | ل | — | ا |
| ב b, bh | ב | Ⲃ | ܒ | ܒ | ܒ | ܒ | ب | ب | ب | ب |
| ג g, gh | ג | Ⲅ | ܓ | ܓ | ܓ | ܓ | ت | ت | ت | ت |
| ד d, dh | ד | Ⲇ | ܕ | ܕ | — | ܕ | ث | ث | ث | ث |
| ה h | ה | Ⲉ | ܗ | ܗ | — | ܗ | ج | ج | ج | ج |
| ו w | ו | Ⲋ | ܘ | ܘ | — | ܘ | ح | ح | ح | ح |
| ז z | ז | Ⲍ | ܙ | ܙ | — | ܙ | خ | خ | خ | خ |
| ח ch | ח | Ⲏ | ܚ | ܚ | ܚ | ܚ | د | د | — | د |
| ט t | ט | Ⲑ | ܛ | ܛ | ܛ | ܛ | ذ | ذ | — | ذ |
| י y | י | Ⲓ | ܝ | ܝ | ܝ | ܝ | ر | ر | — | ر |
| כ k, kh | כ | Ⲕ | ܟ | ܟ | ܟ | ܟ | ز | ز | — | ز |
| ל l | ל | Ⲗ | ܠ | ܠ | ܠ | ܠ | س | س | س | س |
| מ m | מ | Ⲙ | ܡ | ܡ | ܡ | ܡ | ش | ش | ش | ش |
| נ n | נ | Ⲛ | ܢ | ܢ | ܢ | ܢ | ص | ص | ص | ص |
| ס s | ס | Ⲝ | ܣ | ܣ | ܣ | ܣ | ض | ض | ض | ض |
| ע | ע | Ⲟ | ܥ | ܥ | ܥ | ܥ | ط | ط | ط | ط |
| פ p, ph | פ | Ⲡ | ܦ | ܦ | ܦ | ܦ | ظ | ظ | ظ | ظ |
| צ q | צ | Ⲣ | ܦ | ܦ | — | ܦ | ع | ع | ع | ع |
| ק q | ק | ⲣ | ܦ | ܦ | ܦ | ܦ | غ | غ | غ | غ |
| ר r | ר | Ⲥ | ܦ | ܦ | — | ܦ | ف | ف | ف | ف |
| ש sh | ש | Ⲧ | ܦ | ܦ | ܦ | ܦ | ق | ق | ق | ق |
| ת t | ת | Ⲩ | ܦ | ܦ | — | ܦ | ك | ك | ك | ك |
| | | | | | | | ل | ل | ل | ل |
| | | | | | | | م | م | م | م |
| | | | | | | | ن | ن | ن | ن |
| | | | | | | | ه | ه | ه | ه |
| | | | | | | | و | و | و | و |
| | | | | | | | ي | ي | ي | ي |

Syr. Vowels: ܐ a, ܐ e, ܐ i, ܐ o, ܐ u.

Arab. Vowels: َ a, ِ i, ُ u.

Nominative of the Pronoun,

or

Separate Pronoun.

Sing. 1. *com.* אֲנִי, in pause
אֲנִי; אֲנִי, in pause
אֲנִי *I.*

2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{אַתָּה (את)}, \text{ in} \\ \text{pause} \text{אַתָּה} \\ f. \text{אַתָּה (אתי)} \end{array} \right\} \text{thou.}$

3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הוא} \text{ he.} \\ f. \text{היא} \text{ she.} \end{array} \right\}$

Plur. 1. *com.* אֲנֶחְמָה (נַחְמָה),
(אֲנֵנוּ) *we.*

2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{אַתֶּם} \\ f. \text{אַתֶּן, אַתְּנָה} \end{array} \right\} \text{ye.}$

3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הֵמָּה, הֵם} \\ f. \text{הֵנָּה, הֵן} \end{array} \right\} \text{they.}$

Accusative of the Pronoun,

A.

By itself.

אֲנִי; אֲנִי; אֲנִי *me.*

אֲתָּה; אֲתָּה, in p. אֲתָּה; אֲתָּה } *thee.*
אֲתָּה; אֲתָּה; אֲתָּה, אֲתָּה

הוא, הוּא; הוּא (הוּ), הוּא *him.*

היא; הִיא; הִיא *her.*

אֲנֵנוּ; אֲנֵנוּ; אֲנֵנוּ *us.*

אַתֶּם; אַתֶּם } *you.*
אַתֶּן; אַתֶּן

הֵמָּה, הֵם; הֵם, הֵם, הֵם*
הֵמָּה*^ע; הֵם, הֵם, הֵם*^ע
them.

הֵן, הֵן; הֵן, הֵן; הֵן *them.*

* The forms with an asterisk are only poetical; those in parenthesis

or *Suffix of the Verb.*Genitive of the Pronoun, or *Suffix of*
the Noun (possessive Pron.).

| B. | A. | B. |
|--|--|--|
| With Nûn demonstrative. נִיְ, נִיְ | With Nouns Singu'ar. נִיְ my (prop. Gen. mei). | With Nouns Plur. & Dual. נִיְ my. |
| נִיְ, (נִיְ) not found. | נִיְ, נִיְ, in pause נִיְ } thy (tui). נִיְ, נִיְ, (נִיְ) | נִיְ } thy. נִיְ |
| נִיְ, נִיְ, (נִיְ) נִיְ | נִיְ, נִיְ; נִיְ, נִיְ (נִיְ) his (ejus and suus). נִיְ; נִיְ; נִיְ her. | נִיְ, נִיְ, נִיְ* his. נִיְ her. |
| נִיְ | נִיְ; נִיְ; (נִיְ) our. | נִיְ our. |
| These forms are not found. | נִיְ; נִיְ } your. נִיְ; נִיְ נִיְ; נִיְ, נִיְ* } their. נִיְ; נִיְ, נִיְ | נִיְ } your. נִיְ נִיְ, נִיְ* } their. נִיְ |

are rarely used, but are put here to give a full view of the analogy.

| | | Qāl. | Niph'al. | Pi'el. |
|--------------------|-------|---------------|-------------------|---------------|
| <i>PERF. Sing.</i> | 3. m. | קָטַל* | קָטַן* | קָטַל* |
| | 3. f. | קָטְלָה* | קָטְנָה* | קָטְלָה* |
| | 2. m. | קָטַלְתָּ* | קָטַנְתָּ* | קָטַלְתָּ* |
| | 2. f. | קָטַלְתְּ* | קָטַנְתְּ* | קָטַלְתְּ* |
| | 1. c. | קָטַלְתִּי | קָטַנְתִּי | קָטַלְתִּי |
| <i>Plur.</i> | 3. c. | קָטְלוּ | קָטְנוּ | קָטְלוּ |
| | 2. m. | קָטַלְתֶּם* | קָטַנְתֶּם* | קָטַלְתֶּם* |
| | 2. f. | קָטַלְתֶּן | קָטַנְתֶּן | קָטַלְתֶּן |
| | 1. c. | קָטַלְנוּ | קָטַנּוּ | קָטַלְנוּ |
| <i>INF.</i> | | קָטַל* | הִקְטִיל* | קָטַל* |
| <i>INF. absol.</i> | | קָטוּל* | הִקְטִיל, נִקְטַל | קָטַל, קָטַל* |
| <i>IMP. Sing.</i> | 2. m. | קָטַל* | הִקְטִיל* | קָטַל* |
| | 2. f. | קָטְלִי* | הִקְטִילִי* | קָטְלִי* |
| <i>Plur.</i> | 2. m. | קָטְלוּ | הִקְטִילוּ | קָטְלוּ |
| | 2. f. | קָטְלֶנָה* | הִקְטִילֶנָה* | קָטְלֶנָה* |
| <i>IMPF. Sing.</i> | 3. m. | יִקְטַל* | יִקְטֹן* | יִקְטַל* |
| | 3. f. | תִּקְטַל | תִּכְבֹּד | תִּקְטַל |
| | 2. m. | תִּקְטַל | תִּכְבֹּד | תִּקְטַל |
| | 2. f. | תִּקְטְלִי* | תִּכְבְּדִי* | תִּקְטְלִי* |
| | 1. c. | אִקְטַל | אִכְבֹּד | אִקְטַל |
| <i>Plur.</i> | 3. m. | יִקְטְלוּ | יִכְבְּדוּ | יִקְטְלוּ |
| | 3. f. | תִּקְטְלֶנָה* | תִּכְבְּדֶנָה* | תִּקְטְלֶנָה* |
| | 2. m. | תִּקְטְלוּ | תִּכְבְּדוּ | תִּקְטְלוּ |
| | 2. f. | תִּקְטְלֶנָה | תִּכְבְּדֶנָה | תִּקְטְלֶנָה |
| | 1. c. | נִקְטַל | נִכְבֹּד | נִקְטַל |

IMPF. Shortened (Jussive).

| | | | | | |
|-------------------|---------|--------|-------|----------|----------|
| <i>PART. act.</i> | קָטַל* | כָּבֵד | קָטַן | נִקְטַל* | מִקְטַל* |
| <i>pass.</i> | קָטוּל* | | | | |

| <i>Pā'āl.</i> | <i>Hiph'ēl.</i> | <i>Hōph'āl.</i> | <i>Hithpā'ēl.</i> |
|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| קָטַל* | הִקְטִיל* | הִקְטַל* | הִתְקַטַּל* |
| קָטַלְה | הִקְטִילְה* | הִקְטַלְה* | הִתְקַטַּלְה* |
| קָטַלְתָּ* | הִקְטִילְתָּ* | הִקְטַלְתָּ* | הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ* |
| קָטַלְתָּ | הִקְטִילְתָּ | הִקְטַלְתָּ | הִתְקַטַּלְתָּ |
| קָטַלְתִּי | הִקְטִילְתִּי | הִקְטַלְתִּי | הִתְקַטַּלְתִּי |
| קָטַלְו | הִקְטִילְו | הִקְטַלְו | הִתְקַטַּלְו |
| קָטַלְתֶּם | הִקְטִילְתֶּם | הִקְטַלְתֶּם | הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּם |
| קָטַלְתֶּן | הִקְטִילְתֶּן | הִקְטַלְתֶּן | הִתְקַטַּלְתֶּן |
| קָטַלְנוּ | הִקְטִילְנוּ | הִקְטַלְנוּ | הִתְקַטַּלְנוּ |
| wanting | הִקְטִיל* | wanting | הִתְקַטַּל* |
| קָטַל* | הִתְקַטַּל* | הִתְקַטַּל* | הִתְקַטַּל |
| wanting | הִתְקַטַּל* | wanting | הִתְקַטַּל* |
| | הִקְטִילְי | | הִתְקַטַּלְי |
| | הִקְטִילְו | | הִתְקַטַּלְו |
| | הִקְטִילְנָה | | הִתְקַטַּלְנָה |
| קָטַל* | קָטַל* | קָטַל* | הִתְקַטַּל* |
| הִתְקַטַּל | הִתְקַטַּל* | הִתְקַטַּל | הִתְקַטַּל |
| הִתְקַטַּל | הִתְקַטַּל | הִתְקַטַּל | הִתְקַטַּל |
| הִתְקַטַּלְי* | הִתְקַטַּלְי* | הִתְקַטַּלְי* | הִתְקַטַּלְי* |
| הִתְקַטַּל | הִתְקַטַּל | הִתְקַטַּל | הִתְקַטַּל |
| הִתְקַטַּלְו | הִתְקַטַּלְו | הִתְקַטַּלְו | הִתְקַטַּלְו |
| הִתְקַטַּלְנָה* | הִתְקַטַּלְנָה* | הִתְקַטַּלְנָה* | הִתְקַטַּלְנָה* |
| הִתְקַטַּלְו | הִתְקַטַּלְו | הִתְקַטַּלְו | הִתְקַטַּלְו |
| הִתְקַטַּלְנָה | הִתְקַטַּלְנָה | הִתְקַטַּלְנָה | הִתְקַטַּלְנָה |
| הִתְקַטַּל | הִתְקַטַּל | הִתְקַטַּל | הִתְקַטַּל |
| | הִתְקַטַּל* | | |
| | הִתְקַטַּל* | | הִתְקַטַּל* |
| הִתְקַטַּל* | | הִתְקַטַּל* | |

| <i>Suffixes</i> | | 1 <i>Sing.</i> | 2 <i>Sing. m.</i> | 2 <i>Sing. f.</i> | 3 <i>Sing. m.</i> |
|--------------------------------|--|---------------------------|--------------------------|-------------------|-----------------------------|
| <i>PERF. Qāl S. 3. m.</i> | | קָטַלְנִי | קָטַלְתָּ | קָטַלְתְּ | קָטַלְתָּהוּ קָטַלְתָּ |
| | 3. <i>f.</i> | קָטַלְתָּנִי | קָטַלְתָּהּ | קָטַלְתְּהָ | קָטַלְתָּהוּ קָטַלְתָּהּ |
| | 2. <i>m.</i> | קָטַלְתָּנִי | — | — | קָטַלְתָּהוּ קָטַלְתָּהּ |
| | 2. <i>f.</i> | קָטַלְתְּנִי | — | — | קָטַלְתְּהוּ קָטַלְתְּהּ |
| | 1. <i>c.</i> | — | קָטַלְתִּידָּךְ | קָטַלְתִּידֶיךָ | קָטַלְתִּיו |
| | <i>Plur.</i> 3. <i>c.</i> | קָטַלְתֶּנִּי | קָטַלְתֶּיךָ | קָטַלְתֶּיךָ | קָטַלְתֶּהוּ |
| | 2. <i>m.</i> | קָטַלְתֶּנִּי | — | — | קָטַלְתֶּהוּ |
| | 1. <i>c.</i> | — | קָטַלְתֶּיךָ | קָטַלְתֶּיךָ | קָטַלְתֶּהוּ |
| | | | | | |
| | | | | | |
| <i>INF. Qāl</i> | | קָטַלְנִי קָטַלְתָּנִי | קָטַלְתָּ קָטַלְתָּהּ | קָטַלְתְּ | קָטַלְתָּהוּ |
| <i>IMP. Qāl 2. m. sing.</i> | | קָטַלְתָּנִי | — | — | קָטַלְתָּהוּ |
| <i>IMPF. Qāl 3. m. sing.</i> | | יִקְטַלְנִי | יִקְטַלְתָּ | יִקְטַלְתְּ | יִקְטַלְתָּהוּ |
| | 3. <i>m. with Nūn</i> <i>demonstrative.</i> | יִקְטַלְנִי | יִקְטַלְתָּ | — | יִקְטַלְתָּהוּ |
| | 3. <i>m. plur.</i> | יִקְטַלְתֶּנִּי | יִקְטַלְתֶּיךָ | יִקְטַלְתֶּיךָ | יִקְטַלְתֶּהוּ |
| <i>PERF. Pi'el 3. m. sing.</i> | | קָטַלְנִי | קָטַלְתָּ | קָטַלְתְּ | קָטַלְתָּהוּ |

| 3 Sing. f. | 1 Plur. | 2 Plur. m. | 2 Plur. f. | 3 Plur. m. | 3 Plur. f. |
|----------------------|--------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| קָטְלָהּ | קָטְלֵנוּ | קָטְלֶכֶם | [קָטְלֶכֶן] | קָטְלֵם | קָטְלֵן |
| קָטְלָתָהּ | קָטְלֵתָנוּ | wanting | wanting | קָטְלֵתָם | קָטְלֵתָן |
| קָטְלָתֶיהָ | קָטְלֵתֶינוּ | — | — | קָטְלֵתָם | קָטְלֵתָן |
| קָטְלָתֶיהָ | קָטְלֵתֶינוּ | — | — | קָטְלֵתֵימֶם | קָטְלֵתֵינָן |
| קָטְלָתֶיהָ | — | קָטְלֵתֵיכֶם | קָטְלֵתֵיכֶן | קָטְלֵתֵימֶם | קָטְלֵתֵינָן |
| קָטְלֹתָהּ | קָטְלֵנוּ | wanting | wanting | קָטְלֹתָם | קָטְלֹתָן |
| קָטְלֹתֶיהָ | קָטְלֵתֶינוּ | — | — | קָטְלֹתָם | קָטְלֹתָן |
| קָטְלֹתֶיהָ | — | קָטְלֹתֵיכֶם | קָטְלֹתֵיכֶן | קָטְלֹתֵימֶם | קָטְלֹתֵינָן |
| קָטְלָהּ | קָטְלֵנוּ | קָטְלֶכֶם קָטְלֶכֶם | קָטְלֶכֶן קָטְלֶכֶן | קָטְלֵם | קָטְלֵן |
| קָטְלָהּ קָטְלָהּ | קָטְלֵנוּ | — | — | קָטְלֵם | — |
| קָטְלָהּ קָטְלָהּ | קָטְלֵנוּ | קָטְלֶכֶם | קָטְלֶכֶן | קָטְלֵם | קָטְלֵן |
| קָטְלָתָהּ | קָטְלֵתָנוּ | — | — | — | — |
| קָטְלָתֶיהָ | קָטְלֵתֶינוּ | קָטְלֹתֵיכֶם | קָטְלֹתֵיכֶן | קָטְלֹתֵימֶם | קָטְלֹתֵינָן |
| קָטְלָהּ | קָטְלֵנוּ | קָטְלֶכֶם | קָטְלֶכֶן | קָטְלֵם | קָטְלֵן |

| | Qāl. | Niph'āl. | Hiph'īl. | Hōph'āl. |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|--------------|--------------|---------------|
| <i>PREF. S. 3. m.</i> | עָמַד | *נִעְמַד | *הִעְמִיד | *הִעְמַד |
| 3. f. | עָמְדָה | *נִעְמְדָה | הִעְמִידָה | *הִעְמְדָה |
| 2. m. | עָמַדְתָּ | נִעְמַדְתָּ | הִעְמַדְתָּ | הִעְמַדְתָּ |
| 2. f. | עָמַדְתְּ | נִעְמַדְתְּ | הִעְמַדְתְּ | הִעְמַדְתְּ |
| 1. c. | עָמַדְתִּי | נִעְמַדְתִּי | הִעְמַדְתִּי | הִעְמַדְתִּי |
| <i>Plur. 3. c.</i> | עָמְדוּ | נִעְמְדוּ | הִעְמִידוּ | הִעְמְדוּ |
| 2. m. | *עָמַדְתֶּם | נִעְמַדְתֶּם | הִעְמַדְתֶּם | הִעְמַדְתֶּם |
| 2. f. | *עָמַדְתֶּן | נִעְמַדְתֶּן | הִעְמַדְתֶּן | הִעְמַדְתֶּן |
| 1. c. | עָמַדְנִי | נִעְמַדְנִי | הִעְמַדְנִי | הִעְמַדְנִי |
| <i>INF.</i> | *עָמַד | *הִעְמַד | *הִעְמִיד | |
| <i>INF. absol.</i> | עָמֹד | *נִעְמֹד | *הִעְמִיד | *הִעְמַד |
| <i>IMP. S. 2. m.</i> | *עָמַד | *חָזַק | *הִעְמַד | הִעְמַד |
| 2. f. | עָמְדִי | חָזְקִי | הִעְמְדִי | הִעְמִידִי |
| <i>Pl. 2. m.</i> | עָמְדוּ | חָזְקוּ | הִעְמְדוּ | הִעְמִידוּ |
| 2. f. | *עָמַדְנָה | *חָזְקְנָה | הִעְמַדְנָה | הִעְמִידְנָה |
| <i>IMPF. S. 3. m.</i> | *יַעְמֹד | *יַחְזֹק | *יַעְמֹד | *יַעְמִיד |
| 3. f. | תַּעְמֹד | תַּחְזֹק | תַּעְמֹד | תַּעְמִיד |
| 2. m. | תַּעְמֹד | תַּחֲזֹק | תַּעְמֹד | תַּעְמִיד |
| 2. f. | *תַּעְמְדִי | *תַּחְזְקִי | תַּעְמְדִי | תַּעְמִידִי |
| 1. c. | *אֵעָמַד | אֶחָזֵק | אֵעָמַד | אֵעָמִיד |
| <i>Plur. 3. m.</i> | *יַעְמְדוּ | *יַחְזְקוּ | יַעְמְדוּ | יַעְמִידוּ |
| 3. f. | תַּעְמַדְנָה | תַּחְזַקְנָה | תַּעְמַדְנָה | תַּעְמִידְנָה |
| 2. m. | תַּעְמְדוּ | תַּחֲזְקוּ | תַּעְמְדוּ | תַּעְמִידוּ |
| 2. f. | תַּעְמַדְנָה | תַּחְזַקְנָה | תַּעְמַדְנָה | תַּעְמִידְנָה |
| 1. c. | נִעְמַד | נֶחָזֵק | נִעְמַד | נִעְמִיד |
| <i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i> | | | | יַעְמִיד |
| <i>PART. act.</i> | עָמִיד | | *נִעְמִיד | *בִּעְמִיד |
| <i>pass.</i> | עָמוּד | | | *בִּעְמִיד |

Qāl. Niph'al. Pi'el. Pu'al. Hithpā'el.

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|-----------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|-------------|-----------------|
| <i>PERF. S. 3. m.</i> | שָׁחַט | נִשְׁחַט | בָּרַךְ* | בָּרַךְ* | הִתְבָּרַךְ* |
| 3. f. | שָׁחַטָה* | נִשְׁחַטָה* | בָּרְכָה | בָּרְכָה | הִתְבָּרְכָה |
| 2. m. | שָׁחַטְתָּ | נִשְׁחַטְתָּ | בָּרַכְתָּ | בָּרַכְתָּ | הִתְבָּרַכְתָּ |
| 2. f. | שָׁחַטְתְּ | נִשְׁחַטְתְּ | בָּרַכְתְּ | בָּרַכְתְּ | הִתְבָּרַכְתְּ |
| 1. c. | שָׁחַטְתִּי | נִשְׁחַטְתִּי | בָּרַכְתִּי | בָּרַכְתִּי | הִתְבָּרַכְתִּי |
| <i>Plur. 3. c.</i> | שָׁחַטוּ* | נִשְׁחַטוּ* | בָּרְכוּ | בָּרְכוּ | הִתְבָּרְכוּ |
| 2. m. | שָׁחַטְתֶּם | נִשְׁחַטְתֶּם | בָּרַכְתֶּם | בָּרַכְתֶּם | הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּם |
| 2. f. | שָׁחַטְתֶּן | נִשְׁחַטְתֶּן | בָּרַכְתֶּן | בָּרַכְתֶּן | הִתְבָּרַכְתֶּן |
| 1. c. | שָׁחַטְנוּ | נִשְׁחַטְנוּ | בָּרַכְנוּ | בָּרַכְנוּ | הִתְבָּרַכְנוּ |

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|--------------------|---------|-----------|----------|---------|--------------|
| <i>INF.</i> | שָׁחַט | הִשְׁחַט | בָּרַךְ* | wanting | הִתְבָּרַךְ* |
| <i>INF. absol.</i> | שָׁחוּט | נִשְׁחוּט | בָּרַךְ* | | |

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|----------------------|------------|--------------|------------|---------|----------------|
| <i>IMP. S. 2. m.</i> | שָׁחַט* | הִשְׁחַט | בָּרַךְ* | | הִתְבָּרַךְ* |
| 2. f. | שָׁחַטִי* | הִשְׁחַטִי* | בָּרְכִי* | | הִתְבָּרְכִי |
| <i>Pl. 2. m.</i> | שִׁיטוּ | הִשְׁחִטוּ | בָּרְכוּ | wanting | הִתְבָּרְכוּ |
| 2. f. | שָׁחַטְנָה | הִשְׁחַטְנָה | בָּרַכְנָה | | הִתְבָּרַכְנָה |

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|-----------------------|---------------|---------------|--------------|--------------|-----------------|
| <i>IMPF. S. 3. m.</i> | שָׁחַט* | יִשְׁחַט | יִבְרַךְ* | יִבְרַךְ* | יִתְבָּרַךְ* |
| 3. f. | תִּשְׁחַט | תִּשְׁחַט | תִּבְרַךְ | תִּבְרַךְ | תִּתְבָּרַךְ |
| 2. m. | תִּשְׁחַט | תִּשְׁחַט | תִּבְרַךְ | תִּבְרַךְ | תִּתְבָּרַךְ |
| 2. f. | תִּשְׁחַטִי* | תִּשְׁחַטִי* | תִּבְרְכִי | תִּבְרְכִי | תִּתְבְּרְכִי |
| 1. c. | אֶשְׁחַט | אֶשְׁחַט | אֶבְרַךְ | אֶבְרַךְ | אֶתְבָּרַךְ |
| <i>Plur. 3. m.</i> | יִשְׁחַטוּ | יִשְׁחַטוּ | יִבְרְכוּ | יִבְרְכוּ | יִתְבָּרְכוּ |
| 3. f. | תִּשְׁחַטְנָה | תִּשְׁחַטְנָה | תִּבְרַכְנָה | תִּבְרַכְנָה | תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה |
| 2. m. | תִּשְׁחַטוּ | תִּשְׁחַטוּ | תִּבְרְכוּ | תִּבְרְכוּ | תִּתְבָּרְכוּ |
| 2. f. | תִּשְׁחַטְנָה | תִּשְׁחַטְנָה | תִּבְרַכְנָה | תִּבְרַכְנָה | תִּתְבָּרַכְנָה |
| 1. c. | נִשְׁחַט | נִשְׁחַט | נִבְרַךְ | נִבְרַךְ | נִתְבָּרַךְ |

IMPF. with Suff. יִשְׁחַטְלֵהוּ

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|-------------------|---------|--------|-----------|-----------|--------------|
| <i>PART. act.</i> | שֹׁחֵט | נֹשֵׁט | מְבָרַךְ* | | מִתְבָּרַךְ* |
| <i>pass.</i> | שָׁחוּט | | | מְבֻרָךְ* | |

| | <i>Qāl.</i> | <i>Niph'āl.</i> | <i>Pi'ēl.</i> |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| <i>PERF. S. 3.m.</i> | שָׁלַח* | נִשְׁלַח | שִׁלַּח* |
| 3. f. | שָׁלְחָה | נִשְׁלְחָה | שִׁלְחָה |
| 2.m. | שָׁלַחְתָּ | נִשְׁלַחְתָּ | שִׁלַּחְתָּ |
| 2. f. | שָׁלַחְתְּ* | נִשְׁלַחְתְּ* | שִׁלַּחְתְּ* |
| 1. c. | שָׁלַחְתִּי | נִשְׁלַחְתִּי | שִׁלַּחְתִּי |
| <i>Plur. 3. c.</i> | שָׁלְחוּ | נִשְׁלְחוּ | שִׁלְחוּ |
| 2.m. | שָׁלַחְתֶּם | נִשְׁלַחְתֶּם | שִׁלַּחְתֶּם |
| 2. f. | שָׁלַחְתֶּן | נִשְׁלַחְתֶּן | שִׁלַּחְתֶּן |
| 1. c. | שָׁלַחְנוּ | נִשְׁלַחְנוּ | שִׁלַּחְנוּ |
| <i>INF.</i> | שִׁלַּח* | הִשְׁלַח* | שִׁלַּח* |
| <i>INF. absol.</i> | שְׁלֹחַ | נִשְׁלַח | שִׁיחַ |
| <i>IMP. S. 2.m.</i> | שִׁלַּח* | הִשְׁלַח* | שִׁלַּח* |
| 2. f. | שִׁלְחִי | הִשְׁלְחִי | שִׁלְחִי |
| <i>Plur. 2.m.</i> | שְׁלַחוּ | הִשְׁלַחוּ | שְׁלַחוּ |
| 2. f. | שְׁלַחְנָה | הִשְׁלַחְנָה | שְׁשִׁלַּחְנָה* |
| <i>IMPF. S. 3.m.</i> | יִשְׁלַח* | יִשְׁלַח* | יִשְׁלַח* |
| 3. f. | תִּשְׁלַח | תִּשְׁלַח | תִּשְׁלַח* |
| 2.m. | תִּשְׁלַח | תִּשְׁלַח | תִּשְׁלַח |
| 2. f. | תִּשְׁלְחִי | תִּשְׁלְחִי | תִּשְׁלְחִי |
| 1. c. | אִשְׁלַח | אִשְׁלַח | אִשְׁלַח |
| <i>Plur. 3.m.</i> | יִשְׁלְחוּ | יִשְׁלְחוּ | יִשְׁלְחוּ |
| 3. f. | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה* | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה* |
| 2.m. | תִּשְׁלַחוּ | תִּשְׁלַחוּ | תִּשְׁלַחוּ |
| 2. f. | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁלַחְנָה | תִּשְׁשִׁלַּחְנָה |
| 1. c. | נִשְׁלַח | נִשְׁלַח | נִשְׁשִׁלַּח |
| <i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i> | | | |
| <i>IMPF. with Suff.</i> | יִשְׁלַחְנִי | | |
| <i>PART. act.</i> | שֹׁלֵחַ* | נִשְׁלָח | מְשִׁלֵּחַ* |
| <i>pass.</i> | שְׁלֹחִי* | | |

| <i>Pā'āl.</i> | <i>Hiph'il.</i> | <i>Höph'al.</i> | <i>Hithp'al.</i> |
|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| שָׁלַח | הִשְׁלִיחַ* | הִשְׁלַח | הִשְׁתַּלַּח* |
| שָׁלַחָה | הִשְׁלִיחָה | הִשְׁלַחָה | הִשְׁתַּלַּחָה* |
| שָׁלַחְתָּ | הִשְׁלַחְתָּ | הִשְׁלַחְתָּ | הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתָּ |
| שָׁלַחְתָּ* | הִשְׁלַחְתָּ* | הִשְׁלַחְתָּ* | הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתָּ* |
| שָׁלַחְתִּי | הִשְׁלַחְתִּי | הִשְׁלַחְתִּי | הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתִּי |
| שָׁלַחוּ | הִשְׁלִיחוּ | הִשְׁלַחוּ | הִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ |
| שָׁלַחְתֶּם | הִשְׁלַחְתֶּם | הִשְׁלַחְתֶּם | הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתֶּם |
| שָׁלַחְתָּן | הִשְׁלַחְתָּן | הִשְׁלַחְתָּן | הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתָּן |
| שָׁלַחְנוּ | הִשְׁלַחְנוּ | הִשְׁלַחְנוּ | הִשְׁתַּלַּחְנוּ |
| | הִשְׁלִיחַ* | | הִשְׁתַּלַּח* |
| | הִשְׁלִיחַ* | הִשְׁלִיחַ* | |
| | הִשְׁלַח | | הִשְׁתַּלַּח* |
| wanting | הִשְׁלִיחִי | wanting | הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתִּי |
| | הִשְׁלַחָה | | הִשְׁתַּלַּחָה |
| | הִשְׁלַחְתָּ | | הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתָּ* |
| יִשְׁלַח | יִשְׁלִיחַ* | יִשְׁלַח | יִשְׁתַּלַּח |
| יִשְׁלַח | יִשְׁלִיחַ | יִשְׁלַח | יִשְׁתַּלַּח |
| יִשְׁלַח | יִשְׁלִיחַ | יִשְׁלַח | יִשְׁתַּלַּח |
| יִשְׁלַחִי | יִשְׁלַחִי | יִשְׁלַחִי | יִשְׁתַּלַּחִי |
| אִשְׁלַח | אִשְׁלִיחַ | אִשְׁלַח | אִשְׁתַּלַּח |
| יִשְׁלַחוּ | יִשְׁלַחוּ | יִשְׁלַחוּ | יִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ |
| יִשְׁלַחְנָה | יִשְׁלַחְנָה | יִשְׁלַחְנָה | יִשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה* |
| יִשְׁלַחוּ | יִשְׁלַחוּ | יִשְׁלַחוּ | יִשְׁתַּלַּחוּ |
| יִשְׁלַחְנָה | יִשְׁלַחְנָה | יִשְׁלַחְנָה | יִשְׁתַּלַּחְנָה |
| נִשְׁלַח | נִשְׁלִיחַ | נִשְׁלַח | נִשְׁתַּלַּח |
| | יִשְׁלַח | | |
| | מִשְׁלִיחַ* | | מִשְׁתַּלַּח* |
| מִשְׁלַח | | מִשְׁלַח | |

| | <i>Qāl.</i> | <i>Nīph'āl.</i> | <i>Hīph'īl.</i> |
|-------------------------------|---------------|-----------------|--------------------------|
| <i>PERF. Sing. 3.m.</i> | סָב* | נָסַב* | הִסָּב* |
| 3. <i>f.</i> | סָבָה | נָסְבָה* | הִסְבָּה* |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | סִבּוֹת* | נִסְבוֹת* | הִסְבוֹת* |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | סִבוֹת | נִסְבוֹת | הִסְבוֹת |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | סִבוֹתִי | נִסְבוֹתִי | הִסְבוֹתִי |
| <i>Plur. 3. c.</i> | סִבּוּ | נִסְבּוּ | הִסְבּוּ |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | סִבוּתָם | נִסְבוּתָם | הִסְבוּתָם |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | סִבוּתָן | נִסְבוּתָן | הִסְבוּתָן |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | סִבוּנוּ | נִסְבוּנוּ | הִסְבוּנוּ |
| <i>INF.</i> | סֵב* | הִסֵּב* | הִסָּב* |
| <i>INF. absol.</i> | סִבּוֹב | הִסְבּוֹב | הִסָּב |
| <i>IMP. Sing. 2.m.</i> | סֵב* | הִסֵּב | הִסָּב |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | סִבִּי | הִסְבִּי* | הִסְבִּי |
| <i>Plur. 2.m.</i> | סִבּוּ | הִסְבּוּ | הִסְבּוּ |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | סִבֵּינָה* | הִסְבֵּינָה* | הִסְבֵּינָה* |
| <i>IMPF. Sing. 3.m.</i> | סִיֵּב* | סִיֵּב* | יִסֵּב* |
| 3. <i>f.</i> | תִּסֵּב | תִּסֵּב | תִּסֵּב |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | תִּסֵּב | תִּסֵּב | תִּסֵּב |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | תִּסְבִּי* | תִּסְבִּי | תִּסְבִּי* |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | אִסֵּב | אִסֵּב | אִסֵּב |
| <i>Plur. 3.m.</i> | יִסְבוּ | יִסְבוּ | יִסְבוּ |
| 3. <i>f.</i> | תִּסְבֵּינָה* | תִּסְבֵּינָה | תִּסְבֵּינָה* |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | תִּסְבוּ | תִּסְבוּ | תִּסְבוּ |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | תִּסְבֵּינָה | תִּסְבֵּינָה | תִּסְבֵּינָה |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | נִסֵּב | נִסֵּב | נִסֵּב |
| <i>IMPF. with Wāw consec.</i> | וַיִּסֵּב* | | וַיִּסֵּב |
| <i>IMPF. with Suff.</i> | יִסְבֵּנִי* | | (יִסְבֵּנָם) *יִסְבֵּנִי |
| <i>PART. act.</i> | סִיֵּב | | יִמְסֵב* |
| <i>pass.</i> | סִיֵּב | | |

| <i>Hōph'āl.</i> | <i>Pō'ēl.</i> | <i>Pō'āl.</i> | <i>Hithpō'ēl.</i> |
|-----------------|---------------|---------------|-------------------|
| הוֹסֵב* | סוֹבֵב* | סוֹבֵב* | הִסְתוֹבֵב |
| הוֹסֵבָה | סוֹבֵבָה | סוֹבֵבָה | הִסְתוֹבֵבָה |
| הוֹסֵבוֹת | סוֹבֵבֹת | סוֹבֵבֹת | הִסְתוֹבֵבֹת |
| הוֹסֵבוֹת | סוֹבֵבֹת | סוֹבֵבֹת | הִסְתוֹבֵבֹת |
| הוֹסֵבֹתִי | סוֹבֵבֹתִי | סוֹבֵבֹתִי | הִסְתוֹבֵבֹתִי |
| הוֹסֵבוּ | סוֹבְבוּ | סוֹבְבוּ | הִסְתוֹבְבוּ |
| הוֹסֵבוֹתֶם | סוֹבְבוֹתֶם | סוֹבְבוֹתֶם | הִסְתוֹבְבוֹתֶם |
| הוֹסֵבוּתָן | סוֹבְבוּתָן | סוֹבְבוּתָן | הִסְתוֹבְבוּתָן |
| הוֹסֵבוּנוּ | סוֹבְבוּנוּ | סוֹבְבוּנוּ | הִסְתוֹבְבוּנוּ |
| | סוֹבֵב | | הִסְתוֹבֵב |
| | סוֹבֵב | סוֹבֵב | |
| | סוֹבֵב | | הִסְתוֹבֵב |
| wanting | סוֹבְבִי | wanting | הִסְתוֹבְבִי |
| | סוֹבְבוּ | | הִסְתוֹבְבוּ |
| | סוֹבְבָנָה | | הִסְתוֹבְבָנָה |
| יֹסֵב* יֹסֵב | יֹסֵבֵב | יֹסֵבֵב | יִסְתוֹבֵב |
| תוֹסֵב | תֹסֵבֵב | תֹסֵבֵב | תִסְתוֹבֵב |
| תוֹסֵב | תֹסֵבֵב | תֹסֵבֵב | תִסְתוֹבֵב |
| תוֹסֵבִי* | תֹסֵבְבִי | תֹסֵבְבִי | תִסְתוֹבְבִי |
| אוֹסֵב | אֹסֵבֵב | אֹסֵבֵב | אִסְתוֹבֵב |
| יוֹסֵבוּ | יֹסְבוּ | יֹסְבוּ | יִסְתוֹבְבוּ |
| תוֹסֵבֶינָה* | תֹסְבֶינָה | תֹסְבֶינָה | תִסְתוֹבְבֶינָה |
| תוֹסֵבוּ | תֹסְבוּ | תֹסְבוּ | תִסְתוֹבְבוּ |
| תוֹסֵבֶינָה | תֹסְבֶינָה | תֹסְבֶינָה | תִסְתוֹבְבֶינָה |
| נוֹסֵב | נֹסֵבֵב | נֹסֵבֵב | נִסְתוֹבֵב |
| | יֹסְבֶינִי | | |
| | מִסְבֵּב | | מִסְתוֹבֵב |
| מִוֹסֵב* | | מִסְבֵּב | |

| | | Qāl. | | Niph'al. Hiph'il. Hoph'al. | | |
|-----------------------------------|-------|--------------|-------------|----------------------------|---------------|---------------|
| <i>PERF. Sing.</i> | 3. m. | נָכַשׁ | נָפַל | נָחַךְ | *הִגִּישׁ | *הִגֵּשׁ |
| | 3. f. | etc. | etc. | נָחַכָּה | הִגִּישָׁה | הִגֵּשָׁה |
| | 2. m. | | | נָחַכְתָּ | הִגִּישְׁתָּ | הִגֵּשְׁתָּ |
| | 2. f. | | | נָחַכְתְּ | הִגִּישְׁתְּ | הִגֵּשְׁתְּ |
| | 1. c. | | | נָחַכְתִּי | הִגִּישְׁתִּי | הִגֵּשְׁתִּי |
| <i>Plur.</i> | 3. c. | regular | | נָחַכְנוּ | הִגִּישׁוּ | הִגֵּשׁוּ |
| | 2. m. | | | נָחַכְתֶּם | הִגִּישְׁתֶּם | הִגֵּשְׁתֶּם |
| | 2. f. | | | נָחַכְתֶּן | הִגִּישְׁתֶּן | הִגֵּשְׁתֶּן |
| | 1. c. | | | נָחַכְנוּ | הִגִּישְׁנוּ | הִגֵּשְׁנוּ |
| <i>INF.</i> | | *נָשַׁח | *נָפַל | נָחַךְ | הִקְנִישׁ | *הִגִּישׁ |
| <i>INF. absol.</i> | | נִגְשׁ | נָפֹל | נָחֹךְ | הִקְנִישׁ | *הִגִּישׁ |
| <i>IMP. Sing.</i> | 2. m. | *נִשֵּׂא | נָפַל | נָחַךְ | הִקְנִישׁ | *הִגִּישׁ |
| | 2. f. | נִשֵּׂאִי | נָפְלִי | נָחִי | הִקְנִישִׁי | הִגִּישִׁי |
| <i>Plur.</i> | 2. m. | נִשְׂאוּ | נָפְלוּ | נָחוּ | הִקְנִישׁוּ | הִגִּישׁוּ |
| | 2. f. | נִשְׂנֹה | נָפְלֹה | נָחֹה | הִקְנִישְׁנֹה | הִגִּישְׁנֹה |
| <i>IMPF. Sing.</i> | 3. m. | יִגֵּשׁ | יִפֹּל | יִנָּחֵךְ | יִקְנִישׁ | *יִגִּישׁ |
| | 3. f. | תִּגֵּשׁ | תִּפֹּל | תִּנָּחֵךְ | etc. | תִּגִּישׁ |
| | 2. m. | תִּגֵּשׁ | תִּפֹּל | תִּנָּחֵךְ | | תִּגִּישׁ |
| | 2. f. | תִּגִּישִׁי | תִּפְּלִי | תִּנָּחִי | | תִּגִּישִׁי |
| | 1. c. | אִגֵּשׁ | אִפֹּל | אִנָּחֵךְ | | אִגֵּשׁ |
| <i>Plur.</i> | 3. m. | יִגְשׁוּ | יִפְּלוּ | יִנָּחוּ | regu- | יִגִּישׁוּ |
| | 3. f. | תִּגִּשְׁנָה | תִּפְּלֹנָה | תִּנָּחֹנָה | lar. | תִּגִּישְׁנָה |
| | 2. m. | תִּגִּשְׁוּ | תִּפְּלוּ | תִּנָּחוּ | | תִּגִּישְׁוּ |
| | 2. f. | תִּגִּשְׁנֹה | תִּפְּלֹנֹה | תִּנָּחֹנֹה | | תִּגִּישְׁנֹה |
| | 1. c. | נִגֵּשׁ | נָפַל | נָחַךְ | | נִגֵּשׁ |
| <i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i> | | | | | | *יִגִּישׁ |
| <i>PART. act.</i> | | נִגֵּשׁ | נָפַל | נָחַךְ | *נִגְשׁ | *מִגִּישׁ |
| <i>pass.</i> | | נִגְשִׁי | — | נָחֹךְ | | *מִגִּישׁ |

| | <i>Qāl.</i> | <i>Nīph'āl.</i> | <i>Hīph'īl.</i> | <i>Hōph'āl.</i> |
|--------------|-------------|-----------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| <i>PERF.</i> | אָבַל | בָּאַבַּל* | הָאַבִּיל* | הָאַבַּל* |

As the Verb *Pe Guttural*, Paradigm D.

| | | | | |
|--|--------------------------|-----------|-------------|-----------|
| <i>INF.</i> | אָבַל* | הָאַבַּל | הָאַבִּיל | הָאַבַּל |
| <i>INF. absol.</i> | אָבוּל | הָאַבַּל | wanting | wanting |
| <i>IMP. Sing. 2. m.</i> | אָבַל* | הָאַבַּל | הָאַבִּיל | |
| 2. f. | אָבְלִי | etc. | etc. | |
| <i>Plur. 2. m.</i> | אָבְלוּ | | | wanting |
| 2. f. | אָבְלָנָה | | | |
| <i>IMPF. Sing. 3. m.</i> | אָבַל* (in P. יֵאָבַל) | יֵאַבַּל* | יֵאַבִּיל* | יֵאַבַּל* |
| 3. f. | תֵּאַבַּל | etc. | etc. | etc. |
| 2. m. | תֵּאַבַּל | | | |
| 2. f. | תֵּאַבְלִי | | | |
| 1. c. | אָבַל* | | | |
| <i>Plur. 3. m.</i> | יֵאַבְלוּ | | | |
| 3. f. | תֵּאַבְלָנָה | | | |
| 2. m. | תֵּאַבְלוּ | | | |
| 2. f. | תֵּאַבְלָנָה | | | |
| 1. c. | נֵאַבַּל | | | |
| <i>IMPF. with Wāw</i> } <i>consecutive.</i> | יֵאַבְּרָא*, יֵאַבְּרָא* | | | |
| <i>PART. act.</i> | אָבַל | בָּאַבַּל | בִּיאַבִּיל | |
| <i>pass.</i> | אָבוּל | | | מֵאַבַּל |

| | Qāl. | Niphāl |
|-----------------------------------|----------------|----------------|
| <i>PERF. Sing. 3. m.</i> | נָשַׁב | *נִשְׁבַּח |
| 3. f. | | *נִשְׁבַּחַת |
| 2. m. | | נִשְׁבַּחְתָּ |
| 2. f. | regular | נִשְׁבַּחְתְּ |
| 1. c. | | נִשְׁבַּחְתִּי |
| <i>Plur. 3. c.</i> | | נִשְׁבַּחוּ |
| 2. m. | | נִשְׁבַּחְתֶּם |
| 2. f. | | נִשְׁבַּחְתֶּן |
| 1. c. | | נִשְׁבַּחְנוּ |
| <i>INF.</i> | יָסַד, *שָׁבַח | *הִנָּשַׁב |
| <i>INF. absol.</i> | יָשׁוּב | wanting |
| <i>IMP. Sing. 2. m.</i> | *שֵׁב | *יִרְשׁ |
| 2. f. | שָׁבִי | יִרְשִׁי |
| <i>Plur. 2. m.</i> | שָׁבוּ | יִרְשׁוּ |
| 2. f. | שָׁבְנָה | יִרְשְׁנָה |
| <i>IMPF. Sing. 3. m.</i> | *יֹשֵׁב | *יִירָשׁ |
| 3. f. | תֹּשֵׁב | תִּירָשׁ |
| 2. m. | תֹּשֵׁב | תִּירָשׁ |
| 2. f. | תֹּשְׁבִי | תִּירְשִׁי |
| 1. c. | אֹשֵׁב | אִירָשׁ |
| <i>Plur. 3. m.</i> | יֹשְׁבוּ | יִירְשׁוּ |
| 3. f. | תֹּשְׁבָנָה | תִּירְשְׁנָה |
| 2. m. | תֹּשְׁבוּ | תִירְשׁוּ |
| 2. f. | תֹּשְׁבָנָה | תִירְשְׁנָה |
| 1. c. | נֹשֵׁב | נִירָשׁ |
| <i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i> | | |
| <i>IMPF. with Wāw consec.</i> | *וַיֹּשֵׁב | |
| <i>PART. act.</i> | יֹשֵׁב | *נֹשֵׁב |
| <i>pass</i> | יָשׁוּב | |

| <i>Hiph'îl.</i> | <i>Höph'al.</i> | <i>Qal.</i> | <i>Hiph'îl.</i> |
|---|---|--|---|
| *הוֹשִׁיב הוֹשִׁיבָה הוֹשִׁבָּת הוֹשִׁבָּת הוֹשִׁבְתִּי הוֹשִׁיבוּ הוֹשִׁבְתֶּם הוֹשִׁבְתֶּן הוֹשִׁבְנוּ | *הוֹשֵׁב הוֹשִׁיבָה הוֹשִׁבָּת הוֹשִׁבָּת הוֹשִׁבְתִּי הוֹשִׁיבוּ הוֹשִׁבְתֶּם הוֹשִׁבְתֶּן הוֹשִׁבְנוּ | יָטַב regular. יָטַב יָטוּב | *הוֹיִטִיב הוֹיִטִיבָה הוֹיִטִיבָּת הוֹיִטִיבָּת הוֹיִטִיבְתִּי הוֹיִטִיבוּ הוֹיִטִיבְתֶּם הוֹיִטִיבְתֶּן הוֹיִטִיבְנוּ |
| *הוֹשִׁיב *הוֹשֵׁב | *הוֹשֵׁב | יָטַב יָטוּב | *הוֹיִטִיב *הוֹיִטֵב |
| *הוֹשֵׁב הוֹשִׁיבִי הוֹשִׁיבוּ הוֹשִׁיבְנָה | wanting | יָטַב יָטַבִּי יָטַבוּ יָטַבְנָה | *הוֹיִטֵב הוֹיִטִיבִי הוֹיִטִיבוּ הוֹיִטִיבְנָה |
| *יוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיב תוֹשִׁיבִי אוֹשִׁיב יוֹשִׁיבוּ תוֹשִׁיבְנָה תוֹשִׁיבוּ תוֹשִׁיבְנָה נוֹשִׁיב | *יוֹשֵׁב תוֹשֵׁב תוֹשֵׁב תוֹשִׁיבִי אוֹשֵׁב יוֹשִׁיבוּ תוֹשִׁיבְנָה תוֹשִׁיבוּ תוֹשִׁיבְנָה נוֹשֵׁב | *יִיטַב תִּיטַב תִּיטַב תִּיטַבִּי אִיטַב יִיטַבוּ תִּיטַבְנָה תִּיטַבוּ תִּיטַבְנָה נִיטַב | *יִיטִיב תִּיטִיב תִּיטִיב תִּיטִיבִי אִיטִיב יִיטִיבוּ תִּיטִיבְנָה תִּיטִיבוּ תִּיטִיבְנָה נִיטִיב |
| *יוֹשֵׁב *יִיטֵב | | יִיטַב יִיטַבְנָה | יִיטַב יִיטַבְנָה |
| *מִוֹשִׁיב | | יָטַב יָטוּב | מִיטִיב מִיטֵב |

| | Qāl. | | | Niph'al. Hiph'il. Hoph'al. | | |
|---------------------------|--------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--|-----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| <i>PERF. S.</i> | 3. <i>m.</i> | בַּשׁ *מֵת *קָם | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | נָקָם *הָקִים *הִקְמִיתָ *הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִיתָ *הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִיתָ *הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה |
| | 3. <i>f.</i> | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | נָקָמָה *הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה |
| | 2. <i>m.</i> | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | נָקָמָה *הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה |
| | 2. <i>f.</i> | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | נָקָמָה *הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה |
| | 1. <i>c.</i> | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | נָקָמָה *הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה |
| <i>Plur.</i> | 3. <i>c.</i> | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | נָקָמָה *הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה |
| | 2. <i>m.</i> | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | נָקָמָה *הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה |
| | 2. <i>f.</i> | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | נָקָמָה *הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה |
| | 1. <i>c.</i> | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | בָּשָׂה *מָתָה *קָמָה | נָקָמָה *הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה | הִקְמִינִי *הִקְמִינָה |
| <i>INF.</i> | | קָם *בֹּשֶׁה | הָקִים *הָקִים | הָקִים *הָקִים | הָקִים *הָקִים | הָקִים *הָקִים |
| <i>INF. absol.</i> | | קָם * | הָקִים * | הָקִים * | הָקִים * | הָקִים * |
| <i>IMP. S.</i> | 2. <i>m.</i> | קָם * | הָקִים * | הָקִים * | הָקִים * | הָקִים * |
| | 2. <i>f.</i> | קָמִי * | הָקִימִי * | הָקִימִי * | הָקִימִי * | wanting |
| <i>Pl.</i> | 2. <i>m.</i> | קָמוּ | הָקִימוּ | הָקִימוּ | הָקִימוּ | הָקִימוּ |
| | 2. <i>f.</i> | קָמְנָה * | הָקִימְנָה | הָקִימְנָה | הָקִימְנָה | הָקִימְנָה |
| <i>IMPF. S.</i> | 3. <i>m.</i> | יָקִים * | יָבֵשׁ | יָקִים * | יָקִים * | יָקִים * |
| | 3. <i>f.</i> | תָּקִים | תִּבְשֶׁה | תָּקִים | תָּקִים | תָּקִים |
| | 2. <i>m.</i> | תָּקִים | etc. | תָּקִים | תָּקִים | תָּקִים |
| | 2. <i>f.</i> | תָּקִימִי * | | תָּקִימִי * | תָּקִימִי * | תָּקִימִי * |
| | 1. <i>c.</i> | אָקִים | | אָקִים | אָקִים | אָקִים |
| <i>Plur.</i> | 3. <i>m.</i> | יָקִימוּ | | יָקִימוּ | יָקִימוּ | יָקִימוּ |
| | 3. <i>f.</i> | תָּקִימְנָה * | | תָּקִימְנָה | תָּקִימְנָה * | תָּקִימְנָה |
| | 2. <i>m.</i> | תָּקִימוּ | | תָּקִימוּ | תָּקִימוּ | תָּקִימוּ |
| | 2. <i>f.</i> | תָּקִימְנָה | | תָּקִימְנָה | תָּקִימְנָה | תָּקִימְנָה |
| | 1. <i>c.</i> | נָקִים | | נָקִים | נָקִים | נָקִים |
| <i>IMPF. shortened.</i> | | יָקִם | | | יָקִם * | יָקִם * |
| <i>IMPF. with consec.</i> | | וַיָּקִם, וַיִּקָּם | | | וַיָּקִם * | וַיָּקִם * |
| <i>IMPF. with Suff.</i> | | יָקִימִי * | | | יָקִימִי * | יָקִימִי * |
| <i>PART. act.</i> | | קָם * | בָּשָׂה | נָקָם * | יָקִים * | יָקִים * |
| <i>pass.</i> | | קָם * | | | | מוֹקָם * |

| <i>Prélél.</i> | <i>Pūlāl.</i> | <i>Qāl.</i> | | <i>Niphāl.</i> |
|----------------|---------------|-------------|-------|----------------|
| קומים* | קומים* | בן* | בין* | בָּבֹן* |
| קוממה | קוממה | בנה* | בניה* | נבונה |
| קוממת | קוממת | בנת* | בנות* | נבונות |
| קוממת | קוממת | בנת | בנות | נבונות |
| קוממתי | קוממתי | בנתי | בנותי | נבונותי |
| קוממו | קוממו | בנו | בינו | נבנו |
| קוממתם | קוממתם | בנתם | בנותם | נבונתם |
| קוממתן | קוממתן | בנתן | בנותן | נבונתן |
| קוממנה | קוממנה | בנה | בניה | נבונה |
| קומים | | בין* | | הבון |
| | | בן* | | הבון |
| קומים | | בין* | | הבון |
| קוממי | | ביני | | as |
| קוממו | wanting | בינו | | הקום |
| קוממיה | | — | | |
| יקומים | יקומים | יבון* | | יבון |
| יקומים | יקומים | יבון | | as |
| יקומים | יקומים | יבון | | יקום |
| יקוממי | יקוממי | יבני | | |
| יקומים | יקומים | יבין | | |
| יקוממו | יקוממו | יבנו | | |
| יקוממיה | יקוממיה | יבניה* | | |
| יקוממו | יקוממו | יבני | | |
| יקוממיה | יקוממיה | יבניה | | |
| נקומים | נקומים | נבון | | |
| | | יבן* | | |
| | | יבון* | | |
| | | יבני | | |
| מקומים | מקומים | בן* | | נבון |
| | | בין* | | |

| | | <i>Qāl.</i> | <i>Niphāl.</i> | <i>Pi'el.</i> |
|-----------------------------------|--|---------------|----------------|---------------|
| <i>PERF. Sing. 3.m.</i> | | מָצָא | נִמְצָא* | מָצָא |
| 3. <i>f.</i> | | מָצְאָה | נִמְצְאָה | מָצְאָה |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | | מָצְאָתָ* | נִמְצְאָתָ* | מָצְאָתָ* |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | | מָצְאָת | נִמְצְאָת | מָצְאָת |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | | מָצְאָתִי | נִמְצְאָתִי | מָצְאָתִי |
| <i>Plur. 3. c.</i> | | מָצְאוּ | נִמְצְאוּ | מָצְאוּ |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | | מָצְאתֶם | נִמְצְאתֶם | מָצְאתֶם |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | | מָצְאתֶן | נִמְצְאתֶן | מָצְאתֶן |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | | מָצְאתִנִּי | נִמְצְאתִנִּי | מָצְאתִנִּי |
| <i>INF.</i> | | מָצֵא | הִמְצֵא | מָצֵא |
| <i>INF. absol.</i> | | מָצֹא | נִמְצֵא | מָצֵא |
| <i>IMP. Sing. 2.m.</i> | | מָצֵא* | הִמְצֵא | מָצֵא |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | | מָצְאִי | הִמְצְאִי | מָצְאִי |
| <i>Plur. 2.m.</i> | | מָצְאוּ | הִמְצְאוּ | מָצְאוּ |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | | מָצְאָנָה* | הִמְצְאָנָה | מָצְאָנָה* |
| <i>IMPF. Sing. 3.m.</i> | | יִמְצֵא* | יִמְצֵא* | יִמְצֵא |
| 3. <i>f.</i> | | תִּמְצֵא | תִּמְצֵא | תִּמְצֵא |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | | תִּמְצֵא | תִּמְצֵא | תִּמְצֵא |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | | תִּמְצְאִי | תִּמְצְאִי | תִּמְצְאִי |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | | אִמְצֵא | אִמְצֵא | אִמְצֵא |
| <i>Plur. 3.m.</i> | | יִמְצְאוּ | יִמְצְאוּ | יִמְצְאוּ |
| 3. <i>f.</i> | | תִּמְצְאָנָה* | תִּמְצְאָנָה* | תִּמְצְאָנָה* |
| 2. <i>m.</i> | | תִּמְצְאוּ | תִּמְצְאוּ | תִּמְצְאוּ |
| 2. <i>f.</i> | | תִּמְצְאָנָה | תִּמְצְאָנָה | תִּמְצְאָנָה |
| 1. <i>c.</i> | | נִמְצֵא | נִמְצֵא | נִמְצֵא |
| <i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i> | | | | |
| <i>IMPF. with Suff.</i> | | יִמְצְאֵנִי | | יִמְצְאֵנִי |
| <i>PART. act.</i> | | מָצֵא | נִמְצֵא | מָצֵא |
| <i>pass.</i> | | מָצוּא | | מָצוּא |

[illegible]

| | <i>Qāl.</i> | <i>Niph'āl.</i> | <i>Pr'ēl.</i> |
|-----------------------------------|--------------|--------------------|---------------------|
| <i>PERF. Sing. 3. m.</i> | בָּלָה* | נִבְלָה* | בָּלָה* |
| 3. f. | בָּלְתָה* | נִבְלְתָה* | בָּלְתָה* |
| 2. m. | בָּלִיתָ* | נִבְלִיתָ* (יָתְ—) | בָּלִיתָ (בָּלִיתָ) |
| 2. f. | בָּלִית | נִבְלִית | בָּלִית |
| 1. c. | בָּלִיתִי | נִבְלִיתִי | בָּלִיתִי |
| <i>Plur. 3. c.</i> | בָּלוּ* | נִבְלוּ | בָּלוּ |
| 2. m. | בָּלִיתֶם | נִבְלִיתֶם | בָּלִיתֶם |
| 2. f. | בָּלִיתְנָה | נִבְלִיתְנָה | בָּלִיתְנָה |
| 1. c. | בָּלִינוּ | נִבְלִינוּ | בָּלִינוּ |
| <i>INF.</i> | בָּלוֹת* | תִּבְלוֹת* | בָּלוֹת* |
| <i>INF. absol.</i> | בָּלָה | נִבְלָה | בָּלָה, בָּלָה |
| <i>IMP. Sing. 2. m.</i> | בָּלֵה* | תִּבְלֵה* | בָּלֵה* |
| 2. f. | בָּלִי* | תִּבְלִי* | בָּלִי* |
| <i>Plur. 2. m.</i> | בָּלוּ | תִּבְלוּ | בָּלוּ |
| 2. f. | בָּלֵינָה* | תִּבְלֵינָה* | בָּלֵינָה* |
| <i>IMPF. Sing. 3. m.</i> | יִבְלֶה* | יִבְלָה* | יִבְלֶה* |
| 3. f. | תִּבְלֶה | תִּבְלָה | תִּבְלֶה |
| 2. m. | תִּבְלֶה | תִּבְלָה | תִּבְלֶה |
| 2. f. | תִּבְלִי* | תִּבְלִי* | תִּבְלִי* |
| 1. c. | אִבְלֶה | אִבְלָה | אִבְלֶה |
| <i>Plur. 3. m.</i> | יִבְלוּ | יִבְלוּ | יִבְלוּ |
| 3. f. | תִּבְלֵינָה* | תִּבְלֵינָה* | תִּבְלֵינָה* |
| 2. m. | תִּבְלוּ | תִּבְלוּ | תִּבְלוּ |
| 2. f. | תִּבְלֵינָה | תִּבְלֵינָה | תִּבְלֵינָה |
| 1. c. | נִבְלֶה | נִבְלָה | נִבְלֶה |
| <i>IMPF. shortened (Jussive).</i> | יִבֵּל* | יִבֵּל* | יִבֵּל* |
| <i>IMPF. with Suff.</i> | יִבְלֶנִי* | | יִבְלֶנִי* |
| <i>PART. act.</i> | בָּלָה* | נִבְלָה* | מִבְלָה* |
| <i>pass.</i> | בָּלוּי* | | |

[illegible]

*Masculine Noun. Feminine Noun.**Singular.*

| | | |
|----------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|
| <i>Absol. st.</i> | סוס a horse | סוּסָה a mare. |
| <i>Constr. st.</i> | סוס horse-of. | סוּסָה mare-of. |
| <i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i> | סוּסִי my horse. | סוּסָתִי my mare. |
| 2. { <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֶיךָ thy horse. | סוּסָתֶיךָ thy mare. |
| 2. { <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֶיךָ thy horse. | סוּסָתֶיךָ thy mare. |
| 3. { <i>masc.</i> | סוּסָיו his horse. | סוּסָתָיו his mare. |
| 3. { <i>fem.</i> | סוּסָיהָ her horse. | סוּסָתָיהָ her mare. |
| <i>plur. 1. com.</i> | סוּסֵינוּ our horse. | סוּסָתֵינוּ our mare. |
| 2. { <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֵיכֶם your horse. | סוּסָתֵיכֶם your mare. |
| 2. { <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֵיכֶן your horse. | סוּסָתֵיכֶן your mare. |
| 3. { <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֵיהֶם their horse. | סוּסָתֵיהֶם their mare. |
| 3. { <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֵיהֶן their horse. | סוּסָתֵיהֶן their mare. |

Plural.

| | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Absol. st.</i> | סוסים horses. | סוּסוֹת mares. |
| <i>Constr. st.</i> | סוּסֵי horses-of. | סוּסוֹת mares-of. |
| <i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i> | סוּסֵי my horses. | סוּסוֹתִי my mares. |
| 2. { <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֵיךָ thy horses. | סוּסוֹתֶיךָ thy mares. |
| 2. { <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֵיךָ thy horses. | סוּסוֹתֶיךָ thy mares. |
| 3. { <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֵיוּ his horses. | סוּסוֹתָיו his mares. |
| 3. { <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֵיהָ her horses. | סוּסוֹתָיהָ her mares. |
| <i>plur. 1. com.</i> | סוּסֵינוּ our horses. | סוּסוֹתֵינוּ our mares. |
| 2. { <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֵיכֶם your horses. | סוּסוֹתֵיכֶם your mares. |
| 2. { <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֵיכֶן your horses. | סוּסוֹתֵיכֶן your mares. |
| 3. { <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֵיהֶם their horses. | סוּסוֹתֵיהֶם their mares. |
| 3. { <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֵיהֶן their horses. | סוּסוֹתֵיהֶן their mares. |

Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.

I.

| | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. | f. |
|---------------------------|-------------|---------------|-------------|------------|--------------|------------------------|
| <i>Sing. absol.</i> | מֶלֶךְ | סֵפֶר | קֹדֶשׁ | נַעַר | נֶצַח | פֶּעַל |
| | (king) | (book) | (sanctuary) | (a youth) | (perpetuity) | (work) |
| " <i>constr.</i> | מֶלֶךְ | סֵפֶר | קֹדֶשׁ | נַעַר | נֶצַח | פֶּעַל |
| " <i>with light suff.</i> | מַלְכִי | סִפְרִי | קֹדְשִׁי | נַעְרִי | נֶצְחִי | פַּעְלִי |
| " <i>with grave suff.</i> | מַלְכֶּכָּם | סִפְרֶכָּם | קֹדְשֶׁכָּם | נַעְרֶכָּם | נֶצְחֶכָּם | פַּעְלֶכָּם |
| <i>Plur. absol.</i> | מַלְכִּים | סִפְרִים | קֹדְשִׁים | נַעְרִים | נֶצְחִים | פַּעְלִים |
| " <i>constr.</i> | מַלְכֵי | סִפְרֵי | קֹדְשֵׁי | נַעְרֵי | נֶצְחֵי | פַּעְלֵי |
| " <i>with light suff.</i> | מַלְכֵי | סִפְרֵי | קֹדְשֵׁי | נַעְרֵי | נֶצְחֵי | פַּעְלֵי |
| " <i>with grave suff.</i> | מַלְכֵיכֶם | סִפְרֵיכֶם | קֹדְשֵׁיכֶם | נַעְרֵיכֶם | נֶצְחֵיכֶם | פַּעְלֵיכֶם |
| <i>Dual absol.</i> | רַגְלַיִם | קַפְצָּיִם | מִתְנָיִם | נַעֲלָיִם | | צַהֲרָיִם |
| | (feet) | (double pile) | (loins) | (sandals) | | (noon, prop. 2 lights) |
| " <i>constr.</i> | רַגְלָי | | מִתְנֵי | נַעֲלֵי | | |

I.

| | g. | h. | i. | k. | l. | m. | n. |
|---------------------------|-----------|-----------|---------------|-----------|-----------|--------------|-----------|
| <i>Sing. absol.</i> | מָוֶת | זַיִת | שׁוֹט | פֶּרִי | יָם | אִם | חֵק |
| | (death) | (olive) | (scourge) | (fruit) | (sea) | (mother) | (law) |
| " <i>constr.</i> | מֹוֶת | זֵית | שׁוֹט | פְּרִי | יָם | אִם | חֵק |
| " <i>with light suff.</i> | מוֹתִי | זֵיתִי | שׁוֹטִי | פְּרִי | יָמִי | אִמִּי | חֻקִּי |
| " <i>with grave suff.</i> | מוֹתֶיכֶם | זֵיתֶיכֶם | שׁוֹטֶיכֶם | פְּרִיכֶם | יָמֶיכֶם | אִמֶּיכֶם | חֻקֶּיכֶם |
| <i>Plur. absol.</i> | מוֹתִים | זֵיתִים | שׁוֹטִים | גִּדְּיִי | יָמִים | אִמּוֹת | חֻקִּים |
| " <i>constr.</i> | מוֹתֵי | זֵיתֵי | שׁוֹטֵי | (kids) | יָמֵי | אִמּוֹת | חֻקֵּי |
| " <i>with light suff.</i> | מוֹתֵי | זֵיתֵי | שׁוֹטֵי | | יָמֵי | אִמּוֹתֵי | חֻקֵּי |
| " <i>with grave suff.</i> | מוֹתֵיכֶם | זֵיתֵיכֶם | שׁוֹטֵיכֶם | | יָמֵיכֶם | אִמּוֹתֵיכֶם | חֻקֵּיכֶם |
| <i>Dual absol.</i> | | עֵינָיִם | שְׁנֵי יָמִים | לְחָיִם | כַּפָּיִם | שְׁנֵי | |
| | | (eyes) | (two days) | (cheeks) | (hands) | (teeth) | |
| " <i>constr.</i> | | עֵינֵי | | לְחָיֵי | כַּפָּי | שְׁנֵי | |

II.

| | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. | f. |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Sing. absol.</i> | דְּבַר (word) | חָכֵם (wise) | זָקֵן (an old man) | כָּתֵף (shoulder) | חֲצֵר (court) | שָׂדֵה (field) |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | דְּבַר | חָכֵם | זָקֵן | כָּתֵף | חֲצֵר | שָׂדֵה |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | דְּבָרִי | חֲכָמִי | זָקִנִי | כְּתָפִי | חֲצָרִי | שָׂדִי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | דְּבָרְכֶם | חֲכָמְכֶם | | | | שָׂדֵכֶם |
| <i>Plur. absol.</i> | דְּבָרִים | חֲכָמִים | זָקֵנִים | | חֲצָרִים | [שָׂדִים] |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | דְּבָרֵי | חֲכָמֵי | זָקֵנֵי | | חֲצָרֵי | שָׂדֵי |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | דְּבָרִי | חֲכָמִי | זָקִנִי | | חֲצָרִי | שָׂדִי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | דְּבָרֵיכֶם | חֲכָמֵיכֶם | זָקֵנֵיכֶם | | חֲצָרֵיכֶם | |
| <i>Dual absol.</i> | כְּנָפַיִם (wings) | חֲלָצִים (thighs) | יָרְכָיִם (loins) | | | |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | כְּנָפַי | | | | | |

III.

IV.

| | a. | b. | c. | a. | b. | c. |
|---------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| <i>Sing. absol.</i> | עוֹלָם (perpetuity) | אֹיֵב (enemy) | חֹזֶה (prophet) | פֶּקִיד (overseer) | עָנִי (poor) | כָּתֹב (writing) |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | עוֹלָם | אֹיֵב | חֹזֶה | פֶּקִיד | עָנִי | כָּתֹב |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | עוֹלָמִי | אֹיְבִי | חֹזִי | פֶּקִידִי | | כָּתְבִי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | עוֹלָמְכֶם | אֹיְבֵכֶם | חֹזְכֶם | פֶּקִידְכֶם | | כָּתְבְּכֶם |
| <i>Plur. absol.</i> | עוֹלָמִים | אֹיְבִים | חֹזִים | פֶּקִידִים | עָנִיִּים | כָּתְבִים |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | עוֹלָמֵי | אֹיְבֵי | חֹזֵי | פֶּקִידֵי | עָנִיֵּי | כָּתְבֵי |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | עוֹלָמִי | אֹיְבִי | חֹזִי | פֶּקִידִי | | כָּתְבִי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | עוֹלָמֵיכֶם | אֹיְבֵיכֶם | חֹזֵיכֶם | פֶּקִידֵיכֶם | עָנִיֵּיכֶם | כָּתְבֵיכֶם |
| <i>Dual absol.</i> | מְלָקָחַיִם (tongs) | מֵאזְנַיִם (balance) | | שְׁבָעַיִם (fortnight) | | |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | | מֵאזְנֵי | | | | |

Paradigms of Feminine Nouns.

I.

| | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. |
|---------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------|---------------------------|
| <i>Sing. absol.</i> | מַלְכָּה (queen) | חֲרָפָה (reproach) | חֲרָבָה (waste) | חֻקָּה (law) | גְּבֵרָתָהּ (mistress) |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | מַלְכַּת | חֲרַפַּת | חֲרַבַּת | חֻקַּת | גְּבֵרַת |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | מַלְכָּתִי | חֲרַפָּתִי | חֲרַבָּתִי | חֻקָּתִי | גְּבֵרָתִי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | מַלְכֶּחֶם | חֲרַפְתֶּם | חֲרַבְתֶּם | חֻקְתֶּם | גְּבֵרַתְכֶם |
| <i>Plur. absol.</i> | מַלְכוֹת | חֲרָפוֹת | חֲרָבוֹת | חֻקּוֹת | |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | מַלְכוֹת | חֲרָפוֹת | חֲרָבוֹת | חֻקּוֹת | |
| „ <i>with suff.</i> | מַלְכוֹתִי | חֲרָפוֹתִי | חֲרָבוֹתִי | חֻקּוֹתִי | |
| <i>Dual absol.</i> | | רִקְמָתַיִם (double embroidery) | | | מִצְלָתַיִם (cymbals) |

II.

III.

| | a. | b. | c. | a. | b. |
|---------------------------|----------------------|---------------------|----------------------|----------------------|--|
| <i>Sing. absol.</i> | צְדָקָה (justice) | זַעֲקָה (outcry) | שָׁנָה (year) | יוֹנֵקָה (sprout) | גִּלְגָּלָהּ (skull) |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | צְדָקַת | זַעֲקַת | שָׁנַת | יוֹנֵקַת | גִּלְגָּלַת |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | צְדָקָתִי | זַעֲקָתִי | שָׁנָתִי | יוֹנֵקָתִי | גִּלְגָּלָתִי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | צְדָקְתֶּם | זַעֲקְתֶּם | שָׁנַתְכֶם | יוֹנֵקְתֶּם | גִּלְגָּלַתְכֶם |
| <i>Plur. absol.</i> | צְדָקוֹת | | שָׁנוֹת | [יוֹנֵקוֹת] | גִּלְגָּלוֹת |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | צְדָקוֹת | | שָׁנוֹת | יוֹנֵקוֹת | גִּלְגָּלוֹת |
| „ <i>with suff.</i> | צְדָקוֹתִי | | שָׁנוֹתִי | יוֹנֵקוֹתִי | גִּלְגָּלוֹתִי |
| <i>Dual absol.</i> | | | שִׁפְתָיִם (lips) | | [רִחְשָׁתַיִם] (pair of fettors) |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | | | שִׁפְתֵי | | |

NUMERALS. §§ 97, 98.

*With the Masculine.**With the Feminine.*

| | <i>Absol.</i> | <i>Constr.</i> | <i>Absol.</i> | <i>Constr.</i> |
|-----|---------------|----------------|---------------|----------------|
| 1. | אֶחָד | אֶחָד | אֶחָת | אֶחָת |
| 2. | שְׁנַיִם | שְׁנֵי | שְׁתֵּי | שְׁתֵּי |
| 3. | שְׁלֹשָׁה | שְׁלֹשָׁת | שְׁלוֹשׁ | שְׁלוֹשׁ |
| 4. | אַרְבָּעָה | אַרְבַּעַת | אַרְבַּע | אַרְבַּע |
| 5. | חֲמִשָּׁה | חֲמִשָּׁת | חֲמִשׁ | חֲמִשׁ |
| 6. | שֵׁשׁ | שֵׁשֶׁת | שֵׁשׁ | שֵׁשׁ |
| 7. | שִׁבְעָה | שִׁבְעַת | שִׁבַּע | שִׁבַּע |
| 8. | שְׁמֹנֶה | שְׁמֹנֶת | שְׁמוֹנֶה | שְׁמוֹנֶה |
| 9. | תְּשֻׁעָה | תְּשֻׁעַת | תְּשֻׁעַ | תְּשֻׁעַ |
| 10. | עֲשָׂרָה | עֲשָׂרַת | עֲשָׂר | עֲשָׂר |

*Masc.**Fem.*

| | | |
|-----|--------------------|--------------------|
| 11. | { אֶחָד עֶשֶׂר | אֶחָת עֶשְׂרֵה |
| | { עֶשְׁתֵּי עֶשֶׂר | עֶשְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה |
| 12. | { שְׁנַיִם עֶשֶׂר | שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה |
| | { שְׁנֵי עֶשֶׂר | שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרֵה |
| 13. | שְׁלֹשָׁה עֶשֶׂר | שְׁלוֹשׁ עֶשְׂרֵה |

| | |
|-------|--|
| 100 | מֵאָה <i>fem., constr.</i> מֵאָת, <i>plur.</i> מֵאוֹת <i>hundreds.</i> |
| 200 | מֵאֵתַיִם <i>dual</i> (for מֵאֵתַיִם). |
| 300 | שְׁלוֹשׁ מֵאוֹת. |
| 400 | אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת etc. |
| 1000 | אַלְפָּה <i>masc., plur.</i> אֲלָפִים <i>thousands.</i> |
| 2000 | אֲלָפִים (<i>dual</i>). |
| 3000 | שְׁלֹשָׁת אֲלָפִים. |
| 4000 | אַרְבַּעַת אֲלָפִים, etc. |
| 10000 | { רִבְבָּהּ but, in later books; רַבּוּא <i>pl.</i> רַבּוֹת. |
| 20000 | רַבְתַּיִם (<i>dual</i>), also רַבּוֹת שְׁתֵּי. |
| 40000 | אַרְבַּע רַבּוּא, etc. |
| 60000 | שִׁשְׁרַבּוֹת Ezra 2. 69. |

a) לְ with the suffixes:—

| <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
|---|---|
| 1. לִי <i>to me.</i> | לָנוּ <i>to us.</i> |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> לְךָ, (לְכָה), in pause } <i>to</i> <i>f.</i> לְךָ } <i>thee.</i> | לָכֶם, לְכֶנָּה [לְכֶן] } <i>to you.</i> |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> לוֹ <i>to him.</i> <i>f.</i> לָהּ <i>to her.</i> | לָהֶם, לְהֶמָּה, poet. לָמֹ ³ } <i>to them.</i> לְהֶנָּה ⁸ לְהֶן |

בְּ takes suffixes in the same manner, except that for the 3d person plur. we have בָּהֶם, בָּם, בְּהֶמָּה, fem. בְּהֶן or בְּהֶן, בְּהֶנָּה.

b) כִּי with the suffixes:—

| <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
|---|--|
| 1. כִּמְּוֹנִי ⁴ <i>as I.</i> | כִּמְּוֹנֵינוּ <i>as we.</i> |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> כִּמְּוֹדִי } <i>as thou.</i> <i>f.</i> — } | כִּכֶּם, seldom כִּמְּוֹכֶם } <i>as ye.</i> — — — } |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> כִּמְּוֹהֵו <i>as he.</i> <i>f.</i> כִּמְּוֹהֵהָ <i>as she.</i> | כִּהֶם [כִּהֶמָּה] כִּהֶן } <i>as they.</i> כִּהֶנָּה, כִּהֶן |

c) מִן with the suffixes:—

| <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
|---|--|
| 1. מִמֶּנִּי, poet. מִנִּי, in pause מִמֶּנִּי <i>from me.</i> | מִמֶּנֵּנוּ <i>from us.</i> |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> מִמֶּדֶּי, in p. מִמֶּדֶּי } <i>from thee.</i> <i>f.</i> מִמֶּדֶּי } | מִמֶּכֶם } <i>from you.</i> מִמֶּנָּךְ } |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> מִמֶּנֵּהוּ, poet. in pause מִנֵּהוּ, מִמֶּנֵּהוּ <i>from him.</i> <i>f.</i> מִמֶּנֵּהָ <i>from her.</i> | מִמֶּהֶם, מִמֶּהֶמָּה, poet. מִמֶּהֶן } <i>from.</i> מִמֶּהֶנָּה } <i>them.</i> |

1 לְכֶן happens not to occur in the Old Testament.

2 See Note 2 on p. 261.

3 Not לְהֶן, which signifies *therefore*.

4 The use of כִּי for "—" here is simply for euphony.

INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.

OF THE SEMITIC LANGUAGES IN GENERAL.

1. The Hebrew tongue is only a single branch of a great family of languages in western Asia, which was native in Palestine, Phœnicia, Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia, Assyria and Arabia; that is, in the countries extending from the Mediterranean sea to beyond the Euphrates and the Tigris, and from the mountains of Armenia to the southern coast of Arabia. But in very early antiquity, this family of languages had spread from Arabia over Abyssinia, and, through Phœnician colonies, over several of the islands and coasts of the Mediterranean sea, and particularly over the whole Carthaginian coast. There is no ancient collective name for the nations and languages of this family. We have, however, retained the now generally received names *Shemites*, *Semitic languages*, borrowed from the fact that nearly all the nations, who spoke these languages, were descended from Shem (see Gen. 10, 21—29)¹.

2. From this Semitic family have proceeded four principal branches. I. The South Semitic or *Arabic*, both the classic and modern (vulgar). To this belongs the Ethiopic

¹ From Shem proceeded (Gen. ch. 10) the Aramæan and Arab tribes, as well as the Hebrews; but not the Canaanites (Phœnicians), who are referred to Ham (vs. 6, 15—18); though their language belongs decidedly to those called Semitic. Among the Shemites are reckoned also (compare Genesis 10: 22) Assyrians, whose language, after long uncertainty, has now been proved Semitic.

(in Abyssinia), as an offshoot of the older South-Arabic (Himyaritic).¹ II. The Middle Semitic, or *Canaanitic*. The *Hebrew*, with which the *Canaanitic* and *Phœnician* (Punic) nearly coincide, holds a position, both in its character and geographically, about midway between the Arabic and the Aramæan. III. The North Semitic or *Aramæan*. This is subdivided into 1) the Eastern Aramæan or *Syriac* (the literary language of the Christian Syrians) of which the religious books of the *Mandæans*² (Nasoræans, Sabians, the so-called disciples of John) are in a degraded dialect. A Jewish modification of the Syriac is exhibited in the language of the Babylonian Talmud. 2) The Western or Palestinian Aramæan (inaccurately called Chaldee). This dialect is represented, in the Old Testament, by two words in Genesis 31, 47, by the verse Jer. 10, 11, and by the passages: Dan. 2, 4—7, 28; Ezra 4, 8—6, 18, and 7, 12—26. But principally in Jewish literature such as the Targums, the Palestine Gemara, etc. To the same branch belongs the *Samaritan* with its admixture of Hebrew forms, and also the idiom of the *Nabatæan*³ inscriptions, in the east of Palestine and the region of Sinai. IV. As a distinct and fourth chief-branch, the East Semitic, we may regard the *Assyrian-Babylonian* Cuneiform (3^d class of so-called Achæmenide) Inscriptions.⁴

¹ On the Himyaritic Inscriptions, see Rödiger's Excursus to Wellsted's Reisen in Arabien (Halle, 1842) Bd. II, Ewald in Zeitschr. f. Kunde d. Morgenl. Bd. V, and in Höfer's Zeitsch., Bd. I, M. A. Levy and Osiander in Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Bd. X, XIX, XX, XXIV, Prætorius, ibid. Bd. XXVI.

² See Nöldeke über d. Mundart d. Mandäer, Göttingen, 1863. 4to. He traces the name, *Sabians*, to the root ص.د.ج to dip; comp. Am. Bibliotheca Sacra, 1851, p. 563.

³ Yet the names found in these inscriptions are rather Arabic: see Tuch in Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Bd. III, S. 129 ff., M. A. Levy ibid., Bd. XIV, S. 363 ff., Blau ibid., Bd. XVI, S. 331 ff., E. Meier ibid. Bd. XVII, S. 575 ff., de Vogüé in Revue archéologique, nouv. série, IX, 1864, p. 284—288, and his Syrie centrale, Paris, 1868, p. 89 ff.

⁴ The deciphering of the Assyrian cuneiform writing has been chiefly advanced by Ed. Hincks, Jul. Oppert and Eberh. Schrader after the example of Rawlinson's first attempts; see Oppert's Eléments de la gramm. assyrienne, 2^e édition, Paris, 1868; Olshausen's Prüfung des Charakters der in den assyrischen Keilschriften enthaltenen semitischen Sprache, in den Abhandl. d. Berl. Akademie, 1864; Joach.

If the above division into four branches were reduced to two principal groups, No. I as the South Semitic would stand in contradistinction to the other three branches as the North Semitic.

All these languages are related to each other in much the same manner as those of the Germanic family (Gothic, Old-Norse, Danish, Swedish; high and low German, in the earlier and later dialects): or as those of the Slavic tongues (Lithuanian, Lettish; Old-Slavic, Servian, Russian; Polish, Bohemian). They are now either wholly extinct, as is the case with the Phœnician and the Assyrian, or they exist only in a debased and dwindling form, as the modern Syriac among the Jews and the Syrian Christians in Mesopotamia and Kurdistan¹, the Ethiopic (called *Gheez*) in the modern Abyssinian dialects (Tigré, Amharic), and as the Hebrew, among a part of the modern Jews, though the latter in their writings often aim at the reproduction of the language of the Old Testament. The Arabic alone, in a form but slightly altered, has not only retained to this day its original seat, Arabia proper, but also penetrated in all directions into the domains of other tongues.

The Semitic class of languages is bordered, on the east and north, by another of still wider extent, which has spread itself from India into the west of Europe, and which is called the *Indo-Germanic* (also called *Arian*), as it comprehends, under the most varied forms, the Indian (Sanskrit), ancient and modern Persian, Greek, Latin, Slavic, Gothic with the other Germanic languages and the Keltic. With the Old-Egyptian language, the offspring of which is the Coptic, the Semitic has had, from earliest antiquity, much in common; but also much of fundamental difference.² The Chinese, the Japanese, the Tartar and other languages, exhibit a radically different character from the Semitic.

3. The *grammatical structure* of the Semitic stock, as compared with that of other languages, particularly the Indo-Germanic, exhibits many peculiarities, which collectively constitute its distinctive character, although many of them are found singly in other languages. Thus we find: *a*) among

Ménant, Exposé des Elements de la Gramm. Assyr., Paris, 1868; *Schrader's* valuable articles on the Assyrian Inscriptions and Language, in the Zeitschrift d. D. Morgenl. Gesellschaft, Bd. XXIII (1869), pp. 337—74, also Bd. XXVI (1872), pp. 1—392.

¹ See *Rödiger* in the Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, Bd. II., S. 77 ff., *Stoddard's* Gramm. of the Modern Syriac Language, London, 1854, *Nöldeke's* Gramm. der neusyrischen Sprache, Leipzig, 1868.

² For comparisons of the Egyptian and Semitic, see *Gesenius* in d. Allg. Lit. Zeitung, 1839, No. 77 ff., 1841, No. 40, and in his Thes. Ling. Hebrææ; *Schwarz* in his Altes Aegypten and in *Bunsen's* Aegypten, I., S. 520 ff.; *Ewald* in Abhandl. d. Göttinger Ges. d. Wissen., Bd. IX, 1860, S. 157 ff.; *Birch* in the new ed. of *Bunsen's* Egypt., Vol. II; *Brugsch's* Hieroglyph. Demot. Wörterbuch, and others.

the consonants which, in general, form the pith and substance of these languages, many gutturals of different gradations; the vowels proceeding all from the three primary sounds (*a, i, u*), and serving to mark more subordinate distinctions: *b*) word-stems, generally consisting of three consonants: *c*) in the Verb, only two tense-forms, each having a peculiarly marked out usage; and a pervading regularity in the formation of verbals: *d*) in the Noun, only two genders (masc. and fem.), and a peculiar indication of case: *e*) in the Pronoun, the oblique cases indicated by appended forms (*suffixa*): *f*) scarcely any compounds, either in the Noun (except many proper names) or in the Verb: *g*) in the Syntax, a great simplicity in the expression of syntactical relations (small number of particles, prevalence of simple succession of clauses without periodic structure) to which, however, the classic Arabic furnishes a not unimportant exception.

4. In respect to the *Lexicon* also, the Semitic store of words differs essentially from the Indo-Germanic; though there is here apparently more agreement than in grammatical structure. Very many stems and roots¹ are coincident in sound with those of the Indo-Germanic class. But aside from expressions directly borrowed (see next p.), the actual similarity restricts itself, partly to words imitating² natural sounds (*onomatopoeica*), partly to those in which the sameness or similarity of meaning follows readily from the nature of the kindred sounds, according to the universal type of human speech. Neither of these establishes any *historical* (gentilic) relationship; to the direct proof of which, the agreement also in grammatical structure is essential.³

As examples of *onomatopoeic* stems, imitating² the same natural

¹ See the distinction between *stems* and *roots* in § 30, Rem. 1 and 2.—*Tr.*

² Hence words of this sort are aptly called *mimetic* (or *onomatopoeic*) and the curious student can find them generally indicated and compared in the Hebrew Lexicon, e. g. under אָב, אָם, בָּבָה.—*Tr.*

³ The earlier empirical comparisons between the Semitic and the Indo-Germanic tongues were of no scientific value. The later attempts of *Rud. von Raumer*, *Ascoli* and others to solve the question, are partly not yet carried out and partly self-contradictory; so that there is altogether need of still farther thorough investigations. *Ewald* gives a survey of the whole subject in the

sound, we may class together the following: קֶלֶךְ, קֶחֶל, λέιχω, *lingo*, Sans. *lih*, F. *lécher*, Germ. *lecken*, Eng. *to lick*, and Erse *lighim* = Welsh *lhyvi*¹; לֵבַל, (kindr. לֵבַל לֵבַל), κέλλω, κίλλω, κυλίω, *volvo*, Welsh *olwyn* = E. *wheel*, Germ. *quellen*, *wallen*, and Eng. *to well*; קָרַר, קָרַר, χαράττω, Pers. *kharīdan*, Ital. *grattare*, Fr. *gratter*, Germ. *kratzen*, Eng. *to grate*, *to scratch*, and Welsh *carthu*, *cravi*; פָּרַק *frango*, Germ. *brechen*, Eng. *to break*, Armoric *frika* = Welsh *brivo*, &c. An example of another kind is *am*, *ham* (*sam*), *gam*, *kam*, in the signification *with*, *together*; e. g. in Heb. אִמָּם (hence אִמָּם people, prop. assemblage), יָמָם *together-with*, יָמָם (hence יָמָם also), Arab. جَمَعَ *to collect*; Pers. *ham*, *hama* (at once), Sans. *amā* (*with*); Gr. ἄμα (ἄμφω), ὁμός, ὁμοῦ (ὁμιλος, ὁμαδος), and harder in sound, κοινός, Lat. *cum*, *cumulus*, Welsh *cym* = Lat. *com*, and with the corresponding sibilant, Sans. *sam*. σύν, ξύν, ξυνός = κοινός, Goth. *sama*, Germ. *sammt*, *sammeln*: though doubts may still be felt in regard to several of the instances quoted.

Essentially different from such internal relationship, are the adoption and naturalisation of single words from one language into another (borrowed words). Thus,

a) When Indian, Egyptian, Persian objects are called in the Hebrew by their native names: e. g. יָאֵר (Egypt, *ior*, *iero*, *iaro*) river, Nile; אֶהֱי (Egypt. *ake*) Nile-grass; פַּרְדֵּס (old Pers. *pairidéz* = *παράδεισος*) park; דָּרְכֶמֶן *daric*, Persian gold-coin; חֲכִיִּים, from the Sanscr. *çikhi* Malabar *togái*, peacocks. Several of them are found also in Greek, as קִיָּה (Sans. *kapi*) ape, ἀῖπος, κῆπος; פָּרֶס (Sans. *karpāsa*) cotton, κάρπασος, *carbasus*.

b) When Semitic words, names of Asiatic products and articles of traffic, have passed over to the Greeks along with the things: e. g. בִּיץ בִּיץ, βύσσος, *byssus*; לְבָנָה לִיבָנוֹת (frankincense); קָנָה קָנָה, קָנָה, *canna*, *cane*; כִּמְוִן כִּמְוִן, *cuminum*, *cumin*; מִר מִר, מִר, *myrrha*, *myrrh*; קַצִּיעָה קַצִּיעָה, *cassia*; גִּמְלָה גִּמְלָה, *camelus*, *camel*; אֲרָחָבֹן, *arrhabon*, *arrha*, pledge. Such transitions would be facilitated, especially, by the commerce of the Phœnicians.

5. As the writing of a language is never so perfect as to express all its various shades of sound, so the *writing of the*

Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften, 1862, Bd. X, S. 1—80. This at least appears certain, viz. that these two families *do not stand in a sisterly or any close relationship to each other*.

¹ That the *Keltic* dialects (not unlike the Semitic in their relation to each other), namely Welsh, Cornish, Armoric (or Breton); Gaelic, Erse; and Manks, belong to the Indo-Germanic family has been abundantly proved by Dr. *Pritchard* in his *Eastern Origin of the Celtic Nations*, and by *Pictet* in his *Affinité des Langues Celtiques avec le Sanscrit*; see also the *Grammatica Celtica* of *Zeuss* and *Lhuyd's Archæologia Britannica*.—*Tr.*

Shemites has decidedly one very remarkable imperfection; viz. that only the consonants (which indeed constitute the pith and substance of the language) were marked down in the line as real letters; whilst, of the vowel-sounds, only the fuller ones, and even these not always, were represented by certain consonants (§ 7). Not till a later period were all the vowel-sounds indicated to the eye, by attaching to the consonants (§ 8) particular small signs (points, or strokes, below and above them); which however, for more practised readers, are wholly omitted. The letters are always written, moreover, from right to left¹.—Dissimilar as the different Semitic characters may appear, they yet all proceed, by various tendencies and modifications, from one and the same original alphabet, of which the truest type among all the existing varieties of alphabetic writing, is preserved in *old Phœnician*, with which the *Early Hebrew* was nearly identical (§ 5, 1), and from which came also the old Greek, and through it all the European alphabets.

See the Table at the beginning of this Grammar, showing the relation of some of the older Semitic Alphabets to each other, and specially the origin of the present Heb. characters from the older forms. For a more detailed view of the Phœnician alphabet, and of those which have proceeded from it, see *Gesenius*, *Monumenta Phœnicia* (Lipsiæ, 1837, 4) p. 15. ff. and Tab. 1—5, and his article *Palæographie*, in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop.*, Sect. III, Bd. 9. Of late years, the discovery of numerous monuments has considerably extended and rectified our knowledge of the Semitic alphabet; see *Schröder's Phönizische Sprache*, 1869, S. 75 ff.; *de Vogüë's* tables in Vol. XI of the *Revue Archéol.* (Paris 1865) and his *Mélanges d'archéologie orientale* (Paris 1868); *Lenormant*, *Essai sur la propagation de l'Alphabet Phénicien dans l'ancien Monde*. Tome I (2d ed. Paris 1875) and the appendix to *Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's Grundriss der hebr. Sprache* (Leipz. 1877).

¹ The Himyaritic writing runs usually from left to right, but at times also from right to left, and even both ways by turns. The Ethiopic is now written from left to right. But this is perhaps in consequence of Greek influence; but a few ancient inscriptions still exhibit the contrary direction. See *Rödiger* in the *Zeitschr. f. d. Kunde des Morgenll.*, Bd. I, S. 332 ff. and his *Excursus to Wellsted's Reisen in Arabien*, II, 376 ff. Also the Assyrian cuneiform writing runs from left to right, but this was borrowed from a people not Semitic.

6. In regard to the relative *age of the Semitic languages*, the oldest written works are found in the *Hebrew*, in the earlier texts of the Old Testament (§ 2); the Jewish *Aramæan* works begin about the time of Cyrus (in the book of Ezra); those of the *Arabic* branch not earlier than in the first centuries of the Christian era (Himyaritic inscriptions, Ethiopic translation of the Bible in the fourth century, North-Arabic literature after the sixth). But it is still another question, which of these languages longest and most truly held to the original Semitic type, and therefore has come to us, in an earlier phase of its developement. For the more or less rapid modification of language, in the mouth of a people or of tribes of the same people, is determined by causes quite distinct from the growth of a literature; and often, before the formation of a literature, has the organism of a language been already impaired, especially by early contact with other tongues. Thus, in the Semitic branch, the Aramæan dialects suffered the earliest and greatest decay, and next to them the Hebrew-Canaanitic and, in its own way, the Assyrian. The Arabic retained longest the natural fulness and primitive purity of its sounds and forms; remaining among the secluded tribes of the wilderness more undisturbed, in its fully stamped organism, until, in the Mohammedan revolution, it too became much impaired; and then, at so much later a period, it reached about the same stage as that in which we find the Hebrew, even as early as in the times of the Old Testament.¹

Hence the phenomenon, accounted by some so strange, that the ancient Hebrew accords more, in its grammatical structure, with the later than with the earlier Arabic; and that the latter, though first appearing as a written language at a later period, has yet, in comparison with the other Semitic tongues, preserved a structure in many respects more perfect, and greater freshness in its vowel-system; and so it holds among them a relation similar to that of the Sanskrit among the Indo-Germanic languages, or of the Gothic in the narrower circle of

¹ Among the Bedawin of the Arabian desert, the language has still preserved many antique forms. See *Burckhardt's Travels in Arabia*, Append. VII; his *Notes on the Bedouins and Wahabys*, p. 211; *Wallin* in the *Zeitschrift der Deutsch. Morgenl. Gesellschaft*, Bd. V (1851), S. 1 ff., VI, S. 190 ff., 369 ff., XII, S. 673; *Wetzstein* in the same *Zeitschrift*, Bd. XXII, S. 69 ff., 162 ff.

the Germanic. How a language can preserve its fuller structure, amidst decaying sister tongues, is seen (e. g.) in the Lithuanian compared with the Slavic languages, properly so called. So the Doric held tenaciously to earlier sounds and forms; so the Friesic and Icelandic, among the Germanic and Norse languages. But even the most constant and enduring structure of language often suffers, in single forms and plastic tendencies; while on the contrary, in the midst of universal decline, the original and ancient is here and there still remaining. Such is the case also with the Semitic tongues. The Arabic, too, has its chasms, and its later growth; but in general, the preeminence is due to it, especially in its vowel-system.

To establish more fully these principles, and to carry them out farther, belong to a Comparative Grammar of the Semitic languages. But it follows from what has been said: 1) That the Hebrew language, as it appears in the ancient sacred literature of the Jews, has already suffered more considerable loss, in respect to its organic nature, than the Arabic which comes later within our historical horizon. 2) That notwithstanding this, we cannot straightway award to the latter the priority in all points. 3) That it is a mistaken view, when many regard the Aramæan, on account of its simplicity, as the original form of Semitic speech; for its simplicity was caused by the decay of its organic nature and the crumpling of its forms.

On the character, literature, grammatical and lexical treatment of the Semitic languages, see *Gesenius's* Preface to his *Hebräisches Handwörterbuch*, ed. 4; *de Wette-Schrader*, *Lehrbuch der hist.-krit. Einleitung in die kanon. u. apokryph. Bücher des A. T.* (8th ed. Berlin, 1869) p. 71; *F. Bleek*, *Einleitung in das A. T.* (3d ed. *Kamphausen* Berlin, 1870) p. 37; *L. Diestel*, *Gesch. des A. T. in der christl. Kirche* (Jena, 1869).—Also American *Biblical Repository*, vol. III.

§ 2.

HISTORICAL SURVEY OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

See *Gesenius*, *Geschichte der hebräischen Sprache und Schrift*, Leipzig, 1815, §§ 5—18. *E. Renan*, *Histoire gén. des Langues Sémitiques*, Vol. I. 4th ed. Paris, 1864. *Th. Nöldeke*, art. "Sprache, hebräische" in *Schenkel's Bibelllex.* Bd. V. Leipzig, 1875. *Bertheau* "Hebräische Sprache" in *Herzog's Realencyklopädie*.

1. The *Hebrew Language*, as the name is usually employed, denotes the language of the Sacred Writings of the Israelites, which constitute the canonical books of the Old Testament. It is called *ancient Hebrew* in contradistinction to the modern Hebrew in Jewish works, written since the Biblical period.

The name, Hebrew language (לְשׁוֹן עִבְרִית, γλῶσσα τῶν Ἑβραίων, ἑβραϊστί), does not occur in the Old Testament; instead of it we find *the language of Canaan* in Is. 19, 18 (from the country where it was spoken) and יְהוּדִית *Jewish* in 2 K. 18, 26 (comp. Is. 36, 11, 13), Neh. 13, 24. In the latter passage it follows the later usage, which arose after the return from the captivity, and in which the name *Jew*, *Jewish*, was gradually extended to the whole nation (as in Haggai, Nehemiah and Esther).

The names *Hebrews* (עִבְרִיִּים, Ἑβραῖοι, *Hebræi*) and *Israelites* (יִשְׂרָאֵלִי), are thus distinguished; the latter had more the import of a national name of honour, which the people used to apply to themselves, with a patriotic reference to their descent from illustrious ancestors; while the former was probably the older and less significant national name, by which they were known among foreigners, for which reason it is used in the Old Testament, specially when they are to be distinguished from other nations (Gen. 40, 15; 43, 32; Ex. 2, 7; 3, 18; Jon. 1, 9), and where persons who are not Israelites are introduced as speaking (Gen. 39, 14, 17; 41, 12: compare *Gesenius's* Hebr. Lexicon, under עִבְרִי). On the other hand, among the Greeks and Romans, e. g. in Pausanias, Tacitus, and even Josephus, it is the only customary name. As an appellative it might mean, *those beyond, people of the country on the other side* (with reference to the land beyond the Euphrates), from עֵבֶר *land on the other side*, and the formative syllable יָ (§ 86, 2, 5). It might then be appropriated to the colony, which under Abraham migrated from regions east of the Euphrates into the land of Canaan (Gen. 14, 13); though the Hebrew genealogists explain it, as a patronymic, by *sons (posterity) of Eber* (Gen. 10, 21, Num. 24, 24).

In the time of the New Testament, the term *Hebrew* (ἑβραϊστί, John 5, 2, 19, 13, 17, 20; ἑβραῖς διάλεκτος Acts 21, 40, 22, 2, 26, 14) was applied also to the language (Aramæan) then vernacular in Palestine, in distinction from the Greek; and Josephus (who died about A. D. 95) uses it in this sense, as well as for the ancient Hebrew.

The name *lingua sancta* is first given to the Hebrew in the Jewish Aramaic versions of the Old Testament, as the language of the sacred books, in distinction from the *lingua profana*, or the Aramaic vernacular.

2. Out of the Old Testament there are only very few monuments of ancient Hebrew writing, namely—1) an Inscription of 34 lines, which was found (unhappily much injured) in the former territory of the tribe of Reuben, about 4 leagues to the east of the Dead Sea, among the ruins of the city of Dibō'n (now Dibâ'n), anciently inhabited by the Gadites but afterwards belonging to Moab, and in which the Moabite king

Mêshâ' (at the beginning of the 9th century B.C.) tells about his battles with Israel (comp. 2 K. 3, 4—27), and his various enterprises and achievements;¹—2) twenty Stones or Gems (written on for seals), but mostly presenting only names;²—3) Coins of the Maccabean prince J. Hyrcan (135 B. C.) and of his successors.³

3. In the whole series of the ancient Hebrew writings, as they lie before us in the O. Testament, as also in the extra-Biblical monuments (see No. 2 above), the language appears to stand almost on the same stage of developement, as to its general character, and irrespective of lesser changes and differences of style (see Nos. 6 and 7 below). In this form it may have been early fixed as a literary language; and the fact that the Old Testament books had been handed down as sacred writings, must have been highly favourable to its remarkably persistent uniformity.

To this Old Hebrew language the Canaanitic⁴ or Phœnician came

¹ This unique Memorial Stone (often called the Moabite Stone) was first seen on the spot by the German Missionary *H. A. Klein*, but was afterwards so broken into fragments by the Arabs, living thereabout, that only an incomplete copy of the inscription could be made out: see *Ch. Clermont-Ganneau* (Chancellor of the French Consulate in Jerusalem), *La Stèle de Mesa roi de Moab* (Paris, 1870), and his *La Stèle de Dhiban* (in the *Revue Archéol.* for March, 1870, p. 184 ff., with an improved copy); *Schlottmann's Sieges-Säule Mesa's* (Halle, 1870) and his Revision in the *Zeitschrift der D. Morgenländischen Gesell.*, Bd. XXIV (1870), S. 253 ff., 438 ff., 645 ff., Bd. XXV, 463 ff., *Nöldeke's Inschrift des Königs Mesa* (Kiel, 1870); and other treatises by *Derenbourg*, *Harkavy*, *Geiger*, *Hitzig*, *W. Wright* (in the *North British Review* for Oct. 1870), *Deutsch*, *Renan*, *Neubauer*, *Frankel*, *Kaempff*, and *Ginsburg*; see also Reports of the Palestine Exploration-Fund, London. This society has published photographs of the stone. The two largest fragments of it are deposited in the Museum of the Louvre at Paris.

² See *Rüdiger* in *Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell.*, Bd. III (1849), pp. 243 and 347; *De Vogüé*, *Mélanges d'Archéol. Orientale* (Paris, 1868, p. 131—140); *M. A. Levy's Siegel und Gemmen*, Breslau (1869), pp. 33 ff.

³ See *Franz Perez Bayer*, *De Numis Heb.-Samaritanis* (1781, 4to) and his *Vindiciæ*, 1790, 4to; *De Saulcy*, *Recherches sur la Numismatique Judaïque* (Paris, 1854, 4to); *M. A. Levy's Geschichte der Jüd. Münzen* (Breslau, 1862); *Madden's History of Jewish Coinage*, Lond. 1864; also *Schürer's Lehrb. der neuest. Zeitgesch.* (Leipz. 1874).

⁴ פְּנִינִי, פְּנִינִי is the native name alike both for the Canaanitic tribes in Palestine, and for those who dwelt at the foot of Lebanon and on the Syrian

the nearest of all the Semitic tongues, as appears partly from the many Canaanitic names of persons and places with Hebrew form and meaning (e. g. מְלִי־צֶדֶק, קְרֹת סָפֵר, etc.), that occur in the Old Testament, and partly from the extant remains of the Phœnician and Punic language. The latter we find in their own writing (see § 1, 5) in inscriptions (over 350 in all), and on coins (copied by *Gesenius* in his *Monumenta Phœnicia*, *Judas, Bourgade, Davis, De Vogüé, P. Schröder, von Maltzan*, and others). Among the inscriptions are only a few public documents (e. g. two sacrificial lists), by far the most being grave-stones or votive-tablets; also the inscription on the sarcophagus of Eshmûnazar, king of Sidon, (found 1855, now in the Louvre; first accurately copied in facsimile by the Duke *de Luynes* in his *Mémoire sur le sarcophage et l'inscription funéraire d'Esmunazar, roi de Sidon*, Paris 1856, and then fully elucidated by *Schlottmann*, Halle, 1868 and by *Kempf*, Prague, 1874). We find also isolated words here and there in Greek and Latin authors and the Punic pieces of text in *Plautus* (*Pœnulus* 5, 1-3). From those monuments we see the native orthography, and from these specimens the pronunciation and vowel-system, both together giving a distinct idea of this language and of its relation to the Hebrew.

Phœnician (Punic) words, found in inscriptions, are e. g. אֵל god, אַרם man, בֶּן son, בַּת daughter, מֶלֶךְ king, עַבְדִּי servant, כֹּהֵן priest, זֶבַח sacrifice, בַּעַל lord, שֶׁמֶשׁ sun, אֶרֶץ land, יָם sea, אֶבֶן stone, כֶּסֶף silver, ברזל iron, עַת time, קֶבֶר grave, מִצְבֵּת pillar, מָקָם place, מִשְׁכָּב bed, כָּל all, אֶחָד one, שְׁלֹשׁ three, חֲמִשׁ five, שֵׁשׁ six, שֶׁבַע seven, עֶשֶׂר ten, שָׁמַע to hear, פָּתַח to open, נָדַר to vow, בָּרַךְ to bless, בָּקַשׁ to seek, &c. Proper names: צִידֹן Sidon, צֵר Tyre, חַנָּא Hanno, הַנְּבִיעַל Hannibal, &c. Comp. *M. A. Levy's* Phœn. Wörterbuch, Breslau, 1864.

The variations in the Phœnician orthography and forms are, e. g. the almost constant omission of the vowel-letters (§ 7, 2), as בַּת for בֵּית *house*, קַל for קוֹל *voice*, צִדֹן for צִידוֹן *priests*, אֱלֹהִים for פְּהִיָּים *gods*; the feminine ending in ת (*ath*) as well as in א (*ô*), even in the absolute state (§ 80, 2), besides many others. Those in pronunciation are still more remarkable, especially in the Punic, which commonly pronounced *i* as *û*, e. g. שֹׁפֵט *sûfêṭ* (judge), שְׁלֹשׁ *salû's* (three), רִשׁ *rûs*=רֹאשׁ (head); for *i* and *e*, it often has the obscure, dull sound *y*, e. g. הַנְּנִי *gymynnu* (ecce eum), אֶת (*ath*) *yth*; and takes the *e* as *o*, e. g. מֹעָר *Mocar* (comp. מִעָרָה, LXX Μωχαί). For the collection of these grammatical peculiarities, see *Gesenius*, *Monum. Phœn.* p. 430 sqq.; also *Movers* in *Art. Phönizien* in *Ersch and Gruber's Encyclop. Sect. III. Bd. 24*, pp. 434 ff., *Paul Schröder* in his *Phönizische Sprache*, Halle, 1869, and *B. Stade*, *Erneute Prüfung des zwischen dem Phönic. und Hebr. bestehenden Verwandtschaftsgrades* (in the "*Morgenländ. Forschungen*" Leipzig, 1875).

coast, whom we call Phœnicians, while they called themselves כְּנַעַן on their own coins. Also the people of Carthage called themselves so.

4. As the Heb. writing on stones and coins, mentioned in No. 2 above, consists only of consonants, so also the writers of the Old Testament books have used merely the consonants (§ 1, 5); and even now the written Rolls, or copies of the Law, used in the Synagogues, must not, according to ancient custom, contain any thing more. The present pronunciation of this consonant-text, its vocalisation, accentuation and chant-like way of being read, rest only on tradition, as kept up by custom and in the Jewish schools, and finally as Jewish scholars settled it by means of the system of vowel-points (§§ 7—17), about the 7th century after Christ.

Yet an earlier stage of developement of the Hebrew-Canaanitic language, or a form of it which must have existed before the time of the written documents in our possession, and have stood nearer to the common and not yet divided speech of the Semitic race, can even now be recognised and established, thus:—1) from many archaic forms, which the writings handed down still preserve, specially in the names of persons and places, inherited from more ancient times, and in particular archaisms especially used in poetic diction;—2) by retrospective inference, in general, from the forms of the words so handed down, in so far as they obviously, in the law and analogy of the sound changes, point back to such an older form of the language;—3) by comparison of the kindred tongues, especially the Arabic, in which this older condition of the language has been maintained to a considerable degree, even down to later times (§ 1, 6). The certainty of such deductions rest on the frequent coincidence of the results won in these different ways, whence we then get an approximate idea of the language, as it may have appeared at that preliminary stage of its developement. But at the same time we may thereby see more clearly, how the Old Test. Hebrew got its system of sounds and grammatical forms.

Although the connected historical tracing and explaining of the process of the language as here indicated, properly belongs to the comparative philology of the Semitic tongues, still it is very needful, for the scientific handling of the Hebrew, to go back to those primitive forms, as we may call them, and to compare the corresponding forms in Arabic; and even elementary grammar cannot quite do without

this laying of a scientific foundation, although it has properly to deal with the language as it exists in the Old Testament, and only here and there uses those obsolete forms in elucidation of the actual ones.

5. But even in the language of the Old Testament, which is on the whole so very uniform, we can distinguish a certain progress in style, marking *two periods*: the first, down to the end of the Babylonish exile, which may be called its *golden age*; and the second, or *silver age*, after the exile.

To the first belongs (excepting isolated traces of a later revision), the greater part of the books of the Old Testament: viz. of the prosaic and historical, the Pentateuch, Joshua, Judges, Ruth, Samuel, Kings (written near the close of the exile); of the poetical, the Psalms (a number of later ones excepted), Proverbs, Canticles, Job, and the earlier prophets, in chronological order, as follows: Joel, Amos, Hosea, Isaiah, Micah, Zephaniah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Obadiah(?), Jeremiah, Ezekiel, the last two being still active in the time of the exile, to the close of which also the contents of some portions, especially chapters 40 to 66 of the book of Isaiah point.

The commencement of this period, and of the literature of the Hebrews in general, must certainly be fixed as early as the time of Moses; even though we should regard the Pentateuch, in its present setting and form, as the work of a later recension. It suffices for the history of the language and for our object to remark, that the Pentateuch has certainly peculiarities of language, which may be regarded as archaisms. The pronoun **היא** *he* (but v. p. 100, N.²), and the noun **נִצֵּר** *lad*, are there used also, as of common gender, for *she* and for *maiden* (as *ὁ παῖς* and *ἡ παῖς*); and certain harder forms of words, e. g. **צָעַק** *to cry*, **צָחַק** *to laugh*, which are here the usual ones, are in other books exchanged for the softer, as **זָעַק**, **צָחַק**.

On the other hand, there are found in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as also in the later Psalms, decided approximations to the Aramæan colouring of the second or silver age (see No. 7 on page 15).

6. Even in the writings of this first period of about 1000 years, we find, as may be expected, no inconsiderable differences in the diction and style, which have their ground partly in the difference of time and place of their composition, and partly in the individuality of the authors. Isaiah, for example, writes quite otherwise than the later Jeremiah, and also than Micah, his own contemporary. And among the

historical books of this period, not only do those differ which are separated in date, as the books of Judges and Kings, but also the texts, which in many of them have been taken from older written sources, have a colouring of speech obviously different from the words flowing from later sources, or belonging to the reviser himself. Yet the structure of the language and, with individual exceptions, even the store of words and the usage of speech, specially in the prose books, are on the whole the same.

But the *poetic diction* is everywhere distinguished from prose, not only by a *rhythm* that moves in more strictly measured *parallel members*, but also by *words* and *significations of words*, *inflections* and *syntactical constructions*, peculiar to itself; although this distinction does not go so far, as in the Greek, for example. But most of these poetic idioms are in the kindred languages, particularly the Aramæan, just the common forms of speech, and may be regarded in part as archaisms, which poetry retained, in part as acquisitions with which poets, familiar with Aramæan, enriched their native Hebrew.¹ The prophets, moreover, at least the earlier ones, in language and rhythm are to be ranked almost as poets, except that with these poetical speakers, the sentences often run on to greater length, and the *parallelism* is less measured and regular, than is the case with the poets, properly so called. The language of the later prophets, on the contrary, keeps nearer to prose.

On the *rhythm* of Hebrew poetry, see the Introductions to the Old Testament and to the Commentaries on the Psalms by *De Wette*, *Hupfeld*, *Delitzsch* and others, specially *Ewald* in his *Dichter des alten Bundes*, Th. I. (2d ed., Göttingen, 1866); in brief form, *Gesenius*, *Hebr. Lesebuch*, *Vorerinnerungen zur 2ten Abtheilung*; and *E. Meier*, *die Form der Hebr. Poesie* (Tübingen, 1853), and others.

Of *poetic words*, occurring along with those commonly used in prose, the following are examples: אָנֹשׁ *man*=אָדָם; אֶרֶץ *path*=הֶרֶץ; אָחָה *to come*=בֹּא; מֵלָה *word*=דְּבַר; חָזָה *to see*=רָאָה.

¹ That in Isaiah's time (2d half of the 8th century before Christ) the more educated Hebrews, at least the officers of state (but not the people in Jerusalem) understood Aramæan is clear from 2 Kings 18, 26 (comp. Is. 36, 11).

To the *poetic significations* of words belongs the use of certain *epithets* for substantives: e. g. אֶבֶר *strong* (one), for God; אֶבֶר *strong* (one), for bullock, horse; לְבָנָה *alba*, for *luna*; יְחִידָה *unica* or *solitaria*, for *anima, vita*.

Of *poetic forms*, we may note (e. g.) the longer form of local prepositions (§ 103, 3), as עַל־עֵלֶיךָ, אֶל־אֶלֶיךָ, עַד־עַדֶּיךָ; the endings יִ, וִ, in the noun (§ 90); the suffixes מוֹ, מוֹ, מוֹ, for ׀, ׀, ׀ (§ 58); the plural-ending יָן for יָם (§ 87, 1, a).

To the *poetic peculiarities in syntax* belong (e. g.) the far more sparing use of the article, of the relative pronoun, and of the accusative-particle אֵת; the construct state before a preposition (§ 116); the shortened form of the imperfect, in the signification of the usual form (§ 128, 2. Rem.); and in general, a forcible brevity of expression.

7. The *second* or *silver* age, from the return from the exile to the time of the Maccabees (about 160 B. C.), is marked chiefly by an approximation in the language to the kindred Western Aramæan; to which the Jews might the more easily accustom themselves already during their abode in Babylonia, since it stands so near to the Hebrew; and which after their return from the exile, came more and more into use also in Palestine, so that it had an ever increasing influence on the Hebrew, as a book language, and now also even on its prose; and thus it gradually banished the Hebrew from the mouth of the people, though the knowledge and written use of the latter still continued among learned Jews.

We may fitly conceive of the relation of the two languages, at this later period, as similar to that of the High and Low German in Lower Saxony, or that of the High German and the popular dialects in the south of Germany and in Switzerland; so far as here also, even among the more educated, an influence is often exerted by the popular dialect on the oral and written expression of the High German. It is a false view, taken from an erroneous interpretation of Neh. 8, 8, that the Jews had immediately after the exile wholly forgotten the ancient tongue, and had to learn it from priests and experts.

The Old Testament writings belonging to this second period, and all exhibiting the Chaldee colouring, though in various shades, are the following books:—Ezra, Nehemiah, Chronicles, Esther; the prophetic books of Jonah, Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi, Daniel; of the poetical books, Ecclesiastes, and the later Psalms. In their character also as literary compositions, they stand far below the writings of the earlier

days; yet there are not wanting productions of this time, which, in purity of language and æsthetic value, are but little inferior to those of the golden age. Such (e. g.) are many of the later Psalms (120 and foll., 137, 139).

Examples of *later words* (Aramaisms), for which the earlier writers employ others, are זמן = עת *time*, לקח = קבל *to take*, סוף = קץ *end*, מלך = שלט *to rule*, חזק = חזק *to be strong*.—Of *later significations*, אמר (to say) *to command*, ענה (to answer) *to begin speaking*.—*Grammatical peculiarities* are:—the frequency of the *scriptio plena* י and ך, e. g. הויר (elsewhere הור), even קורש for קרש, רוב for רב; the interchange of ה and ח final; the more frequent use of substantives in ין, ים, יח, etc.

But the peculiarities of these later writers are not all Aramaisms. Some are not found in the Aramaic, and must have belonged in earlier times to the vernacular Hebrew, especially, as it seems, in northern Palestine, where Judges and Canticles, among other books, may have been written, and hence the occurrence, in these earlier writings, of the form which was common in the Phœnician, and which recurs in some later books, namely ו instead of אשׁר (§ 36).

Rem. 1. Of diversities of dialect, in the old Hebrew language, only one explicit example is found in the Old Testament; namely, in Judges 12, 6, where the Ephraimites are said to have pronounced ו as ש or ס. In Neh. 13, 23, 24, perhaps a distinctively Philistine dialect is spoken of. To these, however, are to be counted also sundry peculiarities in the North-Palestine books including Hosea (see preceding paragraph), and likewise some exceptional forms in the Moabite Inscription of Mēsha' (see § 2, 2).

2. The remains of Hebrew literature, now extant, cannot be expected to contain the entire stores of the ancient language; and we must regard its compass and affluence as far greater, than what we now find in the canonical literature of the Old Testament, which is really but a small fragment of the entire national literature of the ancient Hebrews.

§ 3.

GRAMMATICAL TREATMENT OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE.

(cf. Gesenius, Geschichte der hebr. Sprache, §§ 19—39.)

1. At the time of the gradual extinction of the old Hebrew language, and when the collection of the Old Testament writings was closed, the Jews began to apply themselves to the *interpretation* and *criticism* of this their sacred codex, and to

translate it into the popular languages then prevalent among them. The oldest *translation* is the *Greek* of the so-called *seventy interpreters* or *Septuagint* (lxx), commenced at Alexandria in Egypt with the *translation* of the Pentateuch, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, and completed in later years by various authors. It was in part made from knowledge of the original Hebrew as a living tongue, for the use of Greek-speaking Jews, particularly those at Alexandria. Somewhat later, the *Chaldee* translations or Targû'ms (תרגומין i.e. *translations*) were composed in Palestine and Babylonia. The *explanations*, derived in part from professed tradition, almost exclusively refer to civil and ritual law and dogmatic theology, and are no more scientific in character than the remarks on various readings. They are contained in the *Tālmû'd*; the first portion of which (the *Mishná'*) was composed about the beginning of the third, and the second (the *Gēmārā'*) was in part (namely the *Jerusalem Gem.*) written about the middle of the fourth, and in part (namely the *Babylon Gem.*) in the middle of the sixth century after Christ. The Mishna is the beginning of the new Hebrew literature; in the Gemara, on the contrary, the Aramaic language is predominant.

2. In the interval between the composition of the Talmûd and the earliest grammarians, fall mainly the *vocalisation* and *accentuation* of the till then unpointed text of the Old Testament, after the pronunciation handed down in the synagogues and schools (§ 7, 3); also the collection of critical remarks, under the name of *Massôrā'* (מסורה *tradition*), from which the manuscript copies of the present Textus Receptus of the Old Testament, hence called the *Massoretic Text*, have ever since been uniformly derived.

One of the oldest and most important portions of the Massôrā' are the various readings of the *Q^{eri}* (§ 17). The punctuation of the text, moreover, is not to be confounded with the compilation of the Massôrā'. The punctuation was settled at an earlier date, and is the fruit of a much more thorough labour than the Massôrā', which was finished at a considerably later date.

3. It was only about the commencement of the 10th century, that the first beginnings were made by the Jews in

compiling their grammar, after the example of the Arabs. The earliest attempts, by Rabbi *Saadia* († 942) and others, are mostly lost, only *Saadia's* Arabic explanation of O. T. *hapax legomena* having been preserved; but those of R. *Yehuda Chayyûg* (called also *Abû-Zakaria Yachya*) about the year 1000, and of R. *Yona* (*Abû-l-Walid Marwân ibn Ganâch*) about 1030, composed in the Arabic language, are still extant. Assisted by these pioneer labours, *Abraham ben Ezra* (died 1167) and R. *D. Kimchi* († ab. 1232), especially won for themselves a classic reputation as grammarians.

From these first grammarians proceed many methods of arrangement and technical terms, which are still in part retained; e. g. the designation of the derivative and the weak verbs after the paradigm פִּעַל (§ 39, 4), the *voces memoriales*, as בִּנְיָן, and the like.¹

The father of Hebrew philology among Christians was *John Reuchlin* († 1522), to whom Greek literature also owes so much. But he, as also the grammarians of the next succeeding period down to *John Buxtorf* († 1629), still adhered almost exclusively to Jewish tradition. It was only after the middle of the 17th century, that the field of view gradually widened; and that the study of the sister tongues, chiefly through the labours of *Albert Schultens* († 1750) and *N. W. Schröder* († 1798), became of fruitful service to Hebrew grammar.

The value of the subsequent labours,² that have any en-

¹ On the oldest Hebrew lexicographers and grammarians, see *Gesenius's* Preface, &c (as above, p. 8); *H. Ewald* and *L. Dukes*, Beiträge zur Geschichte der ältesten Auslegung und Sprachherklärung des A. T.; *Hupfeld*, de rei grammaticæ apud Judæos initiis antiquissimisque scriptoribus; and *Munk*, notice sur Abou'l-Walid et sur quelques autres grammairiens hébreux du X^e et du XI^e siècle in Journal asiatique, 1850; *Neubauer*, Notice sur la Lexicographie hébreu, in Journal asiatique, 1861—63; *Böttcher*, Ausführl. Lehrb. der hebr. Sprache, Introd. to Vol. I (ed. *Mühlau*, Leipsic 1866).

² The complete literature of this subject, down to 1850, is found in *M. Steinschneider's* Bibliograph. Handbuch für Heb. Sprachkunde, Leipzig, 1859.— Fuller and newer works on Heb. Grammar are *W. Gesenius's* Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache (Leipzig, 1817), *Isaak Nordheimer's* Critical Gram. of the Heb. Language, 2 vols. N. York, 1841, 8, *H. Ewald's* Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache (8th ed. Göttingen, 1870), *Justus Olshausen's* Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache

during scientific merit, must be estimated by comparison with what is required in elaborating the grammar of an ancient language, viz.—1) that all the phenomena of the language shall be fully and accurately *observed*, and *exhibited* in their organic connection (the empirical and historico-critical element);—2) that these facts shall be *explained*, partly by comparison with one another and with the analogy of the sister tongues, and partly from the general philosophy of language (the philosophical, scientific element).

§ 4.

DIVISION AND ARRANGEMENT OF THE GRAMMAR.

The division and arrangement of Hebrew grammar depend on the three parts that constitute every language, viz.—1) articulate *sounds* denoted by *written signs*, and their connection in *syllables*, 2) *words*, and 3) *sentences*.

Accordingly, the first part (*doctrine of elements*) includes the doctrine of the *sounds*, and their representation in writing. It describes the nature and relations of the sounds of speech, the manner of pronouncing written signs (orthoëpy), and the established mode of writing (orthography). It then treats of the sounds as combined into syllables and words, and of the laws and conditions of this combination.

The second part (*doctrine of forms*) treats of words in their character as *parts of speech*, and contains:—1) the doctrine of the *formation of words*, or of the rise of the different parts of speech from the roots or even from one another;—2) the doctrine of *inflection*, i. e. of the varied forms which words assume, according to their relation to one another and to the sentence.

(Braunschweig, 1861), from which may be dated the new era of Hebrew philology in which the attempt has been made to trace back existing forms to the supposed original Semitic, which have been preserved essentially in the old Arabic, *F. Böttcher's Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Heb. Sprache, nach dem Tode des Verfassers herausgegeben von Ferdinand Mührlau* (Leipzig, 1866—68, in 2 vols. 8vo).

The third part (*syntax*, or doctrine of the construction of words) teaches:—1) partly how the various inflections, existing in the language, are used for expressing variously modified thoughts, and how other thoughts for which no forms have been coined in the language are expressed by circumlocution;—2) partly the laws, by which the parts of speech are combined into sentences (*doctrine of the sentence*, or *syntax* in the stricter sense).

PART FIRST.

OF THE ELEMENTS.

CHAPTER I.

OF READING AND ORTHOGRAPHY.

§ 5.

OF THE CONSONANTS: THEIR FORMS AND NAMES.

(See the Table of Ancient Semitic Alphabets.)

1. The Hebrew letters now employed (commonly called the *square* or *Assyrian character*), in which the manuscripts of the O. Testament are written and our editions of the Bible are printed, are not those originally used. *Old Hebrew writing*, as it was used in public monuments as early as the 9th century B. C., is to be seen in the inscriptions (very like in style) on the Stone of Mêsha^c and on the Maccabean Coins of the 2d cent. B. C., as also on the ancient Gems (see § 2, 2); and with this Old Hebrew the Phenician writing is nearly identical (see the Table of Ancient Alphabets). According to the analogy of the history of other alphabets, we may assume that out of, and along with, the above writing on stones, another and somewhat quicker style was early formed for writing on softer materials (on skin or parchment, on bark or papyrus, etc.), which style the Samaritans retained in their MSS of the Pentateuch, when they separated from the Jews, while the latter soon after (from the 6th to the 4th century B. C.) exchanged the same for an Aramæan style, out of which came the so-called *Square Character* (from

the 4th to the end of the 3d century B. C.), which has great resemblance to the still extant Aramæan, the Aram.-Egyptian,¹ the Nabatæan,² and especially the Palmyrene.³ One of the Heb. inscriptions in the earlier square character belongs to the year 176 B. C.⁴

2. The Alphabet of the Hebrews, as well as of the other Shemites, consists only of consonants, 22 in number, some of which have also the power of vowels (§ 7, 2). Their forms, names, sounds and numerical values (Rem. 3 below) are shown in the Table on next page.

3. The five characters which have a different form at the end of a word (*final letters*),⁵ ך, ם, ן, ף, ץ, terminate (with the exception of ם) in a straight stroke directed downwards, whilst the common form has a horizontal connecting line, directed towards the following letter.

¹ Specially one Inscription (the Stone of Carpentras, so called because kept in that city of Provence) and some Papyrus-Fragments, see *Ed. F. Ferd. Beer's* Inscriptiones et Papyri in Ægypto reperti, Lips. 1833, 4to; *Gesenius*, Monumenta Phœnicia, p. 226 seq. See our Ancient Alphabet Table.

² See p. 2, Note 3.

³ See *M. A. Levy* in Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Gesell., Bd. XVIII. S. 65 ff.; *De Vogüé*, Syrie Centrale, Paris (1868), fol. p. 1—88 and Tab. 1—12.

⁴ *De Vogüé*, in Revue Archéol. IX (1864), p. 205 and Tab. VII, No. 2, comp. *Nöldeke* in Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges. Bd. XIX, S. 640, and *Merx's* Archiv I, S. 361; also *Chwolson's* Heb. Grabschriften aus der Krim, Petersburg, 1865. Comp. Table of Anc. Alphabets.

⁵ These letters are formed into one word and pronounced as כְּפִנְפִן. Such *voces memoriales* were invented by the Jewish grammarians to help the remembering of certain letters. So too אֶלְלֶתֶם (p. 24), and other *mnemonic* words in § 6, 3 and 4. [Comp. also אֶלְלִי (§ 7, 2, Note 3) for vowel letters and the memorial words מֶשֶׁה וְכָלֶב אֵייתָן to designate *serviles* among consonants, of which אֵייתָן are prefixed to the *Impf.* of verbs; הָאֵמֶתֶיךָ to represent letters used in the formation of nouns from roots; and the *vox memor.* אֵמֶת for the poetical books composed of the first consonants of תְּהִלִּים (Psalms), מִשְׁלֵי (Proverbs) and אֵיִיב (Job).—*Ed.*]

THE HEBREW ALPHABET.

| Form | Pronun- ciation. | Hebrew name. | Sounded as ¹ | Signification of the name. | Numeri- cal value. |
|-------|---------------------|-----------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Final | א | אֵלֶּפֶת | ' <i>Ā-lēph</i> | Ox | 1 |
| | ב | בֵּית | <i>Bēth</i> | House | 2 |
| | ג | גִּמְלָה | <i>Gī-mēl</i> | Camel | 3 |
| | ד | דֶּלֶת | <i>Dā-lēth</i> | Door | 4 |
| | ה | הָא | <i>Hē</i> | Vent-hole, window | 5 |
| | ו | וָו | <i>Wāw</i> | Hook | 6 |
| | ז | זֶיֶן | <i>Zā-yīn</i> | Weapon | 7 |
| | ח | חֵית | <i>Chēth</i> | Fence or barrier | 8 |
| | ט | טֵית | <i>Tēth</i> | Snake (winding) | 9 |
| | י | יָד | <i>Yôdh</i> | Hand | 10 |
| ך | כ | כָּף | <i>Kāph</i> | Bent-hand | 20 |
| | ל | לָמֶד | <i>Lā-mēdh</i> | Ox-goad | 30 |
| | מ | מֵם | <i>Mēm</i> | Water | 40 |
| | נ | נֹון | <i>Nūn</i> | Fish | 50 |
| | ס | סָמָךְ | <i>Sā-mēkh</i> | Prop | 60 |
| | ע | עֵיִן | <i>'Ā-yīn</i> | Eye | 70 |
| | פ | פֶּה | <i>Pē</i> | Mouth | 80 |
| | צ | צָדִיק | <i>Ṣā-dhé'</i> | Fish-hook | 90 |
| | ק | קֹופֶה | <i>Qôph</i> | Back of the head | 100 |
| | ר | רֶשֶׁת | <i>Rēsh</i> | Head | 200 |
| ת | ש | שֵׁן | <i>Shin</i> | } Tooth | } 300 |
| | שׁ | שֵׁן | <i>Shin</i> | | |
| | ת | תָּו | <i>Tāw</i> | Sign or cross | 400 |

4. Hebrew is written and read from right to left. The division of a word at the end of a line is not allowed; and

¹ For the sounds of the consonants and vowels in this table, see § 6 and Notes on § 8. NB. In our common way of reading Hebrew the letters א and ב have no sound; and the *g* for ג is always *hard* as in *give*; the *ch*, always guttural as in Welsh and German, or the Greek χ.—*Tr.*

² As in Arabic, or as the English *w*, not as the German.

³ The latin *q* serves well for the Semitic ק (Greek κόππα), as it holds its very place in the Alphabet.

to fill out a line, certain letters (*dilatabiles*) are at times dilated in MS and in print. These are in our printed books the five following:

כ, ר, ל, ה, נ (אֵלֶּה הַחֲסִידִים).

Rem. 1. The *forms* of the letters were originally hasty and rude representations of visible objects, the names of which began with the letter, which they were meant to indicate; e. g. *Yôdh*, in the older alphabets a rude figure of a hand, denotes properly a *hand*—יָד *yādh*, but as a letter only the initial י (*y*); '*Ayîn* (prop. *eye*), עֵיִן, stands only for ע, the initial letter. In the Phœnician alphabet specially, the similarity of the *figures* to the objects signified by the *names* may still be seen for the most part, and even in the square character it appears yet in some letters, as in ו, ז, ט, ב, ל, ק, ש.

NB. The *forms* of the letters in each of these seven groups, פ כ ב, ג ד ה ו ז ח ט י ק ר, must be carefully noted to avoid confusion.—*Tr.*

The most probable signification of the *names* of the letters is given in the Alphabet Table, p. 23.

However certain it is, on the one hand, that the Shemites were the first to adopt this alphabet, yet it is highly probable, on the other, that the Egyptian writing (the so-called phonetic hieroglyphics and their modified or hieratic style) suggested the principle, though not so much the forms; for these hieroglyphic characters, for the most part, indicate the initial sound in the name of the pictured object; e. g. the hand, *tot*, indicates the letter *t*; the lion, *laboi*, the letter *l*.

2. The *order* of the letters in the Alphabet (on which we have an ancient testimony in the alphabetical poetic compositions in Ps. 25, 34, 37, 111, 112, 119, 145; Lam. 1—4; Prov. 31, 10—31), certainly depended originally on a physiological consideration of the sounds, as we may see from the occurrence in succession of the three softest labial, palatal, and lingual sounds, viz. ב, ג, ד, also of the three liquids, ל, מ, נ, and other similar arrangements; but yet other considerations must also have had some effect upon it, for it is certainly not a mere accident, that two letters representing a *hand* (*Yôdh* and *Kāph*), also two exhibiting the *head* (*Qôph* and *Rêsh*), are put together, as is done also with several characters denoting related or connected objects (*Mēm* and *Nûn*, '*Ayîn* and *Pē*).

Both the names and the order of the letters (with a trifling alteration), passed over from the Phœnician into the Greek, in which the

¹ See the works of Young, Champollion, Lepsius and others on the Hieroglyphics. Comp. Hitzig, *die Erfindung des Alphabets*, Zürich, 1840. 4to. J. Olshausen, *über den Ursprung des Alphabets*, Kiel, 1841. 3vo. F. Böttcher, *unseres Alphabetes Ursprünge*, Dresden, 1860. 8vo. Ed. Böhmner, *das Alphabet in organischer Ordnung*. Ztschr. der D. Morgenl. Ges., Bd. XVI, S. 579 ff.

letters, from *Alpha* to *Tau*, correspond to the ancient alphabet. From the Phœnician proceeded also, directly or indirectly, the Old-Italic, the Roman, and all the alphabets derived from the Latin and the Greek. Comp. *Gesenius*, *Monumenta Phœnicia*, p. 65.

3. The letters are used also for *signs of number*, as the Hebrew had no special arithmetical figures or ciphers¹. But this use of them as numerals (see Alphabet Table) did not, if we may judge from the existing MSS, take place in the O. T. text, and is first found on coins of the Maccabees (middle of 2d cent. B. C.). It is now employed in the editions of the Bible specially for numbering the chapters and verses. Much like the Greek numerals, the Heb. *units* are denoted by the letters from א to ט, the *tens* by י—צ, the *hundreds* from 100 to 400 by ק—ת, but from 500 to 900, they are sometimes marked by the five final letters, thus, ך 500, ם 600, ן 700, ף 800, ץ 900; and sometimes by ח=400, with the addition of the other hundreds, as חק 500. In combining different numbers the greater is put first (i. e. on the right), as יא 11, קכא 121. Fifteen however is marked by טו=9+6, and not by יח, because with these two letters the name of God (יהוה) commences; and 16 by טז not by יי, for a similar reason. The *thousands* are denoted by the units with two dots above, as א̇ for 1000.²

4. *Abbreviations* of words are not found in the text of the O. T. On coins, however, they occur, and they are in common use among the later Jews. The sign of abbreviation is usually an oblique stroke, as ו־ for וְשֶׁרָאֵל, פ־ for פִּלְגִּי *aliquis*, וְג־ for וְגֹמֶר *et complens=et cœtera*, יְח־ or יִח־ (also וְח־) for יְחִיָּה.

§ 6.

PRONUNCIATION AND DIVISION OF CONSONANTS.

1. It is of the greatest importance to understand well the old and genuine sound of every consonant, since very many grammatical peculiarities and changes (§§ 18, etc.) are dependent on, and can be explained only by, the nature of the sounds and their pronunciation. Our knowledge of this is derived partly from the pronunciation of the kindred dialects,

¹ Yet the Phœnicians had arithmetical signs in early times, as may be seen in *Schröder's Phœnizische Sprache*, pp. 186—9, with a Table.

² The Jews count their dates from the creation of the world, and they have what they call the "great chronology", (לְפָרֵט גְּדוֹל) including the thousands and the "small chronology" (לְפָרֵט קָטָן) omitting the thousands. The date according to the christian era is found by adding 240 to the short Jewish reckoning for the first thousand years and 1240 for the second.

particularly of the still living Arabic, partly from observing the affinity and interchange of the letters in Hebrew itself (§ 19), partly from the tradition of the Jews.¹

The pronunciation of the Jews of the present day is very divergent. The Polish and German Jews adopt a worse one, partly like the Syriac, while the Spanish and Portuguese Jews, whom most Christian scholars (after the example of Reuchlin) follow, prefer a purer one, more in harmony with the Arabic.

The manner in which the Septuagint (LXX) wrote Hebrew proper names in Greek letters, furnishes an older and more weighty tradition. Several, however, of the Hebrew sounds they were unable to represent for want of corresponding characters in the Greek language, e. g. א, ב, ג, ד, פ, צ (in which cases they made the best shifts they could). This is true also of Jerome's expression of Hebrew words in Roman letters, after the Jewish pronunciation of his time. For that of the Jews now in northern Africa, see *Bargès*, Journ. Asiat. 1848, Nov.; for that of the South Arabic Jews see *J. Derenbourg*, Manuel du Lecture etc. Paris 1871.

2. The following list embraces those consonants which require spécial attention as to the pronunciation, those being arranged and viewed together which resemble each other in sound.

Rem. 1. Among the *gutturals*, א is the slightest, a scarcely audible breathing from the lungs, the *spiritus lenis* of the Greek, which stands for it in our Alphabet Table, p. 23; similar to ה, but weaker. Even before a vowel, it is almost lost upon the ear (אמר, ἀμάρ, *amār*), like the *h* in the French *habit*, *homme*, Eng. *hour*, but after a vowel it is mostly quite lost in that vowel-sound (אָר, *māšā'*, § 23, 1; however comp. ראשׁם).

ה before a vowel is exactly our *h* (*spiritus asper*); also after a vowel at the end of a syllable, it is a guttural-breathing (נֶהְ-פָּחְהְ, *nēh-pā'kh*); but at the end of a word it only represents a vowel, so that its force as a consonant is not at all heard (גָּלָהְ, *gā-lā'*); see § 7, 2 and § 14, § 75, 1.

כ is related to א but stronger; and is a sound peculiar to the organs

¹ Important aid may also be derived from an accurate, physiological observation of the whole system of sounds, and of their formation by the organs of speech. See *Liskovius'* Theorie der Stimme, Leipzig, 1814, *J. Müller's* Handbuch der Physiologie, Bd. II., S. 179 &c., *Strodtmann's* Anatomische Vorhalle zur Physiologie der Stimme und der Sprachlaute, Altona, 1837, also *H. Hupfeld* in Jahn's Jahrbücher f. Philologie, 1829, H. 4, *H. E. Bindseil's* Abhandlungen zur allgem. vergleichenden Sprachlehre (Hamb. 1838), *E. Brücke's* Grundzüge der Physiologie u. Systematik d. Sprachlaute, Wien, 1856, *C. L. Merkel's* Physiologie der menschlichen Sprache, Leipzig, 1866.

of the Semitic race. Its hardest sound is that of a *g* slightly rattled in the throat, as עֵזָה, LXX Γάζα, עֵמֶרָה Γόμορρα; it is elsewhere a weaker sound of that sort, which the LXX indicate only by a *breathing* (the *spiritus asper* or *lenis*), as in עֵלִי 'Hλί, עֵמֶלֶךְ 'Αμαλέχ. In the mouth of the Arabs, the first often strikes the ear like a soft guttural *r*, the second as a sort of vowel-sound like *a*.—To pass over ש, as many do in reading and in the expression of Hebrew words by our letters (e. g. עֵלִי *Eli*, עֵמֶלֶךְ *Amalek*), and to pronounce it simply as *g* or as nasal *ng*, are both incorrect. An approximation to its stronger sound would be *gh* or *ʿg*; but since the softer sound was probably predominant in Hebrew, it may suffice to mark it (as in the Alphabet Table, p. 23) by ʿ, as אֶרְבַּע 'arbāʿ, עֵמֶרָה 'amôrāʿ.

ח is the firmest of the guttural sounds, being a guttural *ch*, as the Swiss pronounce it, as in *macht*, *docht*, *zucht*¹ (not as in *licht*, *knecht*), resembling the Spanish *x* and *j*. While the Hebrew was a living language this letter was doubtless uttered more softly in many words, more strongly in others.²

ך also the Hebrews frequently pronounced with a rattling guttural sound, not as a lingual made by the vibration of the tongue. Hence it is not merely to be reckoned among the liquids (*l, m, n, r*), but, in many respects, it belongs also to the class of gutturals (§ 22, 5).

Rem. 2. In *sibilant* sounds the Hebrew language is uncommonly rich, but they arose in part from the lingual sounds, which appear still as such in Aramæan and, as affected with an aspiration, in Arabic (see ר, צ, ש in Lex.).

ש and שׁ were originally one letter ש, and in unpointed Hebrew this is still the case. But as its sound *sh* was in many words very soft, approaching to that of *s*, the grammarians distinguished this double pronunciation by the diacritic point into שׁ *sh* (which occurs most frequently), and ש *s*.

שׁ accordingly was closely allied to ש in pronunciation, and so was uttered more strongly than ש. Hence this difference of sound made at times a difference in sense, as שָׁרַר *to close up* and שָׂרַר *to hire*, שָׁבֵל *to be foolish* and שָׂבֵל *to be wise*. The Syrians employed only ש for both. They are also interchanged even in the later Hebrew; as שָׁרַר=שָׂרַר *to hire* Ezr. 4, 5; שָׁכֵלִית for שָׂכֵלִית *folly* Eccl. 1, 17.³

ז is a soft, whizzing *s*, the Gr. ζ (by which also the LXX represent it), the Fr. and Eng. *z*, quite different from the Germ. *z*.

¹ As also in the Keltic dialects.—*Tr.*

² In the Arabic language, the hard and soft sounds of ש and ח (as well as certain differences in the pronunciation of ר, ז, צ), are indicated by diacritic points. Two letters are thus made from each: from ש the softer ع *Ain*, and the harder غ *rGain*; from ח the softer ح *Cha*, and the harder خ *Kha*.

³ But on the contrary the Samaritans of this day, in reading their Heb. Pentateuch, always pronounce ש as שׁ.

Rem. 3. The **ז** is, like **פ** and **צ**, uttered with strong articulation, and with a compression of the organs of speech in the back part of the mouth. The two latter differ essentially from **כ** and **ק**, which answer to *k* and *t*, but are often aspirated (see No. 3 of this §.). The **ז** has a peculiar articulation differing from every other *s*, and by no means the same as the Germ. *z* or *ts*. [Our *ss* as in *hiss!* sounded not at the teeth, but at the palate, is not very unlike it; but *ş* is here used to represent it.]

3. Six consonants, the so-called *mutes*,

ת, פ, כ, ד, ג, ב (בְּנִדְכָּפֶת)

have come down to us with a twofold pronunciation¹:—1) a harder, more slender sound (*tenuis*) as *b, g, d, k, p, t*, and 2) a softer sound, uttered with a gentle aspiration (*aspirata*). The harder sound is the original. It maintains itself at the beginning of words and syllables, when there is no vowel immediately preceding, and it is indicated by a point in the letter (*Dāghē'sh lenē*, § 13), as in ב *b*, ג *g*, ד *d*, כ *k*, פ *p*, ת *t*. The aspirated sound occurs after a vowel immediately preceding, and is denoted in manuscripts by *Rāphē* (§ 14, 2), but in the printed text it is known by the absence of the *Dāghē'sh*. In some of these letters (especially ג), the difference is less perceptible to our ear. The modern Greeks aspirate distinctly β, γ, δ, and the Danes *d* at the end of a word. The Greeks have two characters for the two sounds of the other letters of this class, as כ α, כ χ; פ π, פ φ; ת τ, ת θ.

For the cases in which the one pronunciation or the other occurs, see more fully in § 21.—The modern Jews sound the aspirated ב as *v*, and the ת nearly as *s*, e. g. רב *rāv*, ראשית *rēshî's*.

4. After what has been said, the usual division of the consonants according to the organs of speech (i. e. throat, palate, tongue, teeth and lips), employed in uttering them, will be more intelligible and useful. The common division is as follows:

a) Gutturals ת, ה, ע, א,

(אֶהָחֶע);

b) Palatals, ק, ב, ג, י,

(בְּיִקֶק);

¹ Sound ת as *t*, ת as *th* in *thick*; ד as *d*, ד as *dh* as *th* in *that*, Anglo-Sax. *ð*; פ as *p*, פ as *ph* or *f*; ב as *b*, ב as *bh* as *v*; ג and ג as *g* in *go*, or in the German *gegen*; כ and כ as *k*. To give the aspirated sound of ג and כ, pronounce *g* and *k*, rolling the palate at the same breath.—*Tr.*

- c) Linguals, ט, ת, ד, with נ, ל, (דטלנת);
 d) Dentals or sibilants, צ, ש (ש and ש), ס, ז, (זסצש);
 e) Labials, פ, ב, מ, ר, (ברמפ).

The letter ר appertains partly to the first and to the third class, as being both a throat-sound and a tongue-sound.¹

Also the liquids (ר, נ, מ, ל), which have in many respects a common character, are grouped together as a distinct class.

The following classification may be useful:

| | Mutes | | | Liquids | | | Sibilants | | | Aspirates | | | |
|-----------|-------|----|----|---------|-------|--------|-----------|----|----|-------------|----|----|----|
| | s. | m. | e. | vibr. | nasal | semiv. | s. | m. | e. | s. | m. | h. | e. |
| Gutturals | | | | [ר] | | | | | | [ע] ח ה ע א | | | |
| Palatals | ג | כ | ק | | | ר | | | | | | | |
| Linguals | } | ד | ת | ט | ל | נ | | | ז | ש | ס | צ | |
| Dentals | | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Labials | | ב | פ | | | מ | ר | | | | | | |

Rem. 1. The signification of the letters in the superscription is as follows: s=soft; m=medium; h=hard; e=emphatic. Consonants pronounced by the same organ are called *homorganic* (e. g. ג and כ as palatals). Consonants, whose sound is of the same nature, are called *homogeneous* (e. g. מ and נ as liquids). The possibility of an exchange of consonants within the language, as well as between kindred dialects depends upon their homorganic character and upon their homogeneity. Generally the soft sound changes with the soft, the hard with the hard etc. (e. g. ד=ז, ר=ש, ט=צ). Yet other transpositions are not excluded. It is important to observe, whether the change takes place at the beginning, middle or end of the word, since a change in the middle consonant does not always indicate the possibility of a change in the same letter, when standing at the beginning.

Rem. 2. In the Hebrew, as well as in all the Semitic dialects, the strength and harshness of pronunciation, which generally characterised the earlier periods of the language, gradually gave way to more soft and feeble sounds. In this way many nice distinctions of the earlier pronunciation were neglected and lost.

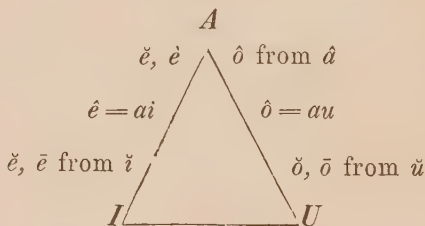
¹ Compare, in regard to the double pronunciation of the ר, *Delitzsch*, *Physiol. u. Musik* p. 10 ff.

This appears partly in the preference for the softer letters; e. g. פֶּזֶז, פֶּזֶזִּי (see § 2, 5, Rem.), Syr. ܦܙܙܐ; partly in the pronunciation of particular letters; thus the stronger ֶׇg, known even in the LXX (see above in No. 2, Rem. 1), is lost in later times; the Samaritans and Galileans utter it, as well as ה, only like נ; in Ethiopic too ה sounds as *h*, ֶׇ as *נ*, ֶׇ as *s*.

§ 7.

OF THE VOWELS IN GENERAL, VOWEL-LETTERS, AND VOWEL-SIGNS.

1. That the scale of five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*, proceeds from the three primary vowel sounds *A, I, U*, is even more distinctly seen in the Hebrew and the rest of the Semitic tongues, than in other languages. *E* and *O* are derived from a blending together or obscuring of the purer vowels, viz., short *ě* from *ĩ* or even *ǎ*, short *ô* from *ũ*; and also the long *ê* from the union of *I* with a preceding short *A*, i. e. from the diphthong *AI*, and the long *ô* partly from the obscuring of *â*, partly from the combination *AU*, according to the following scheme:¹—



The more ancient Arabic still keeps the diphthongs *ai* and *au*, specially with stronger consonants; e. g. شَاو (shô), Arab. *saut*; عَيْنَا (ênaim), Arab. *ainain*. It is only in the later Arabic they become *ê* and *ô*, at least with feebler consonants, as بَيْنَ (bên), Arab. *baïn*, *bên*; يَوْمَ (yôm), Arab. *yaum*, *yôm*. This contraction of the diphthongs is also sufficiently familiar in Greek and Latin (e. g. Καῖσαρ, Cæsar; θαῦμα, Ion. θῶμα; *plaustrum*=*plostrum*), in the French pronunciation of *ai* and *au* (comp. in Eng. *ai* in *said*, and *au* in *naught*), in the Germanic languages (Goth. *auso*, *auris*, Old High-Ger. *ôra*, ear; Goth. *snaiws*, Old High-Ger. *snêo*=Schnee=snow), and even in the modern German vulgar dialect (*Oge* for *Auge*, Goth. *augô*, eye; *Steen* for *Stein*, stone, Goth. *stains*).

¹ For the sound of these vowels, see note on § 8.—Tr.

Obscuring of the vowel-sounds often occurs also in other tongues, e. g. *å* in Swedish, in modern Persian, in Eng. *fall* etc. The modern Jews constantly obscure the sound of the Heb. long A (א), like the Swedish *å*. But the Arabic of the Bedawîn, in its pronunciation of the vowels, does not even now depart so much from the three primary sounds, *a*, *i*, and *u*, as the Arabic spoken in Syria and Egypt (see *Wallin* and *Wetzstein* as referred to above, p. 7, Note¹).

2. With this is connected the earlier and very sparing way of indicating the vowels in writing. Only the three principal vowels were thus distinguished; and even these were indicated not by peculiar signs, but by certain consonants employed for this purpose, whose feeble consonant sounds have naturally a close affinity with the vowel-sounds to be expressed.

Thus א (like the Lat. *V*) represented *U* and also *O*.

י (like the Lat. *J*) represented *I* and also *E*.

א, the purest of all the vowels, and the most frequent, was as a rule¹ not indicated at all, except at the end of a word, where the final *a* was represented by א in Hebrew, sometimes by נ.² These two letters stood also for *e* and *o* final.³

Even those *two vowel-letters* (א and י) were used but sparingly, being at first, and as a rule, employed only when the sounds which they represent were *long*, and not always then (§ 8, 4).⁴ Everything else relating to the quantity of the

¹ So in Sanscrit, the ancient Persian cuneiform writing and in Ethiopic, short *a* alone of all the vowels is not indicated by any sign, but the bare consonant is pronounced with short *a*.

² The close connection between the aspirates א, נ and the A sound, א (= *w*) and the U sound, י (= *y*) and the I sound, admits of easy physiological explanation, if we attend to the formation of these sounds by the organs of speech. The vowel A is formed by opening the mouth, without changing the position of the organs; so also א and נ. U is sounded in the fore part of the mouth, with the lips a little projecting and rounded; so also י. The I is formed at the fore part of the palate; so also י. E is sounded at the back of the palate, between *i* and *a*; O in the under part of the mouth, between *u* and *a*.

³ The four letters נ, א, י, א (forming the mnemonic sign נא"י אֵהוּ) are commonly called *quiescent* or *feeble letters*.—*Tr.*

⁴ The Samaritan writing also has remained at the same stage.—The Phœnicians did not indicate even the long vowels, except in very rare cases,

vowel-sounds, and also the entire absence of a vowel, and even whether the vowel-letter in the particular case was a vowel or a consonant, the reader had to decide for himself.

Thus, for example, קָטַל might be read *qāṭāl*, *qāṭēl*, *qāṭōl*, *q^eṭōl*, *qōṭēl*, *qūtṭēl*, *qāṭṭēl*, *qūtṭāl*; דָּבַר, *dābhār* (word), *dā'bhēr* (pestilence), *dībber* (he has spoken), *dābbēr* (to speak), *dōbhēr* (speaking), *dābhūr* (spoken), *dūbbār* (it has been spoken); מוֹת might be *mā'wēth* (death), or *mūth*, *mōth* (to die); בָּיַן might be read *bîn*, *bên*, *bāyîn*.

How imperfect and indefinite such a mode of writing was, is easily seen; yet during the whole period in which the Hebrew was a living language, no other signs for vowels were employed. Reading was therefore a harder task than it is with our more adequate modes of writing, and the reader's knowledge of the living mother-tongue had to supply much.

3. But when the Hebrew had died out, and the ambiguity arising from such an indefinite mode of writing, and the fear of losing the right pronunciation, must have been increasingly felt; then the *vowel-signs* or *vowel points* were invented, which minutely settled what had till then been left uncertain. Of the date of this punctuation (*vocalisation*) of the Old Testament text we have no historical account; but a comparison of historical facts warrants the conclusion, that the present vowel-system was not completed till the seventh century after Christ; and that it was done by Jewish scholars, well versed in the language, who, it is highly probable, copied the example of the Syriac, and perhaps also of the Arabic, grammarians.

See *Gesenius*, *Gesch. d. hebr. Spr.* S. 182 ff. and *Hupfeld* in den *theolog. Studien und Kritiken*, 1830, No. 3, where it is shown that the Talmūd and Jerome make no mention of vowel-signs; *Abr. Geiger*, *Zur Nakdanim-Literatur* (Jüd. Ztschr. für Wissensch. u. Leben, Jahrg. X, Breslau, 1872, S. 10 ff.); *Geiger*, *Massorah bei den Syrern* (Ztschr. der D. M. G. Bd. XXVII. Leipz., 1878, S. 148 ff.); *H. Strack*, *Prolegomena critica in Vet. Test. Hebr.* Leipz., 1873; *Strack*, *Beitrag zur Gesch. des hebr. Bibel-Textes* (Theol. Stud. u. Krit. 1875. IV, S. 736 ff.)

4. This vowel-system has, probably, for its basis the pronunciation of the Jews of Palestine; and its consistency,

and their old monuments have scarcely any vowel signs (see *Gesenii Mon. Phœnicia*, pp. 57, 58; and above in § 2, 3).—The vowel-letters are quite as sparingly used in the old Heb. inscription of Mēsha' (see § 2, 2), as early as 900 B. C.

as well as the analogy of the kindred languages, furnishes strong proof of its correctness, at least as a whole. We may, however, assume, that it exhibits not so much the pronunciation of common life as the formal style, which was sanctioned by tradition in reading the sacred books, in the synagogues and schools, in the 7th century after Christ. Its authors laboured with great care to represent by signs the minute gradations of the vowel-sounds, marking even half-vowels and helping-sounds (§ 10), spontaneously adopted in all languages, yet seldom expressed in writing. To the same labours on the Hebr. Text we owe the different marks, by which the sound of the consonants themselves is modified (§§ 11—14), and the accents (§§ 15, 16).

The Arabs have a much more simple vowel-system, for they have only three vowel-signs, according to the three primary sounds. The Syriac vowel-pointing is likewise based upon a less complicated system. It is possible that the Hebrew also had at an earlier period a more simple vowel-system, but no actual traces of it are found.

§ 8.

OF THE VOWEL-SIGNS.¹

1. Of full vowels, besides which there are also certain *half-vowels* (§ 10, 1, 2), grammarians have generally reckoned *ten*, and divided them into *five long* and *five short* or *doubtful*. As this division, though not faultless, is simpler and more convenient for the beginner, it is here presented:²—

¹ The vowels, as represented in this translation, are supposed to be sounded as follows:—*ā* or *â* like *a* in *father*; *ă* like *a* in *fat*; *ä* like *æ*, or as *a* in *fate*; *ē* or *ê* like *e* in *there*; *ě* like *e* in *her*; *ī* or *î* like *i* in *pique*; *ĩ* like *i* in *pick*; *ō* or *ô* like *o* in *no*; *ö* like *o* in *not*; *û* or *ũ* like *u* in *rule* (sounded as *rool*); *ũ* like *u* in *full*; *ai* and *au* as proper diphthongs, each vowel being distinctly heard, as in German.—NB. The same vowel, whether long or short, has properly but *one* sound, differing only in *quantity*, i. e. in the longer or shorter time we may take in pronouncing it, as in *sō* and *sôt*.—*Tr.*

² It is founded on the 12th edition of the original, and Dr. Rödiger is not responsible for its insertion here.—*Tr.*

| Long Vowels. | Short Vowels. |
|--|---|
| — <i>Qā'měš</i> , <i>ā</i> , <i>ā</i> , קָם <i>qām</i> , ¹ יָם <i>yām</i> . | — <i>Pā'thäch</i> , <i>ă</i> , בַּת <i>bāth</i> : |
| — <i>Šē'rē</i> , <i>ē</i> , שֵׁם <i>shēm</i> . | — <i>Sēghô'l</i> , <i>ě</i> , <i>ě</i> or <i>ä</i> , מֶלֶךְ <i>mā'-lēkh</i> . |
| יִ (or —) <i>Chîrēq</i> long, <i>î</i> , בֵּין <i>bîn</i> , גוֹיִם <i>gô-yî'm</i> . | — <i>Chîrēq</i> short, <i>î</i> , מִן <i>mîn</i> . |
| י (or —) <i>Chô'lēm</i> , <i>ô</i> , <i>ô</i> , קוֹל <i>qôl</i> , סֹב <i>sôbh</i> . | — <i>Qā'měš-chā'tû'ph</i> , <i>ô</i> , חֶקֶר <i>chôq</i> . |
| וִ (or —) <i>Shû'rēq</i> , <i>û</i> , מוֹת <i>mûth</i> , מוֹתִי <i>mû-thî'</i> . | — <i>Qibbû's</i> , <i>û</i> , שׁוֹלֶה <i>shûl-chā'n</i> . |

A more philosophic and complete view of the vowels, according to the three primary vowel-sounds (§ 7, 1, 2), is the following:—

First Class. For the A sound.

1. — *Qā'měš*, *ā*, *ā*, יָד *yādh* (hand), קָם *qām* (he arose).
2. — *Pā'thäch*, *ă*, בַּת *bāth* (daughter).
3. — *Sēghô'l*, *ě*, *ě* (*ä*), a modification of *a*,² as in the first syllable of יְדֶכֶם *yědhē-khēm* (your hand) from *yādhē-khēm*, פֶּסַח *pēsāch* (πάσχα); also in union with י as יָדֶיךָ *yā-dhē-khā* (thy hands), גְּלֵינָה *gelè-nā*, like the French *ê* in *mère* or the first *e* in Eng. *there*. Comp. in Eng. *man* changed into *men*; Ger. *mann* into *männer*; W. *carreg* (stone) into pl. *cerrig*.

Second Class. For the I and E sound.

- | | | |
|---|---|--|
| I | { | 1. — יִ and — long <i>Chîrēq</i> , <i>î</i> , צִדִּיקִים <i>šād-di-qî'm</i> (just ones). |
| | | 2. — short <i>Chîrēq</i> , <i>î</i> , אִם <i>'im</i> (if). |
| E | { | 3. — <i>Šē'rē</i> with <i>Yôdh</i> , <i>ê</i> , and — <i>Šē'rē</i> without <i>Yôdh</i> , <i>ē</i> , as in בֵּית <i>bêth</i> (house), שֵׁם <i>shēm</i> (name). Very rarely the — (defective, see No. 4 on p. 37) stands also for <i>ê</i> . |
| | | 4. — <i>Sēghô'l</i> , <i>ě</i> , an abbreviation from <i>ē</i> as in שֵׁן <i>shēn</i> (tooth), from שֵׁן (gdf. <i>shîn</i>) or an obscuring from <i>î</i> e. g. חֶפְצִי (Grdf. <i>chîphš</i>). |

¹ The equivalents for the Hebrew vowels are marked here variously, viz., *ā*, *ê*, *ô* for the essentially long-vowels, *ā*, *ē*, *ō* for the merely tone-long, *ă*, *ě*, *ô* for the short (see § 9.). For the others, the distinction of *î* and *ĩ*, *û* and *ũ* is sufficient.

² So mostly; hence Jewish grammarians call *Sēghôl* also *small Pā'thäch* (פֶּתַח קָטָן).

³ The sign — marks in this Grammar the *accented* syllable of Heb. words, when that syllable is not the last, as in פֶּסַח. Comp. § 15, Rem. 3.

Third Class. For the U and O sound.

- U { 1. \daleth *Shû'rêq*, \hat{u} , מוּת *mûth* (to die), rarely also for \ddot{u} .
 2. — *Qibbû's*, \ddot{u} , סֻלָּם *sül-lā'm* (ladder), but also \hat{u} , written defectively (see No. 4 on p. 37) instead of *Shû'rêq*, מוּת *mû-thî'* (my dying).
- O { 3. $\dot{\imath}$ and — *Chô'lêm*, \hat{o} , \bar{o} , קוֹל *qôl* (voice), רֹב *rôbh* (multitude). Often defective — for \hat{o} , seldomer $\dot{\imath}$ for \bar{o} .
 4. — *Qā'mêš-chātû'ph*, \hat{o} , חֻק־ *chôq* (statute).
 5. also —, obtuse \check{e} , so far as it is changed from *u* or *o*, as in אַתֶּם *'attê'm* (ye) from *'attû'm* (see § 27, Rem. 4, b), אֶת־ *'êth* (from אֹת).

The names of the vowels are nearly all taken from the form and action of the mouth in uttering the sounds. Thus, פֶּתַח signifies *opening*, צֵדִי (also שֹׁפָר) *bursting* (of the mouth), חִירָק *gnashing*, חֹלֶם *fulness*, from its full tone (also מִלֵּא פִּי *full mouth*), שִׁירָק properly *συσπικμός*, קִבּוּץ *closing* (of the mouth). This last meaning belongs also to קִמְצָן; and the reason why long *a* and short *o* (קִמְצָן חֲטוּתָה *Qā'mêš correptum*) have the same sign and name, seems to be that the inventors of the vowel-signs pronounced the long *a* rather obscurely, and somewhat like *o*, as it then passed over to a full *o* with the present German and Polish Jews; comp. the Syriac *â* with the Maronites= \hat{o} , the Swedish *å*, and the early change of *â* into \hat{o} even in the Hebrew (§ 9, 10, 2).¹ The distinction between them is shown in § 9. But *Sêghô'l* (סִגּוּל *bunch of grapes*) appears to be named after its *form*; so too some call *Qibbûš* (שֵׁשׁ נִקְדוּת *three points*).

The names were, moreover, so formed that the sound of each vowel was heard in the first syllable; and in accordance with this, some write *Sûghô'l*, *Qô'mêš-châtû'ph*, *Qübbûš*.

2. As appears from the examples given above, the vowel-sign is regularly put *under* the consonant *after* which it is to be pronounced, as \daleth *rā*, $\ddot{\imath}$ *ră*, $\dot{\imath}$ *rē*, $\ddot{\imath}$ *rû*, etc. There is an exception to this rule in *Pă'thăch*, when it stands under a guttural at the end of a word (*Pă'thăch furtive*, see § 22, 2, b), for it is then spoken *before* the consonant, as רֶחַח *rû^ach* (wind,

¹ It has been conjectured that the signs for these vowels originally differed (as \bar{a} , \bar{o}), and became identical only through carelessness in writing; but such a difference cannot be proved, for these two marks are quite identical, the former (\bar{a}) being only the original, and the second (\bar{o}) the modified form.

spirit). We must also except *Chō'lem* (without *Wāw*), which is put to the left *over* the letter, as in ר̣ *rō*.¹

NB. When *Chō'lem* (without *Wāw*) and the diacritic point over ש (ש, ש) come together, one dot serves for both, as שׁנא *sō-nē'* (not שׁנא ש) hating, מִשְׁנֵה *mō-shē* not מִשְׁנֵה ש. ש (with two points), when no vowel stands under it, is *sho*, as in שׁמֶר *shō-mē'r* (keeper); when no vowel goes before it, *os*, as in יִרְפֹּשׁ *yīr-pō's* (he treads down), like רִקְנָטִל Is. 45, 20 *han-nō-sē'm* (the bearers), like רִקְנָטִלִּים.

The figure י̣ is sometimes sounded *ow*, the י being a consonant with *Chō'lem* before it, as לִוְהַ *lō-wè* (lending); and sometimes *wō*, the *Chō'lem* being read after the *Wāw*, as עֹוֶן *'ā-wō'n* (sin) for עֹוֶן. In very exact impressions a distinction is made thus: י̣ *ōw*, י̣ *wō*, and י̣ *ō*.

3. The vowels of the first class (the *A* sound) are, with the exception of י̣ in the middle, and of ה̣, א̣, ו̣

¹ Only very recently have we been made acquainted with a vowel system in many respects different from the common one. It is found in some MSS formerly kept at Odessa, but now in St. Petersburg. All the vowels except י̣ are placed above the consonants, and deviate almost throughout in figure, and partly even in respect to the department of sound. Thus, for instance, Pathach and S^cghol, when they have the tone, are expressed by the same sign; but the short vowels without the tone are marked variously, according as they stand in a syllable sharpened by Daghesch forte (§ 12) or not. The accents deviate less, and stand partly under the line of the consonants. In respect to this, the so-called "Babylonian punctuation" (זְקִיִּר בְּבָבֶלִי) see *A. Harkavy* and *H. L. Strack's* "Catalog der hebr. Bibelhandschr. der Kaiserl. öffentl. Bibliothek zu St. Petersburg." Vol. I & II., Petersburg. & Leipzig. 1875 p. 223 ff. A more thorough study of the system was made possible by *H. Strack's* facsimile edition of *Prophetarum posteriorum codex Babylonicus Petropolitanus* (Petersburg. 1876 fol.); a codex of the year 916 which was discovered by *Firkowitsch* in 1839 in the synagogue of Tschufutkale in the peninsula of the Crimea. *Strack* has given a fragment of the same codex in *Hosea et Joel prophete ad fidem cod. Babylon. Petrop.* St. Petersburg. 1875. The result shows that the two systems (the Eastern or Babylonian and the western or Tiberian) were developed simultaneously, but that the western shows a higher degree of originality and approaches nearer the ancient fundamental laws of punctuation. A long specimen of this peculiar Text (the Book of Habakkuk) is given in *Pinner's* Prospectus der Odessaer Gesellschaft für Gesch. und Alterth. gehörenden ältesten hebr. und rabb. Manuscripte, Odessa, 1845, 4. A sketch of this vowel-system, which had probably its origin among Babylonish Jews, has been given by *Rödiger* in the *Halle Allgem. Lit. Zeit.* 1848, Aug., No. 169, and by *Ewald* in the *Jahrb. d. bibl. Wissenschaft*, I., Göttingen, 1849, p. 160 and foll.; but more thoroughly still by *Pinsker* in his *Einleitung in das Babylon.-hebr. Punctuationssystem*, Wien, 1863; and *Olshausen* in the *Monatsbericht d. Berlin. Akad. d. Wissensch.* July, 1865.

(§ 9, 1, 3) at the end of a word, indicated *only* by vowel-signs (§ 7, 2); but those of the two other classes (the *I* and *E* sound and the *U* and *O* sound) when long, are mostly expressed by vowel-letters, the sound of which is determined by the sign standing before or within or above them. Thus,—

י may be determined by *Chî'rêq* (י־), *Sê'rê* (י־), *S°ghô'l* (י־).

י by *Shû'rêq* (י) and *Chô'lêm* (י).¹

In Arabic the *long â* is regularly indicated by the vowel-letter *A'leph* (ا), so that in it three vowel-letters answer to the three vowel-classes. In Hebrew this use of א is very rare (§ 9, 1, and § 23, 3, Rem. 1).

4. When, in the second and third classes, the long vowel is expressed *without* a vowel-letter, it is called *scriptio defectiva*, when *with* a vowel-letter, *scriptio plena*. Thus קול and קים are written *fully*, קֹל and קִים *defectively*.

The choice of the full or the defective mode of writing is not always arbitrary, as there are certain cases in which only the one or the other is admissible. Thus, the full form is written for *û, î, ê* as well as for *é* in הִזָּה etc. (§ 9, 8), and is necessary at the end of a word, e. g. מִלִּי, יָדִי, קָטְלִי, קָטְלִי; but in Is. 40, 31 the Massora requires וְקוֹי for וְקוֹי, but the defective is usual when the vowel is preceded by the analogous vowel-letter as consonant, e. g. גוֹיִם for גוֹיִם *nations*, מִצְוֹת for מִצְוֹת *commands*,² עֲשׂוּיִם for עֲשׂוּיִם.

But in other cases, much depended on the option of the transcribers, so that the same word is written in various ways, e. g. הַקִּימוֹתִי Ezek. 16, 60, הַקִּמְתִּי Jer. 23, 4, where other editions have הַקִּמְתִּי (comp. § 25, 1). It may be observed, however,

¹ The vowel-sign, which serves to determine the sound of the vowel-letter, is said to be *homogeneous* with that letter. Many, after the example of the Jewish grammarians, use here the expression, 'The vowel-letter rests (*quiesces*) in the vowel sign.' Hence the letters י and ו (with א and ה, see § 23) are called *litteræ quiescibiles*; when they serve as vowels, *quiescentes*, when they are consonants, *mobiles*. But the expression is not suitable; we should rather say, 'The vowel-letter is sounded as this or that vowel, or stands in place of the vowel.' The vowel-letters are also called by grammarians, *matres lectionis*, since they partly guide in reading the unpointed text.

² So also עֲדוּתֵי testimonies is for עֲדוּתֵי (plural of עֲדוּת in Aram. style), but used only in pl. with suff. as in עֲדוּתֵי 1 K. 2, 3 *his testimonies*.—Tr.

a) That the defective writing is used chiefly, though not constantly, when the word has increased at the end, and the vowel of the penultima has lost somewhat of its stress in consequence of the accent or tone of the word being moved forward (see § 29, 2), as *קָלִיל*, *צִדְקִים*, *צִדְרִיק*;

b) That in the later books of the Old Testament the full form, in the earlier the defective, is more usual¹.

5. In the kindred dialects, when a vowel-letter has before it a vowel, that is not kindred or homogeneous, if it be *a*, then a diphthong is formed, e. g. *אֹ* *au*, *אֵ* *ai*. But in Hebrew, according to the pronunciation handed down, *א* and *י* retain here their consonant-sound, so that we get *āw*, *ay*,² e. g. *חֹךְ* *wāw* (hook), *חַיִּי* *chăy* (living), and so also *גּוֹי* *gôy* (nation), *עָשׂוּי* *āsûy* (made), *גֵּר* *gēw* (back). The sound of *יֹ* is the same as *אֹ*, namely, *āw*, as in *דְּבָרָיו* *d'bhā-rā'w* (his words); therefore often *אֹ* defectively for *יֹ*.

The LXX give generally, in these cases, an actual diphthong as in the Arabic, and this must be considered as an earlier mode of pronunciation; the modern Jewish pronunciation is, on the other hand, similar to the modern Greek, in which *αῖ*, *εῖ* sound like *av*, *ev*. In the manuscripts *Yodh* and *Waw* are, in this case, even marked with *Mappiq* (§ 14, 1). The Italian Jews sound these syllables more like diphthongs, e. g. *chài*, *gèu*, and so also *bait* (*בַּיִת*).

§ 9.

CHARACTER AND VALUE OF THE SEVERAL VOWELS.

Numerous as the Heb. vowel-signs appear, they are yet insufficient for completely representing the various modifications of the vowel-sounds in respect to length and shortness, sharpness and expansion. It may be observed further, that the indication of the sound by these signs cannot be called always perfectly appropriate. We therefore give here, for the better understanding of this matter, a short commentary on the character and value of the several vowels,

¹ The same historical relation may be shown in the Phœnician, and in the Arabic when *ʾ* is used as a vowel-letter. Probably the vowel letters have been added to the older text of the Bible, in part at least, by later copyists.

² The *w* and *y* in these cases, as expressing the consonant-sound, are as much as possible like *w* in *wo* and *y* in *yet*, not as in *now* and *ny*.—Tr.

especially in respect to *length* and *shortness*; but at the same time noticing also their *changeableness* (see §§ 25, 27).

I. First Class: A sound.

1. *Qā'měš* (—) is every where long *a*, but yet is in its nature of two kinds:

a) The essentially long *ā* which is not easily shortened and never entirely dropped (§ 25, 2), for which the Arabic regularly has **ك**—, as **كֶתֶב** *k'ethā'bh*¹ (writing), **גָּנֵב** *gān-nā'bh* (thief), **קָם** *qām* (he arose), very seldom written **קָאם**.²

b) The prosodically lengthened or tone-long *ā* (see § 26, 3), both in the tone-syllable and close before or after it. This sound invariably proceeds from the original short *ă*,³ and is found in an open syllable (i. e. one ending with a vowel, see § 26, 3), e. g. **קָטַל**, **רָקִים**, **אָסִיר** (in Arabic *lākā*, *qātālā*, *yāqūm*, *'āsîr*), and also in a closed syllable (i. e. one ending with a consonant), as **רָדָב** (Arabic *yād*, *kaukāb*). In the closed syllable, however, it can stand only when this has the tone,⁴ **דָּבָר**, **עוֹלָם**, but in the open, it is especially frequent *before* the tone-syllable, as **לֶכֶם**, **קִטְלָנִי**, **גִּדּוֹל**, **זָקֵן**, **דָּבָר**. When the tone is either moved forward or lessened, this vowel becomes, in the former case, short *a* (*Pä'thäch*), and in the latter, vocal *Shewâ* (§ 27, 3), **דָּבַר**, **דָּבַר** (*d'ebhär*); **חָכֵם**, **חָכֵם** (*chakhäm*); **קָטַל**, **קָטַל**.

Under the final letter of a word, *Qā'měš* may stand alone (**קָטַלְתָּ**, **לָהּ**), but in this position it is also indicated by **ה** (**קָטַלְתָּהּ**, **אָתָּה**, **אָשָׁה**). Comp. § 7, 2.

2. *Pä'thäch*, or the short *ă*, stands properly only in a closed syllable with and without the tone (**קָטַלְתָּם**, **קָטַלְתָּ**). Most of the cases where it now stands in an open syllable, had the syllable originally closed, as in **נָחַל** (original form *nachl*) and

¹ This long *ā* is rare in Hebr., since it has generally changed into *ô*, see No. 10, 2 on p. 42.

² Of another sort are the cases in which **כ** has lost its original consonant-sound by softening (see § 23, 1, 2).

³ In the Arabic, the short *a* is still maintained.

⁴ When the tone is marked in this book, the sign — is usually put over the first letter of the syllable, see § 15, 2, Rem. 3.—*Tr.*

בַּיִת (Arab. *bait*), see § 28, 4. Such an *ā* in an open syllable is else generally changed into *ā* (ֶ֫); comp. above in No. 1, b.

On the rare union of Pă'thăch with א (אֶ֫), see § 23, 2; on *ā* as a helping-sound (*Pă'thăch furtive*), see § 22, 2, *b* and § 28, 4.

3. *Seghōl* (ĕ, è ֶ֫) belongs, according to its origin, chiefly to the first class of vowels, but now and then to the second or the third. It belongs to the first, when it is a modification of *a* (as in the Ger. *Bad*, pl. *Bäder*) either in an unaccented syllable, e. g. יִדְכֶם (for יִדְכֶם), or in the tone-syllable, e. g. אֶרֶץ from אֶרֶץ, קָרְן (Arabic *qārn*), קָמַח (Arab. *qāmch*); even in an accented final syllable e. g. בְּרִיז, or with a final ה as in מְרִאָה (Arab. *mar'ā*), or even in the gravest tone-syllable at the end of a clause or sentence (in *pause*, § 29, 4), as in מִלְכָּה, צֶדֶק, though it then becomes *ā* in other words of this form, as in קָמַח, קָרְן. *Seghōl*, which seems to be lengthened from *shewā* but which in fact comes likewise from an original *ā*, stands in pausal forms, as פָּרִי (groundform *pārī*), יָחִי (*yāhī*) etc.

II. Second Class: I and E sound.

4. The long *Chîrêq*, î, is most commonly expressed by the letter י (a fully written *Chîrêq* יֶ֫); but even when this is not the case, it makes no essential difference, provided the vowel is long by nature (§ 8, 4), e. g. צִדִּיק *just*, plur. צִדִּיקִים (*šād-di-qîm*); יִירָא *he fears*, plur. יִירָאִי *they fear*. Whether a defectively written *Chîrêq* is long, may be best known from the grammatical origin and character of the form, but often also from the character of the syllable (§ 26), or at the same time from the position of *Mêthêgh* (§ 16, 2) at its side, as in יִירָאִי (*yî-rēû*).

5. The short *Chîrêq* (never written with י) is especially frequent in sharpened syllables (קָטָל, אֶמְצִי),¹ and in closed unaccented syllables (לְקָטָל). It often comes from a shortening of *a*, as in בְּתָרִי (*my daughter*) from בַּת, דְּבָרִי from דְּבַר, יִקְטָל out of יִקְטָל; or it is an original *ĭ*, lengthened by the tone to

¹ For this sharp *î* the LXX mostly use ε, ἰσμεναι, Εμμενουσῆλ.

ē, as in אִיבָה (thy foe) from אִיב (orig. 'āyibh). Sometimes also it is a mere helping-vowel, as in בִּית for בֵּית (§ 28, 4).

The older grammarians call every *fully* written Chirēq, *Chîrēq magnum*, and every *defectively* written one, *Chîrēq parvum*; but as to the sound, this gives a wrong distinction.

6. The longest ē, *Ṣērē* with Yôdh (יֹ—), is a blended sound of the diphthong ai יַי (§ 7, 1), which, in the Arabic and Syriac, stands for it, as הַיְכָל (*palace*), in Arab. and Syr. *haikal*. It is therefore a very long and firm vowel, longer even than יַי, since it approaches the quantity of a diphthong. This יֹ— is but very seldom written defectively (עֵינִי for עֵינִי Is. 3, 8), and then it retains the same value.

At the end of a word, יֹ— and יַי must be written fully. In the form קִטְלָה (§ 44, Rem. 4), the vowels belong to the marginal reading קִטְלָה, called the *Qerî* (§ 17).

7. The *Ṣērē* without Yôdh is the long ē of the second rank, always lengthened from a short ĭ, and it stands only *in* and *close by* the tone-syllable, like the ā above (p. 39) in No. 1, *b*. It stands in an open syllable *with* or *before* the tone, e. g. סֵפֶר (Arab. *sīphr*) *book*, שְׁנָה (Arab. *šināt*) *sleep*; in a closed syllable only *with* the tone, as in בֶּן son, אֵלֶם dumb.

8. The *Sēghô'l*, so far as it belongs to the second class, is most generally a short obtuse ě, a shortening of the tone-long —, (this shortening having been occasioned by the weakening of the tone through the addition of a suffix or a word joined by *Mäqqe'ph*), as תֵּן from תֶּן (*give*), יַצֵּר from יָצַר (*maker*), but also in the tone-syllable, as גַּרְזֵן (Arab. *kärzîn*) *an axe*, אֲחֵרֶת (fem. of אָחֵר), and at the end of a word as in חֹזֶה *chô-zé* (*a seer*); it appears besides as a helping-sound, as in סֵפֶר for סֶפֶר, יֶגֶל for יָגֶל (§ 28, 4).

On the rise of *Sēghô'l* out of other vowels see more in § 27, Rems. 1, 2, 4.

III. Third Class: U and O sound.

9. In the *third class* is found much the same relation as in the second. In the *U* sound we have:

1) the *long û*, whether *a*) fully written as *Shû'rēq* ו (answering to the יֹ— of the second class), e. g. גְּבוּל (*border*), or *b*) defectively written (analogous to the long — of

the second class) without the Wāw, as *Qibbûṣ* (—); viz., that which stands for *Shûrêq*, and should more properly be called *defective Shûrêq* (יִמְחֶה, גְּבֹלָה), being in fact a long vowel like *Shûrêq*, and only an orthographic shortening for the same.

2) The *short ü*, the proper *Qibbûṣ* (analogous to the short *Chîrêq*), in an unaccented closed syllable, and especially in a sharpened one, as שִׁלְחָן (*table*), סִכָּה (*booth*).

For the latter the LXX put *o*, e. g. עֵרֶם, Ὀδολάμ; but this only indicates on their part a defective pronunciation, since they also express *Chîrêq* by *ε*, as Ἐμμαουίλ for עֲמַנְיָאֵל. Equally incorrect was the former custom of giving to both sorts of *Qibbûṣ* the Germ. *ü*, though it finds an apparent justification in Palestine, (comp. the Turkish *bülbül* for the Persian *bulbul*, and the Syrian pronunciation *dünjā* of the Arabic *dunja*.)

Sometimes also the short *ü* in a sharpened syllable is expressed by *ı*, e. g. רִיפִיר = רִפִּיר (see § 27, Rem. 1 and *Delitzsch* Com. Ps. 31. 3).

10. The *O* sound stands in the same relation to *U*, as *E* to *I* in the second class. It has four gradations:

1) the longest *ô*, sprung from the diphthong *au* (§ 7, 1), and mostly written in full ו (Chō'lem plenum), שׁוֹט (*a whip*, Arabic *saut*), עוֹלָה (*evil*) from עוֹלָה; more rarely it is written defectively, as שֶׁרָה (*thy bullock*), from שׁוֹר;

2) The long *ô*, which has sprung from an original *â* (comp. Germ. *alt* = Eng. *old*), usually written *fully* in a tone-syllable and *defectively* in a toneless one, as קֶטֶל (Arab. *qâṭil* and Aram. *qâṭēl*); אֱלֹהִים (*god*), Arab. 'ilāh, and Aram. 'ēlāh, pl. אֱלֹהִים; שׁוֹק (*leg*), Arab. *sâq*; גִּבּוֹר (*hero*), Arab. *gābbār*; הוֹתֵם (*seal*), Arab. *khâtām*; רִמּוֹן (*pomegranate*), Arab. *rūmmā'n*; שִׁלְטוֹן (*dominion*), Aram. שִׁלְטָן, Arab. *sūlṭā'n*; שְׁלוֹם (*peace*), Aram. שְׁלָם, Arab. *sālām*. Sometimes both forms co-exist, as שֶׁרֶן and שִׁרְיוֹן (*coat of mail*); comp. § 68.

3) The tone-long *ō*, which is lengthened by the tone from an original short *o* or *u*, and which becomes short again on its removal, as כָּל (*all*), כֹּל- (*kōl*), כָּלָם (*kūl-lām*), וְקָטֵל, וְקָטֵלָה, וְקָטֵלָה (in this last instance it is shortened to vocal *Sh'wâ*, *yiq-ṣ'elū'*, Arab. *yâq-tūlū*). In this case the Chō'lem is *fully* written only exceptionally.

4) The *Qā'měṣ-chāṭû'ph* (—), always short and in the same relation to *Chō'lēm* as the *S'ghô'l* of the second class to the *Ş'ê'rê*, כֹּל *kōl*, וַיָּקָם *wāy-yā'-qōm*. On the distinction between this and *Qā'měṣ*, see below in this section.

11. The *S'ghô'l* also belongs here, so far as it arises out of *u* or *o* (No. 3), e. g. in אָהַם, קִטְלֶתָם. See § 27, Rem. 4, *b*.

On the *half-vowels*, see § 10.

12. In the following table we give a scale of the vowel-sounds in each of the three classes, with respect to their quantity, from the greatest length to the utmost shortness. The table does not indeed suffice to exhibit all vowel transitions, which occur in the language, but yet it furnishes a view of those in more frequent use:—

| First Class: A. | Second Class: I and E. | Third Class: U and O. |
|---|--|---|
| — longest <i>â</i> (Arabic אָ—). | — <i>ê</i> diphthongal (from <i>ai</i>). | î <i>ô</i> diphthongal (from <i>aw</i>). |
| | — <i>è</i> (from <i>ai</i>). | î or — <i>ô</i> changed from <i>â</i> . |
| | — or — long <i>î</i> . | î or — long <i>û</i> . |
| — tone-long <i>ā</i> (from short <i>ă</i> or —) in and by the tone-syllable. | — tone-long <i>ē</i> (from — <i>ĩ</i> or — <i>ě</i>) in and immediately before the tone-syllable. | — tone-long <i>ō</i> (from — <i>ŏ</i> or —) in the tone-syllable. |
| — short <i>ă</i> . | — short <i>ĩ</i> . | — short <i>ŭ</i> , specially in a sharpened syllable. |
| — partly tone-long <i>è</i> , partly short <i>ě</i> , — <i>ĩ</i> attenuated from <i>ă</i> . | — <i>ě</i> , accented <i>è</i> . | — short <i>ô</i> . |
| Greatest shortening to — ^a — ^ẽ or — ^e , also to | Greatest shortening to — ^ẽ or — ^e . | Greatest shortening to — ^o or — ^e . |

ON THE DISTINCTION OF QĀ'MĚṢ AND QĀ'MĚṢ-CHĀṬŪPH.¹

As an instance of incongruity in the vowel-signs, we may notice the fact, that the long *ā* (*Qā'-měṣ*) and the short *ă* (*Qā'-měṣ-chāṭû'ph*) are both represented by the same sign (—), e. g. קָם *qām*, כֹּל *kōl*.² The beginner who has as yet no

¹ This portion must, in order to be fully understood, be studied in connection with what is said on the syllables in § 26, and on *Méthëgh* in § 16, 2.

² For the cause of this, see Note 1 on p. 35; but cf. *Bær-Del*. Job 17, 9.

knowledge of that surest of guides, viz., the grammatical derivation of the words he has to read, may, in order to distinguish between these two vowels, follow these two chief rules: viz.—

1. The sign (—) is *ö* in a closed syllable which has not the tone (or accent); for such a syllable cannot have a long vowel (§ 26, 5). The examples are various:

a) When *simple Shewâ*, as syllable-divider (§ 10, 3), follows, as in חֹכְמָה *chōkh-mā'* (wisdom), אֹכְלָה 'ōkh-lā' (food); with a *Methëgh* on the contrary, the (—) is *ā* and closes the syllable, and then the following *Shewâ* is a half-vowel (*vocal Shewâ*), as in אָכְלָה 'ā-khēlā (she ate), according to § 16, 2.

b) When *Dāghë'sh forte* follows, as in חֲנֻנִי *chōn-nē-ni* (pity me); also בֵּיתִים *böttî'm* (houses), בֹּתְתֵיכֶם *bōt-tê-khēm*, though the *Methëgh* (§ 16, 2) makes others pronounce these words better with *ā*, as *bât-tî'm*.

c) When *Mäqqëph* follows (§ 16, 1), as כֹּל־הָאָדָמָה *kōl-hā'-ādhām* (all men).

d) When the closed unaccented syllable is final, as וַיָּקֹם *wāy-yā'qōm* (and he stood up).—There are some cases where *ā* in the final syllable loses its tone by *Mäqqëph* (§ 16, 1) and yet remains unchanged, e. g. בְּחֻבֵּי־הַדָּבָר Est. 4, 8, שֵׁנִי־לִי Gen. 4, 25, 16, מִנְתִּי־הַלֵּךְ Ps. 16, 5. In such cases the *Methëgh* or a secondary accent generally stands by the (—).

In cases like לֵאמָמָה *lā'mma*, where the (—) of the closed syllable has the tone, it is *ā*, according to § 26, 6.

2. The sign (—) as short *ö* in an open syllable is less frequent. It occurs:—a) when *Chāṭëph-Qd'mëš* follows, as פְּעֻלָּו *pö-'lō'* (his deed); or simple vocal *Shewâ* as סִלְגָּן *sling*;—b) when another *Qd'mëš-chāṭëph* follows, as פְּעֻלָּה *pö-'ōl'khā'* (thy deed);—c) in two anomalous words, where it is also written with (—), which is found in manuscripts, viz., קְדָשִׁים *qō-dhā-shî'm* (sanctuaries) and שְׁרָשִׁים *shō-rā-shî'm* (roots).

In these cases (—) is followed by *Methëgh*, which indicates that the *Massora* (comp. *Bær-Del.* Job VI.) read *ā* thus: *pā-^olō*, *dā-r^ebān*, *pā-^ol'khā*, *qā-dāšîm*. This tradition though sustained by the Babylon. Punct. (§ 8, 2, Note) and by the orig. Jewish Grammarians, is not to be accepted without question. The *Methëgh* may orig. have had another meaning, or have been founded upon an error. It is better to divide and read: *pö-^o-lō* (f. *pö-^o-lō*), *pö-^o-l'khā*, *qōdā-šîm* (clearly orthogr. for *qōdāšîm*). Quite as difficult would be *Methëgh* as a sign of *ā* in בְּחֻרֵי־הַיָּם Ex. 11, 8, however possibly in בָּאֲנִי *bā-^onî*, in the fleet 1 K. 9, 27 where the *ā* of the article is found under the ב.

§ 10.

THE HALF-VOWELS AND THE SYLLABLE-DIVIDER (SHEWÂ).

1. Besides the full vowels, which § 9 chiefly treats of, the Hebrew has also a series of very slight vowel-sounds, which may be called *half-vowels*.¹ They are to be regarded in general as extreme shortenings, perhaps mere traces, of fuller and more distinct vowel-sounds in an earlier period of the language.

To them belongs, first, the sign —, which indicates the shortest, slightest, and most indistinct half-vowel, something like an obscure half *ē* (e). It is called *Shewâ*,² and also *simple Shewâ*, to distinguish it from the *composite* (see below in No. 2), and *vocal Shewâ* (*Shewâ mobile*), to distinguish it from the *silent* (*Shewâ quiescens*), which is merely a divider of syllables (see No. 3). This last can occur only under a consonant closing the syllable, and is thus distinguished from the vocal *Shewâ*. Of the vocal *Shewâ* we have again to distinguish two kinds,

1) the real *Shewâ mobile*, beneath such consonants as are closely united (as a kind of *appoggiatura*), with the following syllable, whether—*a*) at the beginning of the word, as קָטַל *qəṭōl*, מִמַּלֵּא *məməllē'*; or—*b*) in the middle of the word, as קִטְּלָה *qô-ṭēlā'*, יִקְטְלוּ *yîq-ṭēlū'*, קִטְּלוּ *qittēlū'*,

2) the so-called *Shewâ medium*,³ or *Shewâ wavering* [*schwebende*] placed under such consonants as stand at the end of a syllable with a short vowel, and thus effect at least a slight close of the same, while at the same time they serve as *appoggiatura* to the following syllable. The *Shewâ medium* therefore stands between the *Shewâ quiescens* and the real *Shewâ mobile*. With reference to pronunciation however, it must be

¹ In the table § 9, 12 on p. 43, the half-vowels have already been exhibited for the sake of a more complete view. We express them by very small letters.

² The name שֵׁוָּא is written also שְׁוָּא, and its derivation and proper meaning are disputed.

³ Dr. Davies preferred to regard the cases here classified (under the name of *medium*) as exceptionally faint *vocal Shewâs*, to be indicated in English by an apostrophe ('), thus מַלְא' *māl'-khē'*.—Ed.

counted among the latter; e. g. הִנְנִי *hin-nî* (which stands for הִנְנִי *hin-nenî*); לַמְנַחֵשׁ *la-menassê^ach* (for לַמְנִי), מַלְכֵּי *mal^ekhê*.

The sound *ê* may be regarded as representing *vocal Sh^ewâ*, although it is certain that it often accorded in sound with other vowels. The Sept. express it by ε, even η, כְּרוּבִים Χερουβίμ, הָלַלְתִּי ἁλληλούϊα, oftener by α, שְׂמוֹנָה Σαμουήλ, but very often they give it a sound to accord with the following vowel, as כְּדֹם Σόδομα, שְׁלֹמֹן Σολομών (besides Σαλωμών), צָבָאֵם Σαβαώθ, נָתַן Ναθαναήλ.¹ A similar account of the pronunciation of *Sh^ewâ* is given also by the Jewish grammarians of the middle ages².

How the *Sh^ewâ* sound springs from the slight or hasty utterance of a stronger vowel, we may see in בְּרָכָה (for which also בְּרָכָה occurs, see No. 2, Rem.) from *barakha*, as this word also sounds in Arabic. This language has still regularly for *vocal Sh^ewâ* an ordinary short vowel.

2. With the simple *vocal Sh^ewâ* is connected the so-called *composite Sh^ewâ* or *Châṭē'ph* (*rapid*), i. e. a *Sh^ewâ* attended by a short vowel to indicate that we should sound it as a half *ä*, *ê*, or *ö*. We have, answering to the three principal vowel sounds (§ 7, 1), the following *three Châṭē'phs*:

(—) *Châṭē'ph-Páthăch*, as in חֲמֹר *ch^emôr* (ass).

(—) *Châṭē'ph-S^eghô'l*, as in אָמַר *emôr* (to say).

(—) *Châṭē'ph-Qă'mêš*, as in חֲלִי *ch^elî* (sickness).

These *Châṭē'phs*, at least the two former, stand chiefly under the four gutturals (§ 22, 3), the utterance of which naturally causes the annexed half-vowel to be rather more distinctly sounded. At the beginning of the syllable a guttural can never have a *simple Sh^ewâ*.

Rem. Only (—) and (—) occur under letters which are not gutturals.

¹ This is not unusual in the Greek and Latin transcriptions of Phœnician words, e. g. מַלְכֵּי *Malaca*, גִּבּוּלִים *gubulim* (see *Gesen. Mon. Phœnicia* p. 436, *Schröder, die phonic. Spr.*, S. 139 ff., *Movers' article Phönizien* in the *Encyclop.*, p. 436). Comp. the Latin augment in *momordi*, *pupugi*, with the Greek in τέτυφα, τετυμμένος, and the old form *memordi*.

² See especially *Juda Chayyug*, p. 4 and p. 130 of the edition by Nutt, (Berlin, 1870) = p. 200 in ed. by Dukes (Stuttg. 1844), also in *Ibn Ezra's Sachoth*, p. 3, *Gesenius's Lehrgebäude der hebr. Sprache*, S. 68. The "Manuel du lecteur" mentioned above § 6, 1 contains also express rules for the different utterances of the *vocal Sh^ewâ*.

The *Chātēph-Pāthäch* is thus found instead of *simple vocal Shēwā*, especially *a*) under a doubled letter, since the doubling causes a more distinct utterance of the vocal *Shēwā*, as *נְבִילִי* *branches* Zech. 4, 12, especially also where the sign of doubling has fallen away (*Del.* and *Guer.* Ztschr. Bd. 24, p. 499), *יְהוֹלִצְהוּ* Judg. 16, 16; not less universally where after a consonant with (—) the same consonant follows (for sharper distinction) e. g. *קְוִירִים* Ps. 68, 7; *קְלָלָהּ* Gen. 27, 13 (except some special cases like *הִנֵּי הִנֵּי* *see me!*) and finally under ר after the long vowel and before the tone e. g. *פְּרָחִי* Ps. 103, 1; *b*) under the initial sibilants after ו copulative e. g. *וְזָרַב* Gen. 2, 12; *וְשָׁקָה* Gen. 27, 26, to give the *Shēwā* more prominence; for the same reason under emphatic ק in *וְקָרַב* Ps. 55, 2 and under ר in *וְרָגַם* Ps. 28, 9; *c*) under liquids, sibilants, or ק after י, e. g. *אֶזְרוֹת* Ps. 12, 7, *בְּסִכְכֶּךָ* Ps. 74, 5 for the same reason, as cases under *b*.

The *Chātēph-Qā'měš* is less restricted to the gutturals than the first two, and stands frequently for *simple vocal Shēwā* when an *O* sound was originally in the syllable, and requires to be partly preserved, e. g. *רָאִי* for *רֵאִי* *vision* (§ 93, VI. Rem. 6), *יִרְדְּפָהּ* for the usual *יִרְדְּפָהּ* Ez. 35, 6, from *יִרְדֵּף*; *קָרַקְדוּ* *his pate* from *קָרַקְדוּ*. It is used, also, like (—) when *Dāghēsh forte* has fallen away, *לִקְחָהּ* for *לִקְחָהּ* Gen. 2, 23. Here, as in *וְיִסְדָּהּ* 1 K. 13, 7, and *וְיִצְעָקִי* Jer. 22, 20, the choice of this *composite Shēwā* is dependent on the following guttural and the preceding *U* sound; in *יִטְהַרֶּה* (*u-t^hhōr*) additionally on the fol. *O* sound.

3. The sign of the *simple Shēwā* (—) serves also as a mere *syllable-divider*, without expressing any sound, and therefore called in this case *silent Shēwā* (Arab. *sukūn* rest). It stands in the midst of a word under every consonant that closes a syllable; at the end of words, on the other hand, it is omitted, except in *final* ד, e. g. *מֶלֶךְ* (*king*), and in the less frequent case where a word ends with a mute after another vowelless consonant, as in *נָרַדָּהּ* (*nard*), *אַתָּה* (*thou, fem.*), *קָטַלְתָּהּ* (*thou hast killed*), *יִישַׁק* (*and he watered*), *וַיִּשָּׁב* (*and he took captive*), *אַל-תִּשָּׂא* (*drink thou not*).

Yet in the last examples *Shēwā* under the last letter might rather pass for *vocal*, since it is pretty clear that a final vowel has been shortened, e. g. *אַתָּה* 'attē from *אַתָּה* 'attī, *קָטַלְתָּהּ* from *קָטַלְתִּי*, *יִישַׁב* *yishbē* from *יִישַׁבָהּ*,¹ etc. The Arabic actually has a short vowel in the analogous forms. In *נָרַדָּהּ* (Cant. 4, 10) borrowed from the Indian, *קִשְׁתָּהּ* (*truth*) Prov. 22, 21, *qōshṭā*, *לֹא-תִדַּסָּהּ* (*ne addas*) Prov. 30, 6 the final mute draws from itself a very slight vowel sound.

¹ So thought *Juda Chayyug* among the Jewish grammarians.

§ 11.

OF THE OTHER SIGNS WHICH AFFECT THE READING.

In intimate connection with the vowel-points stand the *reading-signs*, which were probably adopted at the same time. Besides the diacritic point of ܐ and ܐ (p. 27), a point is used *in* a letter, in order to show that it has a stronger sound, or is even doubled; and, on the contrary, a small horizontal stroke *over* a letter, as a sign that it has *not* the strong sound. The use of the point *in* the letter is *threefold*: — *a*) as *Dāghē'sh fortè* or sign of *doubling* (§ 12); — *b*) as *Dāghē'sh lenè* or sign of the hard (not aspirated) sound (§ 13); — *c*) *Mappī'q*, a sign that the vowel-letter (§ 7, 2) especially the ܐ at the end of a word (§ 14, 1), has the sound of a consonant. The stroke *over* a letter, *Rāphè*, has a contrary effect, and is rarely used in the printed text (§ 14, 2).

§ 12.

OF DĀGHĒ'SH IN GENERAL, AND DĀGHĒ'SH FORTÈ IN PARTICULAR.

1. *Dāghē'sh* is a point written in the bosom¹ of a consonant, and is employed for two purposes; *a*) to indicate the *doubling* of the letter (*Dāghē'sh fortè*), e. g. ܩܬܬܐ *qīṭ-ṭēl*; *b*) the *hardening* of the aspirates (§ 6, 3), i. e. the removal of the aspiration (*Dāghē'sh lenè*). Comp. Note p. 49.

The root ܕܓܫ, from which ܕܓܫ is derived, signifies in Syriac to *thrust* or *bore through* (with a sharp iron). Hence the word *Dāghē'sh* is commonly supposed to mean, with reference to its figure merely, a *prick* or a *point*. But the names of all similar signs are expressive of their grammatical power, and in this case, the name of the sign refers both to its figure and its use. In grammatical language ܕܓܫ means,— 1) *acuere* (*literam*), to *sharpen* the letter by doubling it;—2) to *harden* the letter by taking away its aspiration. Accordingly ܕܓܫ means *sharpening* and *hardening*, i. e. the sign of sharpening or hardening (like

¹ The ܐ with *Dāghē'sh* is easily distinguished from *Shūrēq*, which never admits a vowel or *Shēwā* under or before the ܐ. The *Wāw* with *Dāghē'sh* (ܐ) ought to have the point not so high up as the *Wāw* with *Shūrēq* (ܐ). But this difference is mostly neglected in print.

Mäppí'q, מַפִּי'ק *proferens*, i. e. *signum prolationis*), and it was expressed in writing by a mere *prick* of the *stilus* (*punctum*). In a manner somewhat analogous, in textual criticism letters and words are represented as expunged (*ex-puncta*) by a *point* or *pointed instrument* (*obeliscus*) affixed to them.—The opposite of Dāghē'sh is רַפָּה *soft* (§ 14, 2).—That דָּגִישׁ, in grammatical language, is applied to a *hard pronunciation* of various kinds appears from § 22, 4, Rem. 1.

2. Its use as *Dāghē'sh forte*, i. e. for *doubling* a letter, is of chief importance (compare the *Sicilicus* of the ancient Latins, e. g. *Luculus* for *Lucullus*, and in German the stroke over *m* and *n*). It is wanting in the unpointed text, like the vowel and other signs.

For the cases where it stands, and for further particulars respecting its varieties, see § 20.

§ 13.

OF DĀGHĒSH LENE.

1. Dāghē'sh *lene*, the sign of *hardening*, belongs only to the aspirates (*literae aspiratae*) בִּגְדֻכְפֹּת (§ 6, 3)¹. It takes away their aspiration, and restores their original *slender* or *pure* sounds (*literae tenues*) e. g. מֶלֶךְ *mā'-lēkh*, but מַלְכוֹ *mal-kô'*; תַּפֵּר *tā-phēr*, but יִתְפֹּר *yith-pór*; שָׁתָה *shā-thā'*, but יִשְׁתָּה *yish-tè*.

2. Dāghē'sh *lene*, as shown in § 21, stands only at the beginning of words and syllables. It is thus easily distinguished from Dāghē'sh *forte*, since in such cases the doubling of a letter is impossible. Thus the Dāghē'sh is *forte* in אַפִּי *äp-pí'*, רַבִּים *rāb-bím*, but *lene* in יִגְדֹל *yigh-däl*, פָּנִים *pānim*.

3. Dāghē'sh *forte* in an aspirate doubles it in its original harder sound, so excluding its aspiration and serving at once for both *forte* and *lene*, as in אַפִּי *äp-pí'*, רַכּוֹת *rāk-kóth*. Compare in German *stechen* and *stecken*, English *stitch* and *stick*, *wachen* and *wecken*, Engl. *watch* and *wake*.

It is natural that where the letter is to be doubled, it does not admit easily of such a softening of its sound. In confirmation of this rule

¹ Prof. Kautzsch notices here an anomalous application of the *Dāghē'sh lene* to other than the aspirates in order to accentuate the beginning of a new syllable. Examples of this are to be found in the corrected text of Baer-Delitzsch, e. g. בִּבְלִיָּבִי Ps. 9, 2, מַחֲסִי Ps. 62, 8, comp. Delitzsch, luth. Ztschr. 1863, S. 413.—Ed.

we may refer to certain Oriental words, which, in the earliest times, passed over into the Greek language, as כָּפָא κάππα (not κάφα), yet כָּפִיר σάπφειρος.

The doubling of a letter does not occur in Syriac, at least not in its Western dialects. Where it would be required, however, according to etymology and analogy, in some cases the hard sound at least remains: thus אֲפִין in Syriac is read 'apîn for 'appîn, דַּכִּי דַּכִּי *dakî* for *dakkî*.

§ 14.

MAPPÎ'Q AND RÂPHÈ.

1. *Mappî'q*, like *Dāghē'sh*, to which it is analogous, is a point in a letter. It belongs only to the vowel-letters א, ו, י, and ח, ה (*literae quiescibiles*, see § 7, 2), and shows that they are to be fully sounded as *consonants*, instead of serving as vowels. It is at present used only in final ה, for in the body of a word this letter always has its consonant force, e. g. גְּבִהָה *gā-bhā'h* (to be high), אֶרֶצָה 'ār-ṣā'h (her land), the *h* having its full consonant-sound (shortened from -hā), in distinction from אֶרֶצָא 'ār-ṣā (land-ward), which ends with a vowel.

Without doubt such a ח was uttered with stronger aspiration, like the Arabic *He* at the end of the syllable. The use of *Mappî'q* with א, ו, י, to mark them as consonants, is almost confined to manuscripts, e. g. גֹּיִר (gōy), קֹי (qāw); and it appears in the printed text only very seldom with the 'Alēph, thus א Gen. 43, 26, Lev. 23, 17, Ezr. 8, 18.

The name כְּפִיק signifies *proferens* i. e. a sign that requires the sound of the letter to be clearly expressed as a consonant. The same sign was selected for this and for *Dāghē'sh*, because the design was analogous, viz., to indicate the strong sound of the letter. Hence also *Rāphè* is the opposite of both.

2. *Rāphè* (רַפָּה i. e. *soft*), a horizontal stroke over the letter, is the opposite of both *Dāghē'sh* and *Mappî'q*, especially of *Dāghē'sh lene*. In exact manuscripts especially an aspirate has either *Dāghē'sh lene* or *Rāphè*, e. g. מַלְכָּה *mā'lekh*, תַּפְּחָה; but in printed editions of the Bible (except of Baer-Delitzsch, v. Note, p. 49) it is used only when the absence of *Dāghē'sh* or *Mappî'q* is to be expressly noted, e. g. *Dagh. f.* wanting in רַחֲמַנְיָהוּ for רַחֲמַנְיָהוּ Judg. 16, 16, and *Dāghē'sh lene* in מִשְׁתִּי v. 28, and *Mappî'q* in Job 31, 22.

§ 15.

OF THE ACCENTS.

1. The design of the *accents* in general is, to show the rhythmical members of the verses in the Old Testament text, especially in the poetical books. But as such the use is two-fold, according to which they are chiefly to be noticed in the grammar, viz.—*a*) to show the logical relation of each word to the whole sentence;—*b*) to mark the tone-syllable in each word. In respect to the former, they serve as signs of *interpunction*; in respect to the latter, as signs of the *tone* or *accent*.

In their *original* idea accents are chiefly signs of *declamation*, intimating the elevation and depression of the tone, and are used as such in the recitation, or rather the *cantillation*, of the Old Test. in the synagogues. This use of them is also connected with the general rhythmical design.

2. As a sign for marking the *tone* of a single word, the accent, whatever its rhythmical value besides may be, stands regularly (comp. Rem. 2, p. 54) with the syllable which has the chief tone in the word. In most words the tone is on the last syllable, less frequently on the last but one (*penultima*). In the first case, the word is called by the grammarians *mīl-rā'* (מִלְרָא' Aram. *from below*), e. g. קָטַל *qā-ṭā'l*; in the second, *mīl-ē'l* (מִלְעֵל Aram. *from above*), e. g. מָלַךְ *mā'-lēkh*. On the third syllable from the end (*antepenultima*) the chief tone never stands; but we often find there a secondary one, or by-tone, which is indicated by the *Méthēgh* (§ 16, 2). The Jewish grammarians accept also a proparoxytone in such cases as יַחַד נִעְמְדָה Is. 50, 8.

3. The use of the accents as signs of *interpunction* is somewhat complicated, since they serve not merely to *separate* the members of a sentence, like our period, colon, semicolon and comma, but also as marks of *connection*. Hence they form two general classes, *Distinctives* (Domini) and *Conjunctives* (Servi). Again there is to be distinguished a double system of accentuation *a*) the *Prosaic*, found in 21 O. T. books (the so-called כ"א i. e. 21) and *b*) the *Poetical* in the three first

books of the *Hagiographa*, Psalms, Proverbs and Job. Comp. Note⁵ p. 22. The latter system is not only richer and more complicated in itself, but also musically more significant than the Prosaic.

The following list of the accents presents them in the order¹ of their value as *signs of interpunction*.

I. PROSAIC ACCENTS.

A. *Distinctives* (Domini).

- | | | |
|-----------------------|---|--|
| I. <i>Imperatores</i> | { | 1. (.) סוף פסוק: סִלּוּ'q, ² "end") with (:) סוף פסוק; |
| | | 2. (.) אָתְנָח (<i>Athnā'ch</i> , "rest"); ³ |
| | | 3. (') סִגְלִתָּא (<i>S'ghöltā</i> , "bunch of grapes"); †† |
| | | 4. (') שְׁלִשְׁלָתוּ (<i>Shālshēlēth</i> , "chain") with פְּסִיק following; |
| II. <i>Reges</i> | { | 5. (') זָקָה קָטוֹן (<i>Zāqēph qātōn</i> , "slight suspension"); |
| | | 6. (') זָקָה גָּדוֹל (<i>Zāqēph gādhol</i> , "great suspension"); |
| | | 7. (') רִבִּיעַ (<i>Rēbhīā'</i> , "square" or "reposing"); |
| III. <i>Duces</i> | { | 8. (') פָּשְׁטָא (<i>Pāshṭā</i> , "letting down"); †† |
| | | 9. (.) יָתִיב (<i>Yēthībh</i> , "sitting still"); † |
| | | 10. (.) טִפְחָא (<i>Tīphchā</i> , "palm of the hand"); † |
| | | 11. (.) תְּבִיר (<i>Tēbhīr</i> , "interruption"); |
| | | 12. (') זֶרְקָא (<i>Zarqā</i> , "dispersion"); †† |
| IV. <i>Comites</i> | { | 13. (') גֵּרֶשׁ (<i>Gērēsh</i> , "expulsion"); |
| | | 14. (') גֵּרָשִׁים (<i>Gerāshim</i> , "double Geresh"); |
| | | 15. (.) לְגַרְמֵהּ (<i>Le'garmēh</i> = מַרְיָה (see 21) with (ו) פְּסִיק (<i>Pēsīq</i> , "cut off"); |
| | | 16. (') פָּזֵר (<i>Pāzēr</i> , "separator"); |
| | | 17. (') קָרְנֵי פָרָה (<i>Qārñē-phārā</i> , "heifer's horns"); |
| | | 18. (') תְּלִישָׁא גְּדוֹלָה (<i>Tēlīshā Gēdholā</i> , "great shield"); |

¹ This list has been tabulated and enlarged for the sake of clearness. The order here given is that adopted by *Kautzsch*, with the addition of the Hebrew names and their definitions as given by *Stade* (*Lehrb.* 1879), *Ewald* and others.—*Ed.*

² Only at the end of the verse and always united with (:) *Sôph-pässû'q* which separates each verse, e. g. :רָאָהָּ.

³ Usually under the tone-syllable of the last word in the first half of the verse.

⁴ For explanation of the signs † and †† see Rem. 2 below.

B. Conjunctives (Servi).

19. (,) מִירְכָּא (*Mē^ekhā*, "prolonging");
20. (,) מִירְכָּא כְּפֻלָּא (*Mē^ekhā kh^ephūla*, "m. doubled");
21. (,) מִינָח (*Mūnāch*, "at rest");
22. (,) דָּרְגָּא (*Dārgā*, "progress");
23. (') קְדָמָא (*Qādhmā*, "beginning");
24. (,) מִהַפָּךְ (*Māhpāch*, "inverted");
25. (') תְּלִישָׁא קְטַנָּה (*Tēlishā Q^etannā*, "little shield"); ††
26. (,) יָרַח בְּנִיּוֹמֵי (*Yērāch ben Fōmō*, "moon a day old");
27. (,) מֵאַיְלָא (*Me^eailā*, "from afar").¹

II. POETICAL ACCENTS.

A. Distinctives.

1. (:;) סְלוּק *Silluq* (see above).
2. (') מִהַפָּךְ מִירְכָּא *Mer^ekhā m^ehuppākh* or 'Ölè^ejōrēd, a stronger separator than
3. (,) אֶתְנָח *'Athnā'ch* (v. s.). In smaller verses *'Athnāch* suffices as chief separator; in larger ones the *Mē^ekhā m^ehuppākh* serves as such, and is then always followed by *'athnach* as greatest distinctive of the second half of the word,
4. (') גְּדוּל רְבִיעַ *Great R^ebîā*,
5. (') רְבִיעַ מִגְרָשׁ *R^ebhî^a Mugrāsh*, i. e. *R^ebhî^a* with *Gē'rēsh* over the same word,
6. (') שְׁלֶשֶׁלֶת *Shālshêlêth* (v. s.),
7. (') צִנּוֹר *Şinnôr* (*Zārqā*) ††;
8. (') קְטוֹן רְבִיעַ *Little R^ebhî^a*, immediately before *Mē^ekhā m^ehuppākh*,
9. (,) דְּחִי *De^echî* or *tiphchā prepositive* †,
10. (') פָּזֵר *Pāzēr* (v. sup.),
- 11a. (,) מִהַפָּךְ לְגַרְמֵה *M^ehuppākh l^egarmēh*, i. e. *māhpakh* with *P^esîq*,
- 11b. (') אֶזְלָא לְגַרְמֵה *'Azlā l^egarmēh*, i. e. *Azlā* with *P^esîq*.

¹ To indicate the secondary tone in words which have *Silluq* or *'Athnā'ch*.

B. Conjunctives.

12. (,) מִרְכָּא *Mēr'khā* (v. s.),
13. (,) מוֹנַח *Mûnach* (v. s.),
14. (') עֲלִי *Illui* or *Munach Superior*,
15. (,) טַרְחָא *Tärchā* placed under the tone-syllable and thus easily distinguished from No. 9.
16. (,) גָּלְגַל *Galgal* (or *Yēräch* v. no. 26 supra.),
17. (,) מַהְפָּךְ *Mähpākḥ* (v. s.),
18. (') אֲזֵלָא *Azlā* (v. s.),
19. (') שְׁלֹשֶׁת קַטְנָה *Shalsheth q'tannāḥ* (little Sh.). The last three are distinguished from the distinctives of the same name by the absence of the *P'siq* stroke.

REMARKS ON THE ACCENTS.

I. *As Signs of the Tone.*

1. As in Greek and English (comp. εἰμί and εἴμι, *entrance* and *entrance*), so also in Hebrew, words which are written with the same consonants and vowel-signs are often distinguished by the accent, e. g. בָּנִי *bā-nū'* (*they built*), בָּנוּ *bā'nū* (*in us*); קָמָה *qā'mā* (*she stood up*), קָמָה *qāmā'* (*standing up, fem.*).

2. As a rule, the accents stand on the tone-syllable, and properly on its initial consonant. Some, however, stand only on the first letter of a word (*prepositive*), others only on the last letter (*postpositive*). The former are designated in the table by †, the latter by ††. These do not, therefore, clearly indicate the tone-syllable, which must be known in some other way.

3. The place of the accent, specially when it is on the penultima, is indicated in this book by the sign (—), e. g. קָטְנָה *qā-tā'l-tā*.

II. *As Signs of Interpunction.*

4. In respect to this use of the accent, every verse is regarded as a period, which closes with Sillū'q¹, or, in the figurative language of the grammarians, as a realm (*ditio*), which is governed by the great Distinctive at the end (*Imperator*). According as the verse is long or short, i. e. as the empire is large or small, so varies the number of *Domini* of different grades, which form the larger and smaller divisions.

¹ This has the same form with *Methëgh* (§ 16, 2); but they are readily distinguished, as *Sillūq* always stands at the last tone-syllable of a verse, while *Methëgh* never stands at a tone-syllable.

5. Conjunctives (*Servi*) unite only such words as are closely connected in sense, as a noun with an adjective, or with another noun in the genitive. For the closest connection of two or several words *Mäqqē'ph* is used (§ 16, 1).

6. In very short verses few conjunctives are used, and sometimes none; a small distinctive, in the vicinity of a greater, having a connective power (*servit domino majori*). In very long verses, on the contrary, conjunctives are used for the smaller distinctives (*fiunt legati dominorum*).

7. Without attempting here to explain¹ the laws of consecution, we may remark, to avoid misunderstanding, that in poetic accentuation, the *Rebhî^a* *Mugrāsh* before *Sillūq* and the *D^echî* before *Athnā'ch* must be changed into a *conjunctive*, unless at least two unaccented syllables precede the chief distinctives. Here *Sh^ewā mobile* after *Qā'mēš*, *Šē'rē* or *Chō'tēm* (with *Mēthēgh*) is considered as forming a syllable.

§ 16.

OF MÄQQĒPH AND METHĒGH.

These are both closely connected with the accents.

1. *Mäqqē'ph* (מַקְקֶפֶה *binder*) is a small horizontal stroke between two words, which thus become so united that, in respect to tone and interpunction, they are regarded as one, and have but one accent. Two, three, and four words may be united in this way, e. g. כָּל־אָדָם *every man*, אֶת־כָּל־עֵשֶׂב *every herb* Gen. 1, 29, אֶת־כָּל־אֲשֶׁר־לֹ, *all which to him* (was) Gen. 25, 5.

Certain monosyllabic words, like אֶל *to*, עַל *on*, אֶת־ sign of the *Acc.*, כָּל *all*, are almost always thus connected. But a longer word may also be joined to a monosyllable, e. g. הַחֶהְלֵךְ־נָתַן Gen. 6, 9, וַיַּהֲרִיבֵן Gen. 1, 7. 9; or two polysyllables, e. g. שִׁבְעָה־עָשָׂר Gen. 7, 11. —Compare the Greek proclitics ἐν, ἐλ, ἐξ, εἰ, ὡς, οὐ, which as ἄτονα lean on the next word.

2. *Mēthēgh* (מֶתֶּהֱגַ a *bridle*), a small perpendicular line on the left of a vowel, indicates a kind of check upon the influence of the accents as marking the tone-syllable, and shows

¹ The curious student is referred, for a full treatment of the Accents, to *Ewald's* *Lehrbuch d. hebr. Sprache*, §§ 97—100. See also Prof. A. C. Davidson's *Outlines of Heb. Accentuation*. Edinb. 1861, the appendix to *Delitzsch's* commentary on Psalms, and *Delitzsch's* review, in Curtiss' English translation of Bickell's elements (Leipz. 1877). It is to be noted that a thorough study of the accents can only be made with the aid of correct editions of the text, like those of *Baer Delitzsch*, our ordinary texts being corrupt.

that the vowel, though not accented, should not be hastily passed over in pronunciation; (hence the other names of *Méthëgh*: *Ma^arikh* (מַאֲרִיחַ), i. e. *lengthener*, or gā'yā (גַּאֲיָא) i. e. *raising of the voice*).¹

There has to be distinguished: 1) The *light Méthëgh*. This is divided again into: *a*) the ordinary *Méthëgh* of the secondary tone, as a rule on the second syllable before the tone, e. g. הָאָרֶם; but also in the third when the second is closed, e. g. הָאָרְבָּעִים and, when the third cannot take it, even the fourth (open) syllable before the tone. This *Méthëgh* may be repeated in the fourth syllable before the tone when it already stands in the second. Finally it is always added to the vowel of an open *ultima* which is joined by *māqqē'ph* to a word beginning with *Shewâ* pretonic, e. g. מִירְלָהּ, שְׁלֹמֹה-בְּנִי to prevent the *Shewâ* from being regarded as *silent*.

This *Méthëgh* never stands with the ה copulative; therefore *not*. וְבָנִים *etc.* (likewise *not* וְבָנִי *etc.*—contrary to *b*, *α*, below; although וְזֶה *etc.* according to *b*, *δ*, comp. § 10, 2. Rem.)

b) the firm or indispensable *Méthëgh*. *a*) with all long vowels which are followed by vocal *Shewâ* pretonic, e. g. קָטֹלָה *etc.* *β*) to emphasize a long vowel immediately before *Māqqē'ph*, e. g. שְׁתִּילִי Gen. 4, 25 (*ā*, not *ö*). *γ*) with *Sērē* which has lost its accent by the removal of the tone, to prevent its pronunciation as *Sēghôl*, e. g. אֶהָב (not *'ōhēbh*). *δ*) with all vowels before composite *Shewâ* e. g. יַעֲקֹב, יַעֲקֹבִים *etc.* except when the following consonant is doubled, e. g. יַקְבֹּבִי. Is. 62, 2, because the sharpening by *dāghē'sh* excludes the lengthening of the vowel by *Méthëgh*. *ε*) In the initial syllable of all forms of הָיָה *to be*, and חָיָה *to live*, where the ה and ח stand with *silent Shewâ* (for greater distinctness of utterance) e. g. יִהְיֶה, תִּהְיֶה *etc.* *ζ*) with the *Qā'mēš* of the plural forms בָּתִּים, *house* (thus בָּתִּים *bāttim etc.*) and with אָנָּה *prithē!* to avoid the sounds *bōttim, önnā*.

Every kind of light *Méthëgh* may in certain circumstance be changed into a conjunctive accent.

¹ Comp. as the source of the article on *Méthëgh*, the thorough discussion of *S. Baer* upon the "Metheg-Setzung nach ihren überlieferten Gesetzen" in *A. Merx*, Archiv für die wissenschaftl. Erforschung des A. Test. Heft I (Halle 1867), S. 56, and Heft II (1868), S. 194.

2) The *grave Mèthègh* (Gá'yā in a more limited sense) is not employed to lengthen, but only to give more importance to a short vowel or an initial *Shewâ*, especially to the *Pāthāch* of the article or the prefixes ל, כ, ב, when followed by *Shewâ*, e. g. הַמִּסְלָה, לַמִּסְלָה etc., but not before י (except יִיָּהּ and יִיָּהּ when they stand before *Mèthègh* or with the accent *Pāshtā*) nor before or after the ordinary *Mèthègh*. It is also put with interrogative ה when it has *Pāthāch* and at the right side of it e. g. הֲאֵלֶּךָ (except before י, *dāghesh forte*, or the tone). The so-called *Shewâ Gá'yā* is especially important in poetical accentuation, for purposes of musical recitation. It stands chiefly upon words whose principal tone is marked by a *Distinctive* without a preceding *Conjunctive*.

3) The *Euphonic Gá'yā*, for the distinct enunciation of such consonants as, in consequence of the loss of the tone, might easily be neglected, e. g. וַיִּשְׁבַּע לוֹ Gen. 24, 9; פָּדָה אֶרֶם 28, 2 etc.

Rem. 1. The *Mèthègh* is of special service to the beginner, as indicating (according to letter *a*, above) the quantity of *Qāmēs* and *Chirēq* before a *Shewâ*. Thus in אֶלְלָה 'ā-khēlā' the *Mèthègh* shows that the *Shewâ* is here *vocal*; but the (—) in an open syllable before (—) must be *long* (§ 26, 3), consequently *Qāmēs*, not *Qāmēs-chātū'ph*. On the contrary, in אֶלְלָה without *Mèthègh* the (—) stands in a closed syllable and is consequently *short* (*Qāmēs-chātū'ph*). Thus also יִרְאוּ (they fear) with *Mèthègh* with a long î, yî-re-'û', but יִרְאוּ (they see) without *Mèthègh* with short î, yîr-'û'; see also the rule about *Qāmēs* and *Qāmēs-chātū'ph* above in § 9.

Rem. 2. It should be said however that the Jewish Grammarians do not consider syllables lengthened by *Mèthègh* as open. With them the *Shewâ* is silent, in cases like אֶלְלָה (above), the כ belonging to the preceding syllable. Comp. *Baer*. *Torath 'Emeth* p. 9. and in *Merx's Archiv* I. p. 60. Rem. 1.

§ 17.

OF THE QERĪ AND KETHIBH.

The margin of the Bible exhibits a number of various readings of an early date (§ 3, 2), called קרי (*read*), because in the view of the Jewish critics they are to be preferred

to what stands in the text, and to be read instead of what is there written, hence called כְּתִיב (*written*). Those critics have therefore attached the vowel-signs, appropriate to the marginal reading, to the corresponding word in the text; e. g. in Jer. 42, 6, we find in the text אֲנִי, in the margin אֶנְחֵנוּ קָרִי. Here the vowel-points in the text belong to the word in the margin, which is to be pronounced אֶנְחֵנוּ *we*; but in reading the *Kethibh* אֲנִי, the proper vowels must be supplied, namely אֲנִי *we*. A small circle or asterisk over the word in the text always directs to the marginal reading. — With some words of frequent occurrence, that are *always* read otherwise than they are written, it has not been thought needful to put in the margin the word as read, but only to attach its vowels to the word in the text; and the word so pointed is called a *Qerî perpetuum*. So we find הוּא (Q. הִיא) in the Pentateuch wherever it stands as *feminine* (§ 32, Rem. 6); יֵשׁוּבָר (Qerî יִשְׁבָּר) Gen. 30, 18 *etc.* comp. *Gesen. Lex.* and *Baer-Delitzsch, Liber Genesis* p. 84, יְרוּשָׁלַם (Qerî יְרוּשָׁלַם), properly יְרוּשָׁלַם; יְהוָה (Qerî אֲדֹנָי the Lord), or יְהוָה (Q. אֱלֹהִים God) whenever אֲדֹנָי stands next before it in the text, but properly it is always יְהוָה *Yäh-wè* (comp. § 102, 2, Rem.).

As to the critical value of the marginal readings see *Gesenius's* *Gesch. der Hebr. Sprache*, S. 50, 75.

CHAPTER II.

PECULIARITIES AND CHANGES OF LETTERS: THE SYLLABLES AND THE TONE.

§ 18.

In order fully and rightly to comprehend the changes which the forms of the various parts of speech undergo, it is necessary first to get acquainted with certain general laws which govern those changes. These laws are founded

partly on the peculiarities of certain classes of letters, considered individually or as combined in syllables, and partly on certain usages of the language in reference to the syllables and the tone.

§ 19.

CHANGES OF CONSONANTS.

The changes occasioned among consonants by the formation of words, inflection, euphony, or certain influences connected with the progress of the language, are *commutation*, *assimilation*, *rejection* and *addition*, *transposition*.

1. *Commutation* takes place most naturally among letters which are *homorganic* or *homogeneous* (comp. § 6, item. 1 on page 29), e. g. עָצַלְס, עָצַלְז, עָצַלְז to *exult*; לָהָה, לָהָה, Aram. לָהָה to *tire*; ים— and ין— (as plural ending); פָּחַץ and פָּחַץ to *press*; סָגַר and סָגַר to *close*; מָלַט and פָּלַט to *slip* or *escape*. In process of time, and as the language approximated to the Aramæan, hard and rough sounds specially were exchanged for softer ones, e. g. גָּעַל for גָּעַל to *reject*, שָׁחַק for שָׁחַק to *laugh*; and for the sibilants were substituted the corresponding flat sounds, as ד for ז, ט for צ, ת for ש; which latter cases may be regarded as a return to an earlier pronunciation.

This interchange of consonants affects the original forms of words more than it does their grammatical inflection; the consideration of it, therefore, belongs rather to the lexicon. Examples occur, however, in the grammatical inflection of words; viz., the interchange — a) of ת and ט in Hithpa'el, (§ 54); — b) of ו and י in verbs *Pē Yôdh* (§ 69), as יָלַד for יָלַד (*he begat*).

2. *Assimilation* usually takes place when a consonant, at the close of a syllable, passes over into the one beginning the next syllable, so as to form with it a double sound, as *illustris* for *inlustris*, *affero* for *adfero*, συλλαμβάνω for συλλαμβάνω. In Hebrew this occurs—

a) most frequently with the slightly nasal נ, especially before harder consonants, e. g. מִשָּׁם (for מִשָּׁם) *from there*,

מִזֶּה (for מִנֶּה) *from this*, יִתֵּן (for יִתֶּן) *he will give*, נָתַתָּ (for נָתַתָּה) *thou hast given*. Before gutturals נ is commonly retained (except sometimes with ה); also after the prefix ל, as לָנֶה etc. and when the נ is the third letter of the stem, as שָׁכַנְתָּ *thou hast dwelt* (comp. however נָתַתָּ for נָתַתָּה); finally in isolated cases as תִּנְהַרְהַר Ps. 68, 3 (here and elsewhere probably as intentional emphasis in long pause, comp. Is. 29, 1; 58, 3. Deut. 33, 9).

- b) less frequently, and only in spécial cases, with ל, ר, ת, ד, e. g. יִקַּח for יִלְקַח *he will take*; הִתְכַּוֵּן for הִתְכַּוִּין *to be established*, שָׁלִי for אֲשֶׁר לִי *who to me* (§ 36); אֲחֵרָה for אֲחֵתָה.
- c) in isolated cases with אהרי e. g. בִּסְאֶפְאָה Is. 27, 8; אָנָּה from אָה נָא; finally ר and י mostly before sibilants in forms like רִיצַר for רִיצַר comp. § 71.

In all these cases, the assimilated letter is expressed by *Dāghē'sh fortè* in the next following. In a consonant at the end of the word, however, as it cannot be doubled (§ 20, 3, a), the *Dāghē'sh* is omitted, e. g. אָה *nose* for אָנָּה or אָנָּה, תָּתַת for תָּתַתָּה (prop. תָּתַתָּה) *to give*, לָת for לָתַתָּה *to bear*; comp. τύψας for τύψανς.

In these last cases the assimilated letter has not *Sh'wâ*, but the helping-vowel *S'ghôl* (§ 28, 4), which, however, is only recognized as an euphonic substitute for *Sh'wâ*.

By way of assimilation backwards, we occasionally find a second weaker sound swallowed up by the stronger one before it; e. g. קָנַלְתָּו קָנַלְתָּו (Q 59, Rem. 3), מִמֶּנּוּ for מִמֶּנּוּ *from him* (§ 103, 2). With this may be reckoned רִסַּב for רִסַּב *he will surround* (§ 67, 5), also אֶסְלַק for אֶסְלַק (§ 66, 2).

3. The complete *rejection* or *falling away* of a consonant easily happens, especially in the case of the weaker ones, viz. the breathings (א, ה), or vowel-letters (ו, י), or liquids (נ, ל). It happens—

- a) at the beginning of a word (*aphæresis*), when such a feeble consonant has not a full vowel, and its sound is easily lost upon the ear, as נָחַנּוּ and אָנַחְנוּ (*we*), אֲשֶׁר for אֲשֶׁר (comp. No. 2, b, above), שֵׁב (*sit thou*) for וְשֵׁב; דַּע for orig. וְדַע; קַח for קַח; וְדַע 2 Sam. 22, 41 is anomalous.

b) in the midst of a word (*contraction*), when such a feeble consonant is preceded only by a Sh'wâ, e. g. מים for מַיִם (but comp. ראשון for ראשון, (רִאשׁוֹן), לְמַלְאֵךְ for לְהַמְלִיכָה (§ 23, 4, and § 35, Rem. 2), יִהְיֶה for יִהְיֶה (רִאשׁוֹן) (§ 53, 1). The contraction (or *syncope*) of א in the beginning of the syllable as בְּאֵרִי, and לְקִרְאָתָהּ for לְקִרְאָתָהּ — the א being orthographically retained. Finally to the department of syncope belongs the elision of the half vowel at the close of a syllable after a heterogeneous vowel, as e. g. יִרְדֵּה for יִרְדֵּה as well as that of the ו and י in verbs לִ"ה (§ 75, 3).

c) at the end of words (*apocope*), e. g. רִקְטָלוֹ for רִקְטָלוֹ, בְּנִים, before the genitive בְּנֵי (§ 89). Upon the apocope of half vowels in verbs לִ"ה see § 75.

Bolder changes were made in the infancy of the language, particularly in casting away consonants at the end of a word; thus, from אָז was formed אָז *only*; perh. from בֵּיתָ, בֵּי; from הָלַךְ, הָ (see § 99, and § 100, 4). Here belongs also the change of the feminine ending תֵּ— *āth* to תֵּ— *ā* (see § 44, 1, and § 80, 2).

4. To avoid harshness in pronunciation the *addition* of א (*Ā'lēph prostheticum*), with its vowel, takes place sometimes at the beginning of a word, e. g. זְרוֹעַ and אֶזְרוֹעַ *arm* (comp. χθές, ἐχθές, Lat. *spiritus* = French *esprit*, Welsh *ysprid*).

5. *Transposition* seldom occurs in the grammar, as in הִשְׁתַּמֵּר for הִשְׁתַּמֵּר (§ 54, 2) because *sh* is easier to sound than *thsh*; but oftener in the province of the lexicon, as כָּבֵשׁ and כֶּשֶׁב *lamb*, שְׂמֹלֶה and שְׂמֹלֶה *garment*, מִלְחָמָה and מִלְחָמָה *tooth*; they are, however, chiefly confined to the sibilants and liquids.

Even consonants, especially the weaker ones, may at the end of a syllable be softened to vowels, like εἶς from εἷς, F. *chevaux* from *cheval* (comp. § 30, 3, e), e. g. כִּיבָה for כִּיבָה *star* from כִּיבָה for כִּיבָה. Comp. Davies' Heb. Lex. art. כִּיבָה.

§ 20.

OF THE DOUBLING OF CONSONANTS.

1. The doubling of a letter by *Dāghē'sh fortè* (§ 13) takes place, and is *essential*, i. e. necessary to the form of the word (*Dāghē'sh essential*) —

- a) when the same letter is to be written twice in succession, without an intermediate vowel—or *vocal Shewâ*; thus for נָתַנְנוּ we have נָתַנְנוּ *we have given*; for שָׂתַתִּי שָׂתַתִּי *I have set*; for הִכְרַתִּי הִכְרַתִּי *I have cut off*.
- b) in cases of assimilation (§ 19, 2), as יָתַן for יָתַתֵּן. In both these instances (a and b) it is called *Dāghē'sh compensative*.
- c) when the doubling of a letter originally single is characteristic of a grammatical form, e. g. לָמַד *he has learned*, but לָמַד *he has taught* (*Dāghē'sh characteristic*).

The double consonant is actually and necessarily written twice (without admitting the compensation), whenever a vowel sound, even the shortest (a vocal *Shewâ*), comes between. In the latter case according to the correct Massora, there should be a composite *Shewâ* preceded by *Methēgh* e. g. הוֹלִלִים, הוֹלִלִים etc. (comp. § 16). The *compos. Shewâ* does not stand before the ה, e. g. הִכְרַתִּי Gen. 27, 4, but also here the first כ has *Vocal Shewâ* (otherwise the 2d כ would have naturally a *Dāghē'sh lene*). Also in cases where the first of the two consonants has already been doubled by *Dāghē'sh forte*, it can have no other than the *Vocal Shewâ* and therefore a further contraction is impossible. This holds true also there when the *Dāghē'sh forte* (v. below 3 b) has been omitted, e. g. in הוֹלִלִים really הוֹלִלִים = *hal-lelû*. The form הוֹלִלִים Ps. 9, 14 (not הוֹלִלִים) may be explained as *Imper. Pi' el* = הוֹלִלִים; in the *Imper. Qâl* the insertion of a *Vocal Shewâ* under the first נ would be just as strange as in שָׁדַדְתִּי Jer. 49, 28 and in the *Imperf.* שָׁדַדְתִּי Jer. 5, 6.

2. A consonant is sometimes doubled merely for the sake of *euphony*. The use of *Dāghē'sh* in such cases (*Dāghē'sh euphonic*) is only occasional, as being less essential to the forms of words. It is employed—

- a) when two words are more closely united in pronunciation by doubling the initial consonant of the second (*Dāghē'sh forte conjunctive*), 1) in the first letter of a monosyllable or of a word accented on the first syllable and closely united by *Maqqeph* to a preceding word which ends in accented הִ— or הִ— (except when the הִ— is the ending of the 3. masc. sing. perf. of a verb ל"ה, or of a substantival infinitive) the so-called דְּחִיק *pulsum* of the Jewish grammarians. Some limit the use of the *dāchîq* to the closest union of a monosyllable with a following

B'gadk'phath. However here belong also cases like וְהָיָה שְׁמוֹ Jer. 23, 6 (for שְׁמוֹ is considered *one* accented syllable): לִקְהֵל־הָאֵת Gen. 2, 23; וַיִּצְהַר־לֵהֹרֶן Ps. 91, 11, and even with *Rêsh* מִצְהָרֶהָ Prov. 15, 1 (here each 1st word was orig. *mil'ra*).

Analogous to this usage is the Neapolitan *le llaglime* for *le laglime*, and (including the union of the two words in one) the Italian *alla* for *a la*, *della* for *de la*.

Rem. 1. It is very doubtful whether the close attachment of the interrogative מָה (מַה) to the following word by *Dāghēsh forte* must also be counted here. According to *Olshausen* this *Dāghēsh* comes from assimilation of the really consonantal *Hê*. In favor of this hypothesis are *a*) the form מַה־מָה *etc.* in which the ה has been kept only orthographically (therefore also מַה־מָה Exod. 4, 2 בְּלִבְכֶם Is. 3, 15); *b*) the fact that the close union exists when no monosyllable or word accented on the first syllable follows, e.g. מַה־פָּרַצְתָּ Gen. 38, 29.

Rem. 2. By no means do such examples as the following belong here: גָּאֵה גָּאֵה Ex. 15, 1, 21 (Comp. verse 11, בְּמַבְּחָה v. 13 גָּאֵה v. 16, בְּמַבְּחָה). In all these cases the *Dāghēsh* can be nothing but *lene* v. § 21, 1. Rem.

2) in the first letter of a monosyllable or word accented on the first syllable, after a closely connected *Mil'el* terminating in *Qāmēs*, הֶ— or הֶ—. Such a *Mil'el* is called by the Jewish grammarians אֲתֵי מֵרְחֵק *veniens e longinquo* (i. e. as to accent). The attraction of the following tone syllable through *Daghesht forte conjunctive* has here its reason in a rhythmical pressure, e.g. שְׁבִיתָ שְׁבִי Ps. 68, 19; הִרְחִיבָה שְׂאוֹל Is. 5, 14 (only the prefixes בְּ, כְּ, לְ, יְ, in such cases receive no *Daghesht*). Forms like מְלֹאָה שְׁחָד Ps. 26, 10; רַחֲקָה מִנִּי Job 21, 16 as well as נִעְמְדָה יָחַד Is. 50, 8, with an accented antepenultima(?), are likewise considered *Mil'el*. The *Daghesht* is used even then when the attracted word does not begin with the principal accent but with a syllable having *Méthēgh*, e.g. הָמָה יִירָשָׁה Ps. 37, 9; אֵלֶּה יִעֲקֹב Is. 44, 21; עֲשִׂיתָ קְצֵרְתִּי Ex. 25, 29.

Rem. Cases like קוֹמוּ צֵאוּ Gen. 19, 14 (Com. Ex. 12, 15, 31, Deut. 2, 24.) have been wrongly counted here. In such cases the *Dāghēsh* is not *conjunctive* but *orthophonic*, that the sibilants may be duly articulated; v. *Delitzsch* (commentary) upon the *Dāghēsh orthophonic* in הֶה Ps. 24, 12.

b) when a consonant with *Shewâ*, preceded by a short vowel, is doubled in order to sharpen the syllable still more, and

to make the *Shewâ* more audible (*Dāghē'sh dirimens*), e. g. עֵנְבִי for עֵנְבִי *grapes* Deut. 32, 32; comp. Gen. 49, 10, Ex. 2, 3, Is. 57, 6, 58, 3, Job 17, 2, 1 Sam. 28, 10, Ps. 45, 10; Hos. 3, 2; Is. 9, 3. Several cases of this sort may be referred to the influence of a following consonant.¹

c) when the final tone-syllable of a clause or sentence (§ 29, 4), is to receive more strength and emphasis by the doubling, the *daghesh forte affectuosum*, e. g. נָתַנִּי for נָתַנִּי *they gave* Ez. 27, 19, יָחֻלָּה for יָחֻלָּה *they waited* Job 29, 21, Is. 33, 12.

d) the doubling of liquids by the so-called *Daghesh forte firmativum* in the pronoun הִמָּה, הִנֵּה, אֵלֶּה and in לָמָּה *wherefore*, to give greater firmness to the preceding vowel.

3. The Hebrew omitted, however, the doubling of a letter by *Dāghē'sh fortè*, in many cases where the analogy of the forms required it; viz.—

a) *almost always* at the end of a word, because there the pronunciation, at least as handed down to us, does not easily admit of such a sharpening. Thus the syllable *all* would be pronounced, not as in German with a sharpened tone, but like the English *all, call, small*. Instead, therefore, of doubling² the consonant, they often lengthened the preceding vowel (§ 27, 2, b), as רֵב (*multitude*) from רָבַב; עָם (*people*) with a distinctive accent (§ 15, 3), for עָם from עָמַם. The exceptions are very rare, as אַתָּה *thou f.*, נָתַתָּה *thou hast given* Ez. 16, 33 (see § 10, 3, Rem.).

b) *often* in certain consonants with *vocal Shewâ* in the body of a word (where the doubling of a letter is less audible, as in Greek ἄλτο, Homeric for ἄλλετο), under this rule come first ו and י, as well as the liquids מ, נ and ל, and then the sibilants (except ש), especially when a guttural

¹ Kautzsch refers such cases chiefly to the nature of the consonant affected viz: *liquids, sibilants*, or the emphatic *Qôph*. Comp. however 3, b.—Ed.

² The doubling of a final letter is also omitted in Latin, as *fel* (for *fell*), gen. *fellis*; *mel*, gen. *mellis*; *ôs*, gen. *ossis*. In the Middle-High German, the doubling of consonants never took place at the end of a word, but always in the middle (as in the Old-High Germ.), as *val* (Fall), gen. *valles*; *svam* (Schwamm), etc.: Grimm's Deutsche Gramm. 2nd ed. I. 383.

follows, and finally the emphatic ק. Of the *Begadkephat* ת is found only once (Is. 22, 10) without *Dāghē'sh*. Examples: עָרְרוּ, נָהָה (so always the prefix ה in the *Impf.* of the verb), לָמַנְחָה, הָלַלוּ, הָנְנוּ, וְשָׂאוּ, וְקָחוּ etc. In correct MSS. the omission of the *Dāghē'sh* is indicated by the *Rāphē* stroke (§ 14) over the consonant. Moreover the preceding short vowel, which would be lengthened in open syllables, indicates that at least a *virtual* doubling takes place by means of the *Dag. forte implic.* v. § 22, 1. Rem.

c) In the gutturals (see § 22, 1).

Rem. We sometimes find *Dāghē'sh* omitted, especially in the later books in an abnormal way by lengthening the preceding vowel which is usually *chîrêq* (comp. *mîle* for *mille*), as הִתְרַחֵף he terrifies them for רָחַף (Hab. 2, 17), וִיקָח Is. 50, 11 fiery darts for וִיקָח.

§ 21.

ASPIRATION: WHERE IT OCCURS AND WHERE NOT.

The *hard* but *thin* (*tenuis*) sound of (ב, ג, ד, כ, פ, ת) the six *aspirates* with *Dāghē'sh lenè* inserted, is to be regarded, agreeably to the analogy which languages generally exhibit in this respect, as their original pronunciation, from which gradually arose the softer and weaker aspirated sound (§ 6, 3 and § 13). The original hard pronunciation maintained itself in greatest purity when it was the initial sound, and after a consonant; but when it immediately followed a vowel or vocal *Shewâ*, it was softened and aspirated by the influence of the vowel, so פָּרַץ *parāḥ* becomes יִפְרֹץ *yīphrōḥ*; כֹּל *kōl*, לָחַל *lakhōl*. Hence the *aspirates* take *Dāghē'sh lenè*:

1. At the beginning of words, a) without exception when the preceding word ends with a vowelless consonant, as עֲלֵיכֶן *āl-kēn* (therefore), עֵץ פֵּרִי *ēs pērî* (fruit-tree, lit. tree of fruit), b) at the beginning of a chapter (בְּרֵאשִׁית in the beginning Gen. 1, 1), a verse, or even of a minor division of a verse (consequently after a distinctive accent, § 15, 3), even when the preceding word ends with a vowel. The distinctive accent in such a case prevents the influence of the vowel on the

following *tenuis*, e. g. **וַיְהִי כֹאֲשֶׁר** *it happened when* Jud. 11, 5 (on the contrary, **וַיְהִי כֵן** *it was so* Gen. 1, 7); **יִהְיֶה חֲרָבִי פָנָי** *and lo! the face of the ground was dried up* Gen. 8, 13; **וַיִּפְּלוּ פָנָיו** (with dist. accent) 4, 5, but in ver. 6 **נָפְלוּ פָנָיו** (with conj. accent); **שֹׁטְרֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** Gen. 35, 5; **שֹׁטְרֵי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל** Ex. 5, 14.

Rem. 1. The vowel letters א, ו, י, ה, as such, naturally effect no close of syllable and are therefore followed in close connection by aspirates without *Dāghēsh*, e. g. **וַיִּמְצָא** etc. On the contrary syllables are closed by consonantal ו and י as well as by ה with *Mappiq*, e. g. **פָּצוּ עַל פִּיהֶם** Ps. 22, 14. (*Dāghēsh lenè* is therefore regularly found after יוהוה, because **אֲרָזִי** was read instead of it; § 17.)

2. In a number of cases the *Dāghēsh lenè* remains, although a vowel closely precedes. It is almost always so when the word begins with combinations of consonants like the following: **כָּב, כֶּב, כַּב, כָּב** (i. e. the aspirates with *Shewâ* before another aspirate); **כָּג** is uncertain; according to *David Kimchî* **כָּד, כֶּד** and **כַּד** must remain aspirate. Sometimes the first letter in the above cases has a *Dāghēsh*, even when it is followed by a firm vowel instead of *Shewâ*. In all these cases an endeavor is shown to prevent too great an accumulation of aspiration. Doubly anomalous are the forms **כָּדָד** Is. 54, 12 and **כָּלָל** Jer. 20, 9.

2. In the middle of words after *silent Shewâ*, i. e. at the beginning of a syllable, immediately preceded by a vowelless consonant, e. g. **יִרְפָּא** *yîr-pā' (he heals)*, **יִזְכֹּר** *he remembers*, **קָטְלֵתֶם** *ye have killed*. On the contrary, after *vocal Shewâ* the soft pronunciation obtains, e. g. **רָפָא** *rēphā (heal thou)*, **כָּבְדָהּ** *she was heavy*.

On **קָטְלֵתֶם** and like forms see in § 10, 3.

Whether *Shewâ* be vocal and consequently cause the aspiration of the *tenuis*, depends upon the formation of the respective words. It is always vocal

- a) when it has arisen from the weakening of a strong vowel, e. g. **רָדְפוּ** *pursue ye* (not **רָדְפוּ**) from **רָדְפוּ**; **מָלְכִי** (not **מָלְכִי**) formed immediately from **מְלָכִים** *kings* (on the contrary, **מָלְכִי** *māl-kî'*, because it is formed directly from **מָלַךְ** *mālk*); **בֵּיתָהּ** *house-ward* (not **בֵּיתָהּ**) from **בֵּיתָהּ**.
- b) With the כ in the *suffixes* of the 2d person (**—ָךְ, —ָם, —ָן**), in which *vocal Shewâ* is characteristic, see § 58, 3, b.

Rem. 1. The form **שִׁלַּחְתְּ** *thou (fem.) hast sent*, where we might expect the feeble pronunciation of ח on account of the preceding vowel, was originally **שִׁלַּחְתְּ**; and the sound of the ח, notwithstanding the slight vowel sound thrown in before it, was not changed. Comp. § 28, 4.

2. The hard or soft pronunciation of these letters does not affect the *signification* of the words (comp. in Greek *θρῖξ*, *τριχός*); but this affords no ground to deny that such a distinction was made in the sound.

§ 22.

PECULIARITIES OF THE GUTTURALS.

The four gutturals, ה, ח, ע, א, have the following properties in common, which result from the pronunciation peculiar to them; yet א and ע, both having a weaker sound than ח and ה, differ from these in several respects.

1. The gutturals cannot really be doubled in pronunciation, although they may be strengthened and so they do not admit *Dāghē'sh fortè*. But we must here carefully distinguish between *a*) the complete omission of the doubling and *b*) the so-called *half*, or better *virtual* doubling. In the first case the syllable preceding the letter which omits *Dāghē'sh* becomes longer in consequence of the omission;¹ hence its vowel is commonly lengthened, especially before א (*always* after the article § 35); as a rule also before ע, less often before ח, and still less before ה. The second case admitted a sharpening of the syllable, though orthography excluded the *Dāghē'sh f.* (as the *ch* in the German *sicher, machen*, has the sharp pronunciation without being written double), and hence the short vowel almost universally maintains its place before these letters, or in some cases, when it is a *Pāthäch* followed by a guttural with *Qāmeṣ*, it is merely augmented into *Sēghôl*. This virtual doubling takes place most frequently with ח, usually with ה, more rarely with ע and very seldom with א.

Examples of *a*) מֵאֵן (f. מֵאֵן); הָאֵדָם f. הָאֵדָם; הָעֵם; הָחָר; הָחָבָא (f. הָחָבָא). Of *b*) הַחֲרֹשׁ, הַחֲרָה, הַחֲרָה, הַחֲרָה (f. מְחַוֵּשׁ); הַחֲרֹשׁ, הַחֲרָה, הַחֲרָה (on the contrary before ע as initial letter of the tone-syllable always *Qā'mēṣ* of the article, e. g. הַחֲרָה and so mostly before ח,

¹ Comp. *terra* and the French *terre*; the Germ. *Rolle* and the French *rôle*; Germ. *drollig*, and Fr. *drôle*. In this omission we see an enervating of the language. The fresher and more original sounds of the Arabic (§ 1, 6), still admit always the doubling of the gutturals.

e. g. הָהָר, whilst הָרִי Gen. 6, 19 is an exception); נִצָּץ, נִצָּח etc.—In all these cases of virtual doubling the *Dāghē'sh fortè* is to be regarded at least as *implied* (therefore it is called *Dāghē'sh fortè implicitum, occultum, delitescens*).

2. The gutturals are apt to take a short *A* sound before them, because this vowel is organically closely akin to them. Hence—

- a) Before a guttural, *Pä'thäch* is used instead of any other short vowel, such as *i, ě* (*Chirēq parvum, Sēghôl*), and even for the rhythmically long *ē* and *ō* (*Sērē* and *Chôlēm*); e. g. זָבַח *sacrifice* for זָבַח, שָׁמַע *report* for שָׁמַע. This is still more decidedly preferred when the form with *Päthäch* is the original one, or is otherwise admissible. Thus in the *Imper.* and *Impf.* Qāl of verbs, שְׁלַח *send thou*, יִשְׁלַח *he will send* (not יִשְׁלַח); *Perf.* פִּעַל שְׁלַח (not שְׁלַח); נָעַר *a youth*, יִחְמַד (not יִחְמַד) *he will desire*. In the last 3 cases, *ä* is the original vowel.

Rem. But before the weak א *final* the — remains, e. g. פָּרָא, חָשָׂא etc.

- b) After a heterogeneous long vowel i. e. after all except *Qā'měš*, the hard gutturals (consequently not א) demand, when standing at the end of the word, the insertion of a hasty *ä* (*Pä'thäch furtive*) between them and the vowel. This *Pä'thäch* is placed under the guttural but sounded before it. It is merely an orthographical indication not to neglect the guttural sound in pronunciation, e. g. רוּחַ *rûäch* (*spirit*), שְׁלוּחַ *shû-lûäch* (*sent*), רִיחַ *rêäch* (*odour*), רֵעַ *rêäch* (*companion*), גָּבוּהַ *gā-bhōäch* (*high*) when consonantal ה is final, it necessarily takes *Mäppiq*, הִשְׁלִיחַ *hish-liäch*,¹ etc. But הַמְצִיא without *Pä'thäch furt.* and so with hard gutturals at the beginning of a syllable e. g. רוּחִי etc.

For the same reason the Swiss pronounces *ich* as *iäch*, *Buch* as *Buäch*, and the Arabian מִשִּׁיחַ as *mesîäch*, though neither writes the supplied vowel. The LXX write ε instead of *Päthäch furtive*, as נַח *Nāē*, at times α, as יִרְדָּע 'Ιεδδουα (also 'Ιαδδουα).

¹ Compare with the above our use of a furtive *e* before *r* after long *ē, ě, ū* and the diphthong *ou*, e. g. *here* (sounded *hēer*), *fire* (*fīer*), *pure* (*pūer*), and *our* (*ouer*).—*Tr.*

Rem. 1. The guttural sometimes exerts an influence on the *following* vowel. But the examples (esp. with ח) are few, and are to be regarded rather as exceptions than as establishing a general rule, e. g. נַיִר *a youth* (not נִיִר), דַּעַל *deed* (not דִּעַל); but also רָהֵם etc.

2. S'ghôl is used instead of Chîrêq attenuated from Pâthäch both *before* and *under* the guttural, but only in an initial syllable, as רִחַבֵּשׁ (also רִחַבֵּשׁ, רִחַבֵּי, רִחַבֵּי, נֶאֱדָר, נֶאֱמָדָה etc.

When, however, the syllable is sharpened by Dāghê'sh, the more slender and sharp Chîrêq is retained even under gutturals, as הִלֵּל, הִלֵּה, הִלֵּה; but when the sharpening of the syllable ceases by the falling away of Dāghê'sh, the S'ghôl, which is required by the guttural, returns, e. g. הַגִּיִן, const. state הַגִּיִן *meditation*; הַזִּיִן, constr. state הַזִּיִן *vision*.

3. Instead of *simple Shewâ vocal* (§ 10, 1), the gutturals take a *composite Shewâ* (§ 10, 2), e. g. אָמַר, אָמְרִים, אָמְרָה *they have slain*, יִשְׁחָדוּ *they will slay*. This is the most common use of the composite Shewâs.

4. When a guttural stands at the end of a (closed) syllable, in the midst of a word, it may retain its silent *Shewâ*, especially with ח or ע at the end of the tone-syllable, e. g. שָׁלַחְתָּ *thou hast sent*, but also before the tone (v. examples under No. 2, Rem. 2) and this also with ה and א. But when the syllable stands *before* the tone, the closed syllable is artificially opened by giving to the guttural a slight vowel (one of the *composite Shewâs*), which has the same sound as the full vowel preceding, as יִחַשֵּׁב *he thinks* (also יִחַשֵּׁב), פִּעֵל *pō'lo* (f. פִּעֵלוּ), יִחַזַּק (also יִחַזֵּק); this composite Shewâ is changed into the short vowel with which it is compounded, whenever the following consonant loses its full vowel in consequence of an increase at the end of the word, e. g. יִחַזְקֵהוּ, יִעֲבֹדוּ *yô-'ôbhê-dhû'* (from יִעֲבֹד, יִחַפְּכֵהוּ *yâ-hâphê-khû'* (from יִחַפְּכֵהוּ).

Rem. 1. The grammarians call *simple Shewâ* under the gutturals *hard* (הַקָּשֶׁה), and the *composite Shewâs* in the same situation *soft* (הַרֶמֶה). See more in the observations on verbs with gutturals (§§ 62—65).

2. Respecting the choice between the three composite Shewâs it may be remarked, that—

a) ח, ה, ע, at the beginning of syll. prefer —, but א prefers —, e. g. חָמַר *ass*, חָרַג *to kill*, אָמַר *to say*. But when a word receives an

increase at the end, or loses the tone, א also takes — (considered as lighter), as אֵלִי *to*, but אֵלֵיכֶם *to you*; אֵכֶל *to eat*, but אֵכֶל־ Gen. 3, 11. Comp. § 27, Rem. 5.

- b) In the middle of a word, the choice of a composite Sh^wâ is regulated by the vowel (and its class), which another word of the same form, but without a guttural, would take before the Sh^wâ; as *Perf.* Hiph^lל הִצִּייר (after the form הִקְטִיל *Inf.* הִצִּייר (after הִקְטִיל *Perf.* Hôph^lאֵל הִצִּייר (after הִקְטִיל).

For some further vowel changes in connection with gutturals, see § 27, Rem. 2.

5. The ר, which in sound belongs also to the gutturals (§ 6, 4), shares with the other gutturals only the characteristics mentioned above in No. 1, and a part of those given in No. 2; viz.—

- a) The exclusion of Dāghē'sh fortè; in which case the vowel before it is always lengthened, as בִּרְךָ *he has blessed* for בִּרְךָ; בִּרְךָ *to bless* for בִּרְךָ.
- b) The use of Pāthāch¹ before it, in preference to the other short vowels, though this is not so general as in the case of the other guttural sounds, e. g. וַיִּרְאָה *and he saw*, while the full form וַיִּרְאֶה is in use; וַיִּסָּבֵר *and he turned back*, and for וַיִּסָּבֵר *and he caused to turn back*.

Rare exceptions to the principle given under letter *a* are מְהַר מֹר-רֶ'חַ (trouble) Prov. 14, 10; לֹא-רָכַרְתָּ שֶׁרֶף lō khōrrā'th shōr-rē'kh (thy navel was not cut) Ez. 16, 4, (cf. Pr. 3, 8); שֶׁרֶף אֵשׁ Cant. 5, 2 הִרְאִיתָם 1 Sam. 10, 24 (the Arab. and Samar. retains this doubling, and the LXX write שֶׁרֶף Σάββα). A case of virtual doubling (after מ for מן) is found in Is. 14, 3 מִרְיָנָה and in 1 Sam. 23, 28 מִרְיָה (for מִרְיָה), comp. 2 Sam. 18, 16.

§ 23.

OF THE FEEBLENESS OF THE BREATHINGS א AND ה.

1. The א, a light and scarcely audible breathing in the throat, regularly loses its feeble power as a consonant (i. e.

¹ The preference of *r* for the vowel *a* is seen also in common Greek, e. g. in the feminine of adjectives ending in ρος, as φανερά for φανερή from φανερός.—Tr.

quiesces), whenever it stands without a vowel at the end of a syllable. It then serves merely to prolong the preceding vowel (like the German *h* in *roh*, *geh*, *nahte*), as in מָצָא *he has found*, מָלָא *he was filled*, מָצָא *to find*, כָּלוּא, מִצָּאָה (from מִצָּאָה), חֲמִצָּאָה. In cases like חָרָא, שָׂרָא, חָטָא etc. the א has only an orthographical significancy.

2. On the contrary א retains, generally, its power as a consonant and guttural in all cases where it begins a word or syllable, as אָמַר *he has said*, מָאָסוּ *they have rejected*, or in a closed syllable with silent *Shewâ* e. g. נָאדָר *nēdār*, or where it is protected by *Châṭēph* in a slightly closed syllable e. g. לֶאֱכַל *for to eat*. Yet even in this case it sometimes loses its consonant sound, *a*) when it follows with a long vowel, a half-vowel (*vocal Shewâ*) in the middle of a word; for then the vowel under א is shifted back, to the place of the *Shewâ*, as in מֵאֲתָיִם (*heads*) for רֵאשִׁים, בָּדָאָם for בָּדָאָם Neh. 6, 8, מֵאֲתָיִם (*two hundred*) for מֵאֲתָיִם; א is *orthogr.* in רֵאשִׁון for רֵאשִׁון (*chôṭîm*) for חֲטָיִם 1 Sam. 14, 33. Sometimes this causes a still greater change in the syllables, as מִלְאָכָה for מִלְאָכָה, לְקִרְאָה for לְקִרְאָה or with silent *Shewâ* יִשְׁמַעְאֵל for יִשְׁמַעְאֵל; *b*) when it stands with (—) or (—) preceded by their corresponding firm vowel, the latter is sometimes lengthened and retains א only as a vowel letter (or merely orthographically), e. g. וַיֵּאָצֵּל Num. 11, 25 for וַיֵּאָצֵּל; יֵאָכֵל modified from יֵאָכֵל for יֵאָכֵל; יֵאָמַר for יֵאָמַר etc. An elision of the *Châṭēph* and retention of the short vowel occurs in וַיֵּאָדָּנִי *and my lord* for וַיֵּאָדָּנִי, וַיֵּאָדָּנִי for וַיֵּאָדָּנִי (§ 102, 2) וַיֵּאָדָּנִי Is. 41, 25, etc.

Instead of א in such a case, there is often written one of the vowel letters ו and י, according to the nature of the sound, the former with *ô* and the latter with *ê* and *î*; e. g. בִּיר for בִּיר (*cistern*), רִים (*buffalo*) for רִים, רִישׁוֹן (*first*) for רִישׁוֹן in Job 8, 8; comp. לוֹ for לֹא (*not*) 1 Sam. 2, 16 in *Kethûbh*; at the end of a word ה also is written for א, as יִמְלֵא (*he fills*) for יִמְלֵא Job 8, 21.

3. When א is thus quiescent, it is sometimes entirely dropped, e. g. יָצֵאתִי (*I went forth*) for יָצֵאתִי, מָלֵאתִי (*I am full*) for מָלֵאתִי Job 32, 18, אָמַר (*I say*) constantly for אָמַר, מָלוּ (*to lay waste*) 2 K. 19, 25 for מָלוּ Ezek. 28, 16, לְהַשְׁתֵּת (*to lay waste*) 2 K. 19, 25 for לְהַשְׁתֵּת (*Keth.*) comp. Is. 37, 26.

Rem. 1. In Aramæan the **š** becomes a vowel much more readily than in Hebrew; but in Arabic, on the contrary, its power as a consonant is much firmer. According to Arabic orthography **š** serves also to indicate the lengthened *â*; but in Hebrew the examples are very rare, in which it is strictly a vowel-letter for the long *ā* sound, as in קָאם Hos. 10, 14 for the usual קָם *he stood up*, רָאשׁ *poor* Prov. 10, 4, 13, 23 for רָשׁ (comp. § 7, 2). Hebrew orthography generally omits, in this case, the vowel-letter (§ 8, 3).

2. In Syriac **š** even at the beginning of words cannot be spoken with a half vowel (*vocal Shewâ*), but always receives then a full vowel, usually *E*, as Aram. אֶכַל in Syr. ܐܬܬܝܠ. Accordingly in Hebrew, also, instead of a *composite Shewâ* it receives, in many words, the corresponding long vowel, as אֶזְרֵר *girdle* for אֲזֹרֶר, אֶתֵּן *tents* for אֲתֵּן, אֶסַּח *stalls* for אֲסִיחִית, אֶפֶּה *bake ye* Ex. 16, 23 for אֲפִּיחִי.

3. We may call it a mode of writing common in Arabic, when at the end of a word an **š** (without any sound) is added to a final *û*, *î* and *ô*, as אֶלְכֻם for הֵלְכוּ (they go) Josh. 10, 24; אֶבְיָא (they are willing) Is. 28, 12; also נֶקֶר for נָקִי *pure*, לֵא if, אֶפֶּי then, רֶבִיא *myriad* Neh. 7, 66, 72. As to the **š** in הוּא and הִיא, see also § 32, Rem. 6.

4. The **h** is stronger and firmer than the **š**, and scarcely ever loses its aspiration (or *quiesces*) in the middle of a word;¹ at the end also it may remain a consonant, and then it takes *Mäppîq* (§ 14, 1). Yet at times the consonant sound of the **h** at the end of a word is given up, and ה (without *Mäppîq*, or with *Rāphê* הֶ) then remains only as a representative of the final vowel, e. g. לָהּ (*to her*) Num. 32, 42 for לָהּ, Job 31, 22, Ex. 9, 18. The **h** is often elided *a*) by transferring its vowel to the place of the preceding *vocal Shewâ* (v. § 23, 2, *a*, with א) e. g. (the ה of the article) לְבֹקֶר (*at the morning*) for לְהַבְקֵר, בְּאַרְץ (*in the land*) for בְּהַאֲרֵץ; (Impf. Hiph.) for יוֹחֶזֶק; יוֹחֶזֶק contracted יוֹחֶזֶק. *b*) by contraction of the vowels preceding and following the ה, e. g. סוֹסוֹ (also written סוֹסָה) from סוֹסָהוּ (*a + u = ô*).—In other cases, however, the vowel *under* ה is displaced by the one *before* it, as בָּם (*in them*) from בָּהֶם.

¹ A very few examples are found in *proper names*, as מְשֻׁלָּל, which are compounded of two words, and in many MSS are also written in two separate words. One other case, יְהוֹשֻׁעַ Jer. 46, 20, is also in the printed text divided by *Maqqêph*, in order to bring the *quiescent* ה at the end.

According to this, the so-called *quiescent* ך at the end of a word stands, sometimes, in the place of the consonant ך. But usually it serves quite another purpose, viz., to represent final *ā*, as also *ō*, *ē* and *è* (S^ghō'l), e. g. אָשָׁה, גָּלָה, גָּלָה, גָּלָה, רָגְלָה. See § 7, 2, and § 8, 3.

Rem. In connection with *ō* and *ē*, ך is occasionally changed for ך and ך (ךא=ךא, ךא=ךא Hos. 6, 9), and in all cases for ך according to later and Aramæan orthography, particularly with *ā*, e. g. שָׁנָא (*sleep*) Ps. 127, 2 for שָׁנָה, נָשָׂא (*to forget*) Jer. 23, 39 for נָשָׂה, etc., which shows that the so-called vowel letter, ך final, has chiefly an orthographical importance.

§ 24.

CHANGES OF THE FEEBLE LETTERS ך AND ך.

The ך *w* and the ך *y* are as consonants so feeble and soft, approaching so near to the corresponding vowel-sounds *u* and *i*, that they easily turn into these vowels in certain positions. On this depend, according to the relation of the sounds and the character of the grammatical forms, still further changes which require a general notice in this place, but which will also be explained in detail wherever they occur in the inflection of words. This is especially important for the form and inflection of the feeble stems, in which a ך or ך occurs as a stem consonant (§ 69 etc., § 85, III.—VI, and § 93).

1. The cases where ך and ך lose their power as consonants and turn into vowel-sounds, are principally only in the middle and end of words, their consonant sound being nearly always heard at the beginning. (Respecting the use of ך for ך and, see § 26, 1, and § 104, 2, c.) These cases are chiefly the following:—

- a) When ך or ך stands at the end of a syllable with a *silent Shewâ* immediately after a *homogeneous* vowel. The feeble letter has not strength enough, in this position, to maintain its consonant sound but blends with its homogeneous vowel. Thus הוֹשֵׁב *it has been inhabited* for הוֹשֵׁב or הוֹשֵׁב, יִיקֶץ *he awakes* for בִּיהוּדָה, יִיקֶץ *for בִּיהוּדָה*; so also at the end of the word, e. g. עִבְרִי *ibh-rî*

(properly *-riy*, hence fem. עֲבָרִיָּה *‘ibh-rīy-yā’*) a *Hebrew*; עָשָׂה (*made*) Job 41, 25 for עָשִׂיהָ (comp. עֲשִׂייתָ 1 Sam. 25, 18 in *Kethibh*). Thus the vowel substance of ו and י is blended with the preceding vowel into *one* (necessarily long) vowel, but they are mostly retained orthographically as quiescent letters. But after a heterogeneous vowel they sound as consonants (according to § 8, 5), as in שָׁלֵו *quiet*, מַי *May* (*month*), גּוֹי *nation*, גָּלִי *disclosed*. Yet with a preceding short *ä* the ו and י mostly form a diphthongal *ô* and *ê*; see below, No. 2, *b*.

b) When ו or י is preceded by *vocal Shewâ*, and such syllables are formed as *qewom*, *bewo*. Hence בּוֹא *to come* for בּוֹא, קוֹם *to arise* for קוֹם. When ו and י preceded by *Shewâ* come to stand at the end of a word, they are either entirely dropped and orthographically replaced by ה (e. g. בָּכָה from בָּכִי, though we have also the regularly formed בָּכִי *fletus*; comp. § 93) or they are likewise softened into their vowel sound. In the latter case the י, with its homogeneous *Chireq*, also attracts the tone and the preceding vowel becomes *Shewâ*, as e. g. פָּרִי from פָּרִי, really פָּרִי; ו changed into ו is often without the accent (e. g. תָּהוּ from תָּהִי).

c) Very seldom when the feeble letter has a full vowel both before and after it; as קוֹם *surgendo* for קוֹם, קוֹם for קוֹם. Comp. in latin *mihi*=*mî*, *quum*=*cum*.

In Syriac, where these letters flow still more readily into vowel-sounds, י is sounded, even at the beginning of words, merely as *i*, not as ו or י (like *e* for א § 23, 3, Rem. 2); and so in the LXX יְהוֹיָכִן is written Ἰουδαίᾱ, יִצְחָק Ἰσαάκ. Hence may be explained the Syriac usage, examples of which occur also in Hebrew, which shifts the vowel *i*, belonging to the feeble letter, forward to the preceding consonant, which should properly have simple *Shewâ*, e. g. כִּיָּתָר *as the superiority* for כִּיָּתָר Ec. 2, 13, וְיִחָלֵי (in some editions) for וְיִחָלֵי Job 29, 21 (acc. to *Kimchi* וְיִחָלֵי=*iktol* and the 1. pers. is punct. וְיִחָלֵי to avoid confusion; in fact the Babylonian punct. has always *i* instead of *e*).

2. After such a contraction has taken place, the vowel-letter quiesces (see No. 1, *a* above) regularly in a *long* vowel. Respecting the *choice* of this vowel, the following rules may be laid down:—

- a) When the vowel is short and homogeneous with the vowel-letter (ו or י) they are contracted into their corresponding long vowel, as יִיטֵב *he is good* for יִיטֵב (analogous to יִכְבֵּד, הִיטֵב for הִיטֵב).
- b) When a short *ă* stands before י and ו, then we get diphthongal *é* and *ô* (according to § 7, 1); thus מִיטֵב becomes מִיטֵב *doing good*; הִיטֵב, הִיטֵב; עוֹלָה, עוֹלָה.¹
- c) But when the vowel is heterogeneous (*ä*), while the character of the form prevents contraction to a diphthong, especially at the end of words, the above mentioned dropping of ו and י (No. 1, b), or the substitution of ה occurs. So especially in the so-called ל"ה verbs, e. g. orig. גָּלַי = גָּלַי = גָּלַי, whilst *ä* after the rejection of י comes to stand in an open syllable, and must be lengthened to *ā*. ה stands orthographically for the long vowel; in the same way שָׁלַח for שָׁלַח.² On the origin of יִגְלָה from יִגְלַי v. § 75, 1; upon קָם as perf. of קוּם § 72, 2; upon יָלַד etc. from יָלַד § 69, 1.

§ 25.

IMMOVABLE OR FIRM VOWELS.

What vowels in Hebrew are firm and not removable, can be known, certainly and completely, only from the nature of the grammatical forms, and from a comparison with the Arabic, in which the vowel-system appears purer and more original than in Hebrew. This holds, especially, of the *essentially long* vowels in distinction from those which are long only *rhythmically*, i. e. through the influence of the tone and of syllabication, and which, having arisen out of short vowels,

¹ Instances in which no contraction takes place after a short *a* are מִימִינִם using the right hand 1 Chron. 12, 2; אִי־סִירָם I chastise them Hos. 7, 12; שְׁלֵיחִי I am at ease Job 3, 26. At times both forms are found, as עוֹלָה and עוֹלָה *evil*; חַי living, constr. state חַי. Analogous is the contraction of קָוִית (ground-form מָוִית death, constr. מוֹת; עֵינִי (ground-form עֵינִי eye, constr. עֵינִי.

² The Arab. often writes in this case (etymologically) גָּלַי, but speaks *gālā*, So the LXX write סִינִי as Σινᾱ. But in Arabic שלא is written for שְׁלַי and sounded *shālā*.

readily become short again or become *Shewâ* by a change in the position of the tone and in the division of the syllables. The beginner may be guided by the following specifications: —

1. The essentially long and hence hardly changeable vowels of the *second* and *third* class, viz., *î*, *û*, *ê*, *ô*, are mostly expressed in the text by their vowel-letters, *î* and *ê* by ו, *û* and *ô* by ו, with their appropriate vowel signs; thus וִי, וּי, וֵי, וֹי, as in וְיַיִטִּיב *he does well*, הַיֶּכֶל *palace*, גְּבוּל *boundary*, קוֹל *voice*. The *defective* mode of writing these vowels (§ 8, 4) is frequent enough; e. g. וְיַיִטִּיב for וְיַיִטִּיב, גְּבוּל for גְּבוּל, קוֹל for קוֹל; but this is merely a difference of orthography, by which nothing is essentially changed in the nature and quantity of such a vowel, and the *û* in גְּבוּל is as essentially long as in גְּבוּל; comp. § 8, 4.

It is an exception, when now and then a merely tone-long vowel of these two classes is written *fully*, e. g. the *ô* in רִקְטוּל for רִקְטֵל.

2. The essentially long and immovable *â* (so far as it is not become *ô*; see § 9, No. 10, 2) has in Hebrew, as a rule, no representative among the consonants, though in Arabic it has, viz., the *ā*, which occurs in Hebrew but very seldom (§ 9, 1, § 23, 3, Rem. 1). For ascertaining, therefore, whether *a* is long by nature (*â*) or only tone-long (*ā*), there is no guide but a knowledge of the forms (see § 84, Nos. 6, 13, 28).

Cases like מִצָּא (§ 23, 1) do not belong here.

3. Unchangeable is also a short vowel in a sharpened syllable (§ 26, 6), followed by *Dāghē'sh fortè*, e. g. גָּנֵב *thief*; likewise in every closed syllable (§ 26, 2, c) which is followed by another closed syllable, e. g. מַלְבוּשׁ *garment*, אֲבִיּוֹן *poor*, מִדְבָּר *wilderness*.

4. Such are also the vowels lengthened because a *Dāghē'sh fortè* has been omitted on account of a guttural, according to § 22, 1 (or ו see § 22, 5), e. g. מִאֵן for מִאֵן *he has refused*, בֵּרַךְ for בֵּרַךְ *he has been blessed*.

§ 26.

OF SYLLABLES AND THEIR INFLUENCE ON THE QUANTITY OF VOWELS.

To obtain an adequate view of the laws, according to which the long and short vowels are chosen or exchanged one for another, a previous acquaintance is required with the *theory of the syllable* on which that choice and exchange depend. The syllable may then be viewed with reference, partly to its commencement (its *initial* sound) as in No. 1, and partly to its close (its *final* sound) as in Nos. 2—7.

1. With regard to the *commencement* of the syllable, it is to be observed, that every syllable must begin with a *consonant*; and there are no syllables in the language which begin with a vowel. The single exception is ו (and), in certain cases for ו, e. g. in וְמִלְכָּה (§ 104, 2, c),¹ The word אָמַר is no exception, because the א has here its consonant force as a light breathing.

2. With regard to the *close* of a syllable, it may end—

a) With a vowel, and is then called an *open* or *simple* syllable, e. g. in קָטַלְתָּ qā-ṭā'l-tā the first and last are open. See No. 3.

b) With one consonant, and called a *closed* or *mixed* syllable, as the second in קָטַל qā-ṭā'l, לֵבָב lē-bhū'bh. See No. 5.

Here belongs also the *sharpened* syllable, as the first in קָטַל qāṭ-ṭā'l. See No. 6.

c) With two consonants, as in קֹשֶׁט qōshṭ, קָטַלְתָּ qā-ṭā'lt; comp. § 10, 3.

We shall now (in Nos. 3—7) treat in particular of the vowels that are used in these various kinds of syllables.

3. The *open* or *simple* syllables have, as a rule, a *long vowel*,² whether they have the tone, as in בָּהּ in thee, סֵפֶר book,

¹ It may be questioned whether ו in the above position be a real exception; for וְמִלְכָּה ought probably to be pronounced wūmā'lēkh (not ūmā'lēkh), the ו retaining its feeble w sound before the Shûrēq.—Tr.

² In opposition to the fundamental law in Hebrew (long vowel in open syllable) the Arabic, and partly also the other Semitic languages retain every-

קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary*, or not, as in קֶטֶל, עֵנָב *grape*, יִרְאוּ *they will fear*. Usually there is a long vowel (*Qā'mēṣ*, less frequently *Šē're*) in an open syllable before the tone (pretonic vowel), e. g. לֶהֱם, יָקוּם, קֶטֶל, לֵבָב, קֶטֶב.¹

Short vowels in open syllables occur more or less apparently:—

- a) In dissyllabic words formed by means of a helping vowel (§ 28, 4) from monosyllables (*Sēgholates*), as נָחַל *brook*, בַּיִת *house*, יִרְבֵּן *let him increase*, from the crude forms נָחַל, בָּיִת, יָרַב. But the helping vowel cannot be taken strictly as a full vowel, i. e. it does not effect a complete close of the syllable. Forms like נָחַל (arab. *nachl* etc.) are therefore to be taken as *one* closed syllable.
- b) The so-called union-vowel (§ 58, 3) in certain forms of the *suffixes*, as קָטַלָנִי (Arab. *qātālānī*).²
- c) Sometimes before the so-called *He local* (הַ—), which has not the tone (§ 90, 2), e. g. מִדְבָּרָה *towards the wilderness*; however only in the construct state (1 K. 19. 15), because the character of the form is unchanged, elsewhere it is מִדְבָּרָה.

In all these cases the short vowel is supported by the chief tone of the word.³ Elsewhere it has at least the support of *Methēgh*, viz.—

- d) In these combinations, $\frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \text{—}$, $\frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \text{—}$, $\frac{\text{—}}{\text{—}} \text{—}$, as מַצְמֵי *his taste*, יָאֶסֶר *he will bind*, פַּעֲלֵי *his deed*. In all these cases there really at first existed a closed syllable, but the guttural had caused the *Chateph*, and with it the opening of the syllable (comp. however יָאֶסֶר 1 K. 20, 14). For cases like יְהִדְרֵה comp. § 104, 2.

where the orig. short vowels in open syllables. The above Heb. words in their Arabic forms sound as *bikā, sifr, qūds, qātālā, 'ināb*. Undoubtedly therefore the Hebrew had also short vowels in open syllables. Still it would be very hazardous to suppose that the present pronunciation is derived from the solemn, slow and chanting way of reading the Old Testament in the synagogues for with this hypothesis, facts like the very ancient lengthening of *ē* and *ū* in the open syllable to *ē* and *ō* would remain unexplained.

¹ The Arabic has for this pretonic vowel constantly a short vowel (*lāhrīm, yāqām*, etc.); the Aramaic only a vocal *Shewa*, לֶבָב, יָקוּם, קֶטֶב, which is the case also in Hebrew, when the tone is shifted forward (§ 27, 3, a). But this pretonic vowel must not be regarded as if it had been adopted, perhaps in place of *Shewā*, on account of the tone on the following syllable; but it originally was a short vowel, and the circumstance of its standing before the tone-syllable only lengthens it, whilst it is reduced to a vocal *Shewā* upon the shifting forward of the tone.

² But as ל is often Daghesed, we may presume that the accented *Pāthāch* causes a sharpening of the following liquid which is equivalent to the closing of the syllable.

³ Compare the effect of the *Arsis* on the short vowel in classical prosody.

c) In some other forms, as יְחֻזְקוּ *yě-chě-z^eqû'* (*they are strong*), פְּעֻלָּה *pō'ôl'ekhā'* (*thy deed*). These cases had originally a closed syllable (therefore also יְחֻזְקוּ; the other case originally sounded *pō'ôl'khā*).

The first syllable in הִתְחַדַּשׁ, הִתְחַדַּשׁ, and similar forms, does not belong here (cf. No. 6); neither does accented — (fr. *ă*) in suffix as הִתְחַדַּשׁ, on שְׂרָשִׁים and קְרָשִׁים (*š* for *ś*) comp. p. 44, No. 2.

4. The above described independent syllables with the firm vowel are often preceded by a consonant with *vocal Shewâ* (simple or composite). Such consonants with *vocal Shewâ* have never the value of an independent syllable, and they constantly lean on to the stronger syllable that follows, e. g. לֶחֶי (*cheek*) *l'chi*, יִלְמְדוּ *yil-m'edhû'*, חֲלִי (*sickness*) *ch'li*, פְּעֻלָּה *pō'-alô'* (*his work*). The so-called prefixes ו, ב, כ, ל, especially belong here. See § 102. It is true, these *vocal Shewâ's* have sprung from an originally firm vowel (e. g. רִקְטָלוּ, Arab. *yāqtulû*, בָּה, Arab. *bikā* etc.); from this however it cannot be concluded that the Masorites should have considered them as a kind of open syllable, for this would be in contradiction of their fundamental law requiring a long vowel in an open syllable, much more so than the exceptions cited in No. 3 above. Nor does the placing of the Mèthègh by the *Shewâ* in certain cases (v. § 16, 2) prove that the Masorites considered these as open syllables.

5. The *closed* syllables, ending with one consonant, have necessarily, when *without* the tone, *short* vowels, both at the beginning and at the end of words,¹ as מַלְכָּה *queen*, חֲשֹׁבֶן *understanding*, חֲכָמָה *wisdom*, וַיָּסֹב *and he turned back*, וַיָּקָם.

When *with* the tone, they may have a long-vowel just as well as a short, e. g. חָכִים *wise* and חָכֵם *he was wise*; yet of the short vowels only *Pă'thäch* and *S'eghól* have strength enough to stand in such a tone-syllable.² The accented closed penult permits only the *tone* long vowels (*ā, ē, ō*), not the *longest* vowels (*î, ê, û, ô*). Thus with רִקְטָלוּ (3d pl. impf. masc.

¹ There are some exceptions, when a word loses the tone through *Maqqēph*, as כֶּתֶב־הַחַיִּים (*kethābh*) Esth. 4, 8. In such cases the *Mèthègh* prevents a wrong pronunciation.

² See § 9, 2. Short *Chîrēq* (*ĭ*) occurs only in the particles אֵם, בֵּן, אֵם, which, however, are often toneless, because followed by *Maqqēph*.

Hiph.) we have the fem. תִּקְטְלָהּ, the *î* being reduced to *ē*; with קִימֵי (2d pl. imperat. *Qāl*) the fem. is קִימָה (*û* contracted into *ō*).

6. A peculiar sort of *closed* syllables are the *sharpened*, i. e. those which end with the same consonant with which the following syllable begins, as אָמִי 'im-mî', כָּלֹי kûl-lô'. Like the other closed syllables, these have, when *without* the tone, short vowels, as in the examples just given, when *with* the tone, either a short vowel, as סָבִי, הָנִי, or a long, as שָׁמָה, הָמָה.

Sharpened syllables are wholly avoided at the end of words; see § 20, 3, *a*.

7. Closed syllables, ending with two consonants, occur only at the end of words, and have most naturally short vowels, as קְטִלָּהּ, נִשְׁבָּה, yet sometimes also *Sērê*, as גִּרְהֵ, וּנְבָה, and *Chōlēm*, as קִשְׁטָה. But compare § 10, 3. Most commonly this harshness is avoided by the use of a helping vowel (§ 28, 4).

§ 27.

CHANGES OF VOWELS, ESPECIALLY IN RESPECT TO QUANTITY.

The changes which the Hebrew language has undergone, with respect to its sounds, before arriving at the state represented in the Massoretic text (see § 2, 4), have especially affected its vowel system, so that, for the better comprehension of the vowel changes occurring in the O. T. language, it is of importance to go back to the corresponding states and relations of the language in that earlier period, and, at any rate, to compare that which is preserved in the Arabic. In general it is to be observed especially:—

1) That the language has now in an originally open syllable often preserved only a half-vowel (vocal *Shēwâ*), where a full, short vowel stood; this is the case in the second syllable of the noun, and the first of the verb, before the tone, e. g. עֲגָלָה (original form 'ägälât) *waggon*, צִדְקָה (original form šādäqât) *righteousness*, קָטְלוּ (Arab. qätälü);

2) That vowels originally short have now, in the tone-syllable, as also in open syllables before the tone, passed

over into tone-long vowels, *ă* into *ā*, *ĭ* into *ē*, *ŭ* into *ō* (see § 9, No. 1, 2. No. 7 and No. 10, 3). These, again, either return to their original shortness, when the tone is shifted or made lighter, or they become still more shortened even to half-vowels (vocal *Shewâs*), at a greater distance from the tone, or are entirely dropped in consequence of a change in the relations of the syllables. E. g. מָטָר (Arab. *māṭār*) *rain*, in construction with a following genitive (in the *construct state*, § 89) מֵטָר, pl. מֵטָרוֹת, *constr.* מֵטָרוֹת; עֶקֶב (Arab. *‘āqīb*) *heel*, dual עֶקְבָּיִם, עֶקְבֵּי; יָקָטַל (Arab. *yāqtūl*), pl. יִקְטְלוּ (Arab. *yāqtūlū*).

The vowels, with the changes of which we are chiefly concerned here, have been given in the vowel-table § 9, No. 12. According to that threefold classification, we have the following graduated scale to describe the process of lengthening or shortening:

A-class *ă* (ĕ) *ā*. Shortening: *ā* (ĕ) *ă*, attenuation from *ă* to *ĭ*.

I-class *ĭ* (ĕ) *ē*. „ *î ē ĕ ĭ*.

U-class *ŭ* *ō* *ō*. „ *ô û* (as obsc. from *ô*) *ō ō ŭ*.

Here also occurs in all the three classes the reduction of the original strong vowel (especially also the tone-lengthened or pretonic *ā ē ō*) to simple *Shewâ mobile*.

Agreeably to the principles of § 26, the following changes occur:—

1. A tone-long vowel is changed into the original or kindred short one, when a closed syllable loses the tone (§ 26, 5). Thus, when the tone is moved forwards, יָד *hand* is יָד, as יְדִיהוָה *hand of God*; בֶּן *son*, בֶּן־הַמֶּלֶךְ *son of the king*; כָּל *a whole*, כָּל־הָעָם *the whole-of-the-people*; also when the tone is moved backwards, e. g. יָקָם, יָקָם; יָלַף, יָלַף. So also, when an open syllable with a tone-long vowel becomes by inflection a closed one, e. g. סֵפֶר *book*, סֵפְרִי *my book*; קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary*, קֹדֶשִׁי *my sanctuary*. In these cases *Sērê* (*ē*) passes over into *Chîrêq* (*ĭ*) or *Sêghôl* (*ĕ*), *Chôlêm* (*ō*) into *Qāmêṣ-châṭûph* (*ô*). But

when a closed syllable with a long vowel becomes a sharpened one, i. e. ending with a doubled consonant, *Šērē* is changed back into *Chîrēq*, and *Chōlēm* into *Qibbûš*, as אִם *mother*, אִמִּי *my mother*; חֹק *statute*, plur. חֻקִּים.

2. On the contrary, a short vowel is changed into a corresponding long one,—

- a) When a closed syllable, in which it stands, becomes an open one, i. e. when the word receives an accession beginning with a vowel, to which the final consonant of the closed syllable is attached, as קָטַל, קָטְלוּ *he has killed him*; מִיָּסוּחִי *my mare* from מִיָּסָה = מִיָּסָה.
- b) When a syllable, which should be sharpened by *Dāghē'sh fortē*, has a guttural or ר for its final consonant (see § 22, 1), or stands at the end of a word (see § 20, 3, a).
- c) When it meets with a feeble consonant (according to § 23, 1, 2, § 24, 2), as מָצָא for מִצָּא *he has found*, for the א, losing its value as a consonant, loses also the power to close a syllable, and the open syllable demands a long vowel.
- d) When the syllable is in *pause*, i. e. is the tone-syllable of the last word in a sentence or clause (§ 29, 4).

3. When a word increases at the end, and the tone is at the same time shifted forward, full vowels (long and short) may, according to the division of syllables, either pass over into a half-vowel (vocal *Shēwâ*), or may even be entirely *dropped*, so that only the syllable-divider (silent *Shēwâ*) supplies their place; e. g. the first is the case in שֵׁם (*name*), pl. שְׁמוֹת, which become שְׁמִי (*my name*), and שְׁמוֹתָם (*their names*); the second in בְּרָכָה (*blessing*), constr. בְּרִיכָה. Whether the full vowel remains, or is changed into a half-vowel, or is altogether dropped (דָּם, דְּמִי; שֵׁם, שְׁמִי), and which of the two vowels disappears in two successive syllables, must be determined by the nature of the word; but in general it may be said, that in the inflection of nouns the first vowel is mostly shortened in this manner, while the second, when it stands immediately before the tone-syllable (as a pretonic vowel), remains, as יָקָר (*dear*), fem. יְקָרָה *yēqārā'*; in the in-

flexion of verbs, the second, as יָקָר (*he was dear*), *fem.* יִקְרָה *yāq'rā'*. Thus we have a half-vowel in place of—

a) *Qā'mēš* and *Šērē* in the first syllable (principally in the inflection of nouns), as דְּבָר *word, plur.* דְּבָרִים *great, fem.* גְּדוֹלָה; לֵב *heart, plur.* לְבָבִי *my heart*; תָּשׁוּב *she will return*, תִּשְׁבְּנָה *they (fem.) will return*.

b) The short or merely tone-long vowels *a, e, o*, in the last syllable, especially in the inflection of verbs, e. g. קָטַל *qāṭal'*; קָטַל *plur.* קָטְלִים *qōṭelīm*; יִקְטֹל *yiqṭōl'*. The *Sēghôl* as a helping vowel is entirely rejected (becomes silent *Shewâ*), e. g. מָלַךְ (*grdf.* מְלָכִי). If there be no shifting of the tone, the vowel will remain notwithstanding the lengthening of the word, as יָשׁוּב *he will return*, יִשְׁבְּנָה *they (fem.) will return*.

Where the tone is advanced two places or syllables, *both* the vowels of a dissyllabic word may be shortened, so that the first becomes *î* and the second becomes *Shewâ*. From דְּבָר we have in the *plur.* דְּבָרִים, and with a *grave suffix* (i. e. one that always has a strong accent) this becomes דְּבָרֵיהֶם *their words* (comp. § 28, 1). On the shortening of *ă* into *î*, see especially in Rem. 3, below.

Some other vowel changes, chiefly also with respect to quantity, are exhibited in the following remarks:—

Rem. 1. The diphthongal *î ô* (from *au*), as also the *ô* derived from the firm *ā* (§ 9, 10, 2), is longer than *î û*; and therefore, when the tone is moved forward, the former is often shortened into the latter; e. g. נָקוּם *qāqūm* (see Paradigm M. *Niph.*); בָּנוּס *flight, fem.* מְנוּסָה, with *suff.* מְנוּסָה *sweet, fem.* מְנוּסָה. The *î* stands sometimes even in a sharpened syllable, as in הוֹבָה Ps. 102, 5, בּוֹיָם Jer. 31, 34, הוֹבָה Ez. 20, 18, רִיבָה Judg. 18, 29. Nearly the same relation exists between diphthongal *î* and long *î*; see examples in § 75, 2.

NB. On the contrary, *î û* is shortened into *ô*, which in the tone-syllable appears as a tone-long *ô* (*Chōlēm*), but on the removal of the tone it becomes again *ô* (*Qāmēš-chātûph*), as יָקוּם (*he will rise*), יָקוּם (*jussive, let him rise*), יָרָם (*and he rose*), see Parad. M. *Qal.* So also *î* becomes a tone-long *Šērē* (*ē*), as יָקוּם (*he will set up*), יָקוּם (*let him set up*), and in the absence of the tone, *Sēghôl* (*ě*), as in יָקוּם (*and he set up*); see Parad. M. *Hiph'îl.*

2. From a *Päthäch* (ä) in a closed syllable there arises a *S^{egh}ôl* (ë), through an obscuring of the sound [Umlaut]. This happens—

- a) in the closed antepenult, e. g. אֲבִירָה (*proper noun*) for אֲבִירָה; also in the closed penult e. g. יָדְךָ *your hand* for יָדְכָּם.
- b) This is more regularly the case when *Dāghē'sh fortè* is omitted in a guttural, that has a *Qāmēš* under it. Thus always הָ— for הָ— (הָ—) e. g. אֲחָיו *his brothers* for אֲחָיו, from אחים; הַחֹזֶן *the vision*; בָּהֶשׁ *false* for בָּהֶשׁ, and so always with ה. With ה and ע the *S^{egh}ôl* is used only where a greater shortening is required on account of the distance of the tone; hence, הַחֲרִים for הַחֲרִים *the mountains*, but הַחֵר *the mountain*; הַזֵּן *the misdeed*, but הַזֵּם *the people*. Before א and ר, where a short sharpened vowel cannot so easily stand (§ 22, 1), *Qāmēš* is constantly used, as הָאֲבוֹת *the fathers*, הָרֹאשׁ *the head*, הַרְקִיב *the firmament* (as an exception we find הָרָה *mountain-ward*). Comp. also the interrogative הָ (הָ, הָ) in § 100, 4.
- c) in the first class of the so-called segholate forms, when a helping vowel is inserted after the 2nd cons. (§ 28, 4); thus from כֶּלֶב with helping *S^{egh}ôl*, כֶּלֶב (Arab. *kelb*, and the LXX, Μελαχισεδέχ for מֶלֶכִּי־צֶדֶק), יָרַח with helping *Päthäch*, יָרַח. Thus in verbal forms like יִגְלֶה (*Jussive* of the *Hiph.* of גָּלָה) with a helping *S^{egh}ôl* for יִגְלֶה.

3. In a closed syllable, which loses the tone, ä is often attenuated into ĩ, e. g. a) with firm closing: מִדּוֹ *his measure* for מִדּוֹ (sharpened); יָלַדְתִּי *I have begotten*, יָלַדְתִּי *I have begotten thee*,¹ cf. Ez. 38, 23, Lev. 11, 44; b) with a loose closing: הַמָּכָם *your blood* for הַמָּכָם; so with numerous segholates forms (*grdf.* בָּטַל) e. g. צִדְקִי for צִדְקִי; בָּגְדִי *constr. st. pl.* of בָּגַד (בָּגְדִי).

4. The *S^{egh}ôl* arises, not only in the cases given above, in Rem. 1 and 2, but also—

- a) From the obscuring in isolated cases of ā (*Qāmēš*) final (הָ— for הָ—): Ps. 20, 4, Is. 59, 5, 1 Sam. 28, 15.
- b) Even from the obscuring of u, as אַתָּם (*you*) from the original 'āttum (Arab. 'āntūm), see § 32, Rem. 5 and 7; לָהֶם (*to them*) from the original (also Arab.) lahūm. Comp. § 8, Third Class of vowels, p. 35.

5. Among the Chatephs (חֶ—) counts for shorter and lighter than (חֶ—), and the group (חֶ—) than (חֶ—), e. g. אֲדָם *Edom*, but אֲדָמִי *Edomite*; אֱמֶת (*emēth*) *truth*, אֱמֶת *his truth*; נֶעְלָם *hidden, plur.* נֶעְלָמִים; הַעֲבֹרֶתִי, הַעֲבֹרֶתִי.

¹ Analogous to this attenuating of ä into ĩ, is the Latin *tango, attingo; laxus, prolixus*; and to that of ä into ë (in Rem. 2), the Latin *carpo, decerpo; spargo, conspergo*.

§ 28.

RISE OF NEW VOWELS AND SYLLABLES.

1. When a word begins with a so-called Appoggiatura (§ 26, 4), i. e. with a consonant which has a vocal Sh^ewâ, and there comes another consonant with Sh^ewâ before it, then this latter receives, instead of the Sh^ewâ, an ordinary short vowel. This vowel is almost always *î* (*Chî'rêq*). In most cases this is probably a weakened *ă* (*Păthăch*), and not a mere auxiliary vowel. In other cases analogy may have led to the choice of the *î*. Thus the prefixes בּ, כּ, לּ, before a consonant with (—) become ב, כ, ל, e. g. בַּפְּרִי, כַּפְּרִי, לַפְּרִי; בִּיהוּדָה (from בְּיָהּ according to § 24, 1, *a*); the same with *Waw copulative* וַיְהוּדָה for וְיָהּ. This restoration of the original vowel i. e. of *ă* (or *î* weakened from *ă*) occurs frequently in certain appoggiatura in the formation of verbs which elsewhere (that is to say before consonants with a firm vowel) are pronounced simply with *Sh^ewâ*. At times the first appoggiatura after the restoration of the short vowel combines with the second into a firmly closed syllable, as לִנְפֹל *lîn-pōl* Num. 14, 3, in isolated cases also with כּ כְּזָר Jer. 17, 2.

2. When the second of the two consonants is a guttural with *composite Sh^ewâ*, then the first takes, instead of the simple Sh^ewâ, the short vowel with which the other is compounded, so that we obtain the groups —, —, — e. g. כְּאֶשֶׁר *as*, לְעֶבֶד *for to serve*, לֶאֱכֹל *for to eat*, לְחָלִי *for sickness*, for כְּאֶשֶׁר, לְעֶבֶד, לֶאֱכֹל, לְחָלִי. The new vowel has *Méthègh*, according to § 16, 2, *a*. Sometimes also a fully closed syllable is formed. In such a case the consonant of the half-syllable retains the short vowel which belonged to the suppressed *Chātēph*, e. g. לְחָטָב *for לחטב*; לְאָסֵר (but also לְאָסֵר; and even וְעֶצֶר Job 4, 2). In the verbs הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live* a simple *Sh^ewâ* vocal is maintained under the gutturals after a prefix, e. g. לְהִיּוֹת *to be*, and וְהִיּוֹת *and be ye!* (comp. וְחָיָה *and be thou!* and וְחָיָה *and live!* with *Sēghô'l* of the prefix, for וְחָיָה)

3. By the same analogy a *Chāṭēph* (especially under a guttural) before a vocal *Sh'wâ*, in the midst of a word is changed into the short vowel with which it is compounded, e. g. יַעֲמִדוּ *yă'ām'dhû'* for יַעֲמִדוּ *they will stand*, נֶהֱפְּכֻּהוּ *nēhēph'ekhû'* for נֶהֱפְּכוּ *they have turned themselves*, פַּעֲלָה *pō'ōl'ekhâ'* (*thy work*). Comp. § 26, 3, *e*. The division should be *yă'ā-m'dhû'*.

4. At the end of words, syllables occur which close with two consonants (§ 10, 3, § 26, 7); yet only when the last of these is a consonant of strong sound, ט, ק, or an aspirate with its hard sound (*tenuis*), viz. ב, ד, ק, ת,¹ e. g. יָשֻׁט *let him turn aside*, וַיִּשָּׁק *and he caused to drink*, קָטַלְתָּ *thou (fem.) hast killed*, וַיִּבֶךְ *and he wept*, וַיִּרָד *let him rule*, וַיִּשָּׁב *and he took captive*. This harsh combination of letters is, however, avoided in general by supplying between the two consonants a *helping-vowel*, which is mostly *S'ghô'l*, but *Pă'thäch* under gutturals,² and *Chi'rēq* after ר, e. g. וַיִּגַּל *and he revealed* for וַיִּגַּל *let it increase* for וַיִּרָב, קֹדֶשׁ *sanctuary* for קֹדֶשׁ, נָחַל *stream* for נָחַל, שָׁלַחְתָּ ³ *thou f. hast sent*, בֵּית *house* for בֵּית. These helping-vowels have not the tone, and they are dropped when-

¹ There is hardly an instance of a similar use of ג and ה, which would in that case likewise require *Dāghē'sh*. The use of הוֹצֵאתָ in Prov. 30, 6 (shortened from הוֹצֵאתָ) is the only exception, and in some MSS the ה has not *Dāghē'sh* here.

² With the exception, however, of the א, as פָּרָא *wild ass*, הִנֵּשָׂא *fresh grass*. Elsewhere the א loses its consonant power and is merely retained orthographically as in הִנָּא *sin*, גֵּיא *valley* (also גֵּי), שִׁנָּא (Job 15, 31 *Kethibh* שִׁי).

³ In this form (§ 65, 2) *Dāghē'sh lenē* remains in the final *Tāw* just as if no vowel preceded (§ 22, 2), in order to indicate that the helping *Pă'thäch* is not a full vowel but merely an orthographical indication of a hasty sound. (Accordingly שָׁלַחְתָּ *thou hast taken* is distinguished also in pronunciation from לָקַחְתָּ *for to take*.) The false epithet *furtive* given to this helping-vowel, in connection with the notion that such a vowel must be sounded *before* the consonant, caused the decided mistake, which long had its defenders, viz., that שָׁלַחְתָּ should be read *shaláacht*; although such words as שָׁחַת, נָחַל were always correctly sounded *sháchüth*, *náchäl* not *naächl*. Quite analogous is יָחַד *yichäd* in Job 3, 6 (from יָחַד *to rejoice*, see § 75, Rem. 3, d).

ever the word increases at the end, as בֵּיתָה *house-ward*, קִדְשִׁי *my sanctuary*.

These helping-vowels have inappropriately been called *furtive*, a term which should be restricted to the *Päthäch* sounded before a final guttural, according to § 22, 2, *b*.

5. Full vowels rise out of *simple Shewâ* also by reason of the *Pause*; see § 29, 4.

§ 29.

OF THE TONE AND ITS CHANGES; AND OF THE PAUSE.

1. The principal tone, indicated by the accent (§ 15, 2), rests on the final syllable of most words, e. g. קָטַל, דָּבָר; דְּבָרָךְ, דְּבָרֶיךָ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתֶּם, קָדְרִיךְ, קָדְרִיךְ (and as the last four examples show, even on additions to the stem); less frequently on the penultima, as in מָלַךְ, מָלִיכָה, לַיְלָה, לַיְלָתְךָ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתֶּם, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתֶּם.

Connected with the principal tone is *Méthëgh*, a kind of secondary accent (§ 16, 2). Words which are united by *Mäq-qēph* with the following one (§ 16, 1), can have at the most a secondary tone.

It is not necessary here to single out the words accented on the penultima (*voces penacutæ*); for the sake, however, of calling attention to these words, they are chiefly marked in this book with —, put over the tone-syllable.

In Arabic the tone is more on the penultima, and even on the antepenultima. The Aram. also accent mostly the penultima; and the Hebrew is pronounced thus, contrary to the accents, by the German and Polish Jews, e. g. בְּרֵאשִׁית בְּרֵאשִׁית, which they pronounce *brëshis bóro*.

2. The original tone of a word frequently shifts its place on account of changes in the word itself, or in its relation to other words. If the word is increased at the end, the tone is thrown forward (*descendit*) one or two syllables according to the length of the addition, as דְּבָר word, דְּבָרִים words, דְּבָרֶיךָ your words; קִדְשׁ sanctuary, קִדְשִׁים sanctuaries; קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתֶּם. On the effect of this in the changes of the vowels, see § 27, 1, 3.

3. On the contrary, the original tone is shifted from the final syllable to the penultima (*ascendit*)—

- a) When the syllable *י* (§ 49, 2) is prefixed to certain forms of the Imperfect, as *יֹאמַר* *he will say*, *יֹאמַר* *and he said*; *יֵלֵךְ* *he will go*, *יֵלֵךְ* *and he went*.
- b) For rhythmical reasons, when a monosyllabic word, or one with the tone on the 1st syllable follows, in order to avoid the concurrence of two tone-syllables.¹ This rhythmical shifting back of the tone (*נָסוּג אָהוּר* *retrogression* as it is called by the Jewish grammarians) takes place however only on condition that the penult which now receives the accent, be an open syllable,—with long vowel,—while the last syllable, which loses the accent, must be an open one with a long vowel, or a closed one with a short vowel. Only *Šérè* can be kept in a closed unaccented *ultima*, but it is then, in correct editions, provided with a retarding *Mèthēgh* in order to prevent its pronunciation as *S^eghô'l*, e. g. *לְבַעַר קֶזֶן* Num. 24, 22. In other instances the shortening into *S^eghô'l* really takes place, e. g. *הִנֵּלֵם פָּעַם* *beating the anvil* Is. 41, 7, for *הִנֵּלֵם פָּעַם*, Gen. 1, 5, 3, 19, 4, 17, Job. 3, 3, 22, 28, Ps. 5, 11, 21, 2.
- c) In *pause*. See No. 4 below.

The meeting of two tone-syllables (*letter b*) is avoided in another way, viz., by writing the words with *Mäqqēph* between them, in which case the first wholly loses the tone, as *וַיִּכְתֹּב שָׁם* *and he wrote there* Josh. 8, 32.

4. Very essential changes of the tone, and consequently of the vowels, are effected by the *Pause*. By this term is meant the strong accentuation of the tone-syllable of the word, which closes a verse or clause of a verse, where a great *distinctive accent* stands (*Sillûq*, *Athnāch*; also *Ôlè weyôrêd* in poetical accentuation); apart from these principal pauses there also occur often pausal changes with smaller distinctives (espec. with *Zûqēph-qātôn*, *R^ebiā*, *Pāzēr*, even with *Tiphchā* etc.) The changes are as follows:—

- a) When the syllable in *pause* has a short vowel, it becomes long; as *קָטַל*, *קָטַל*; *מִים*, *מִים*; *קָטַלְתָּ*, *קָטַלְתָּ*; *קָטַלְתָּ*, *קָטַלְתָּ* (orig. form

¹ Even the prose of the Hebrews proceeds, according to the accentuation, in a kind of Iambic rhythm. That the authors of the system intended to secure this object is evident, particularly from the application of *Mèthēgh*.

קִשְׁרִי) *conspiracy*, קִשְׁרִי 2 K. 11, 14; אֶרֶץ, אֶרֶץ Jer. 22, 29. דִּבֶּר becomes in pause דִּבְרִי.

Yet sometimes the sharper *ǣ* is intentionally retained in Pause, especially if the closing consonant has *Dāghē'sh forte implicitum*, the vowel thus being really sharpened e. g. בּוֹ Is. 8, 1 etc. but also elsewhere, e. g. עֵר.

- b) When a full vowel in an accented final syllable has lost its tone and become *Shewā* before an affirmative, it is restored again in *pause*—if it was a short vowel—lengthened e. g. קָטַל *fem.* קִטְלָה (*qāṭelā*) in *pause* קִטְלָה (*qāṭālā*); שָׁמְעִי (*šim'e'ū*) *pause*: שְׁמַעִי (from sing. שָׁמַע); מִלָּאָה, מִלָּאָה; רִקְטָלוּ, רִקְטָלוּ (sing. רִקְטַל). In segholate forms like לָחִי, פָּרִי (*grdf.* לָחִי, פָּרִי) the orig. *ǣ* returns at least as accented *Seghôl*, thus לָחִי, פָּרִי; orig. *i* as *ē*, e. g. חָצִי, in *pause* חָצִי; orig. *ö* (*ü*) as *ō*, e. g. חָלִי (*grdf.* חָלִי), in *pause* חָלִי. In analogy with forms like לָחִי etc. the shortened *impf.* יִהְיֶה and יִחְיֶה would become in *pause* יִהְיֶה and יִחְיֶה (because in the full forms like יִהְיֶה *he will be*, and יִחְיֶה *he will live* the *Chîrêq* is attenuated from orig. *ǣ*). Here belongs also שֵׁכֶם *the neck*, in *pause* שֵׁכֶם (*grdf.* שֵׁכֶם) and the pronoun אֲנִי *I*, in *pause* אֲנִי, as well as the restoration of orig. *ǣ* as *ě* before the suff. הָ—*thou, thee* e. g. דְּבָרְהָ *thy word*, in *pause* דְּבָרְהָ; וְשִׁמְרָהָ, in *pause* וְשִׁמְרָהָ (on the other hand after the prepositions בְּ, לְ, אֶת), בָּהּ, לָהּ, אֶתָּה become in *pause* בָּהּ, לָהּ, אֶתָּה).

- c) This tendency to place the tone on the *penultima* in *pause* shows itself, moreover, in several words, as אֲנֹכִי *I*, אֲנֹכִי; אַתָּה *thou*, אַתָּה; עַתָּה *now*, עַתָּה; and in special cases, like כָּלִי Ps. 37, 20 for כָּלִי, and also לֵעֵי Job 6, 3 for לֵעֵי, from לֵעֵה.

Of other influences of the pause we have still to mention 1) the transition of an *ē* (lengthened from *ě*) into the sharper *ǣ* (v. supra. Remark to letter a) e. g. הָחִי for הָחִי Is. 18, 5; קָמַל Is. 33, 9; הָפִיר Gen. 17, 14 etc. mostly before liquids or sibilants (yet also הָשִׁב Is. 42, 22 and without the pause חָכַר Lam. 3, 48). The pausal of נִיבֵלָה (shortened from נִיבֵלָה) is נִיבֵלָה; comp. Lam. 3, 1 נִיבֵלָה; Judg. 19, 20 חָלָן for חָלָן. 2) the

¹ Such a pause-syllable is sometimes strengthened further by doubling the following consonant, § 20, 2, c.

transition from *ă* into *ě* in the ultima; so always in the expression *לְעוֹלָם וָעֶד* (for *עַד*) for *ever and ever*. 3) the *pausal Qâmes* of the *Hithpael* form (for *Şērê*) e. g. *רָחַחְתָּ* Job. 18, 8. for *רָחַחְתָּ*. 4) the restoration of a vowel which had become *Sh^ewâ* to a pretonic vowel. e. g. Job. 21, 11 *יִרְבְּרוּן* for *יִרְבְּרוּן*. 5) the restoration of the *י* dropped from the end of the stem with its preceding vowel e. g. *אֶרְרִי, בְּעִירִי* Is. 21, 12 (for *אֶרְרִי, בְּעִירִי*), the latter word found thus also outside of the pause Is. 56, 9. 12); Comp. Job. 12, 6 and the same occurrence even in a word before the pause Deut. 32, 37; Is. 21, 12.

Several other changes occasioned by the *pause* will be noticed farther on, when treating upon the inflections of verbs and nouns.

NB. The supposition of Olshausen and others that the phenomena of the pause springs merely from liturgical considerations, i. e. "to develope conveniently the *musical value* of the final accents by the aid of fuller forms" at Divine service, is at variance with the fact that similar phenomena may be observed even at the present day in the vulgar Arabic, where they can be based only upon rhythmical reasons of a general character.

PART SECOND.

OF FORMS AND INFLECTIONS, OR THE PARTS OF SPEECH.

§ 30.

OF THE STEM-WORDS AND ROOTS (BILITERALS, TRI- LITERALS, QUADRILITERALS).

1. The stem-words of the Hebrew and of the other Semitic languages have this peculiarity, that by far the most of them consist of *three consonants*, on which the meaning essentially depends, while its various modifications are expressed by changes in the vowels, e. g. עֵמֶק *he was deep*, עֵמֶק *deep*, עֵמֶק *depth*, עֵמֶק *valley*. Such a stem-word may be indifferently either a verb or a noun, and usually the language exhibits both together, as זָרַע *he has sown*, זֶרַע *seed*; חָכַם *wise*, חָכֵם *he was wise*. Yet it is customary and of practical utility for the beginner to consider the *third pers. sing. mas. of the Perf.* in *Qāl* (i. e. one of the most simple forms of the verb), as the stem-word, and the other forms of both the verb and the noun (both substantive and adjective), together with most of the particles, as derived from it, e. g. צָדִיק *he was righteous*, צִדְקָה *righteousness*, צַדִּיק *righteous*, etc. Sometimes the language, as handed down to us, exhibits only the verbal stem, without so simple a form for the cognate noun, as סָקַל *to stone*, נָהַק *to bray*; and occasionally the noun is found without the corresponding verb-stem, e. g. נָגַב *south*, אֶבֶן *stone*. Yet it must be supposed that the language, as spoken,

often had the forms now wanting, since they still exist in several of the other Semitic dialects, e. g. for אָבֵן the Arabic has the verb-stem 'ābīnā to become hard (for נָגַב Aram. *nēgabh*).

Rem. 1. The Jewish grammarians call the stem-word, i. e. the 3. pers. sing. masc. of the Perf. in *Qāl* the *root* (שֹׁרֶשׁ), for which the Latin term *radix* is often used; and hence the three consonants of the stem are called *radical letters*, in contradistinction from the *servile* (or *formative*) letters (viz. א, ב, ג, ד, ה, ו, ז, ח, ט, י, כ, ל, מ, נ, ש, ע, פ, צ, forming the mnemonic expression יְכָלֵב אֶתֶּן מֹשֶׁה *Ethan, Moses and Caleb*), which are added in the derivation and inflection of words.¹ We, however, employ the term *root* in a different sense, as explained here, in No. 3.

2. Many etymologists give the name *root* to the three stem-consonants, viewed as vowelless and unpronounceable, from which the stems for both the verbs and the nouns are developed, as in the vegetable kingdom (from which the figurative expression is taken) the stems grow out of the concealed root. Thus for example—

Root: מָלַךְ (*ruling in general*).

Verb-stem: מָלַךְ *he has reigned.* Noun-stem: מֶלֶךְ *king.*

This supposition of an unpronounceable root is, however, an abstraction, and the term *root* instead of *stem* is liable to mislead and it is better, at least for the historical mode of treatments, to consider the concrete verb (3. pers. sing. masc. Perf. *Qāl*) as the stem-word.

3. These trilateral stems now generally form two syllables, as מָלַךְ. But among them are reckoned also such as have for their middle letter a ו, and by contraction (§ 24, 2, c) become one syllable, e. g. מָלַךְ for מָלַךְ; also, as a rule, stems whose second and third consonant are identical, e. g. צָרַר with צָרַר. But the original forms were doubtless trisyllabic, and became dissyllabic by dropping the final vowel, as מָלַךְ from *qātālā* (still so in Arab.); מָלַךְ from *qāwāmā* (already dissyllabic in Arab. *qāmā*).

2. The use of three consonants in the stems of the verbs and nouns is so prevalent a law in the Semitic languages, that sometimes there is a semblance of artificial effort to preserve the trilateral form (e. g. יָדַם for יָדַם in verbs עָדַם). Even such monosyllabic nouns as might be deemed originally monosyllables (*biliteral roots*), since they express the first, simplest, and commonest ideas, as אָב *father*, אָם *mother*, אָח *brother*, show by inflection that they also are mutilations of a trilateral stem. However the verbal stem has not been found for all such cases.

¹ See more in § 81, Rem. 1, Note 3.

3. Yet, on the other hand, stems with three consonants may be traced back to two consonants, which, in themselves unutterable are pronounced with a vowel between them and form a sort of *root-syllable*, to designate which grammarians use the sign $\sqrt{\quad}$, e. g. $\sqrt{\text{כר}}$. Such root-syllables are called *primary* or *biliteral* roots. They are very easily distinguished when the stem has a feeble consonant, or the same consonant in the second and third place. Thus the stems דָּבַק, דָּרַךְ, דָּבָהּ have all the meaning of *to beat* and *to break in pieces*, and the two stronger letters דָּךְ *dakh* (comp. Eng. *thwack*, Sans. *tag* = ॐ॒॒॒॒॒, L. *tago* (*tango*) = E. *touch*) constitute the monosyllabic root. The augmentation into a stem may also take place however by the addition of a strong consonant, which may be either a sibilant, liquid or guttural. To such a monosyllabic root there often belongs a whole series of triliteral stems, which have two radical letters and the fundamental idea in common.

Only a few examples of this sort:—

From the root קץ, which imitates the sound of *cutting*, are derived immediately קָצָה, קָצַץ *to cut off*, and metaph. *to decide, to judge* (hence קָצִין Arab. *qādhī, a judge*); then קָצַע, קָצַב, with the kindred significations *to shear, to mow*. Related to this is the syllable קש, קס, from which is derived קָסַס *to cut into*, קָשַׁשׁ and קָשָׂה *to pare*. With a lingual instead of the sibilant קש, קר, hence קָטַב *to cut down, destroy, to hew down, to kill*, קָטַה *to tear off, to pluck off*, קָדַר *to hew asunder, to split*. A softer form of this radical syllable is כס; hence כָּסַח and כָּסַם *to cut off, to shear off*, נָכַס Syr. *to sacrifice or to slay a victim*. Still softer are גו and גר; hence גָּזַז *to mow, to shear*, גָּזַה *to hew stones*, גָּזַם, גָּזַע, גָּזַל, גָּזַר *to hew off, to cut off, to eat off, to graze*; and so גָּדַר *to cut, to cut off*; compare also גָּדַה, גָּדַב. With the change of the palatal for the guttural sound, הָצַב, הָטַב *to hew stones or wood*, הָצַץ, תָּצַה *to split, divide*, הָץ arrow (שֶׁחִיטָה), חָדַר *to sharpen*, חָזַר arrow, lightning, also חָזַה *to see* (comp. חָרַל, חָרַק, חָרַר, חָרַשׁ, —חָיַס, חוּץ, —חָסַל, —חָסַם, —חָסַף, —חָסַשׁ in Ges. Lex.).

The syllable הַם expresses the *humming* sound made with the mouth closed (חָמָה); hence הָמָה, נָהַם (נָחַם), Arab. *hama* to *hum*, to *buzz*. To these add בָּהֵם to *be dumb*; דָּהֵם to *become mute*, to *be astonished*.

The root-syllable רע, of which both letters have a trilling sound, means *to tremble*, in the stemwords רעד, רעל, רעם, רעש; then it is expressive of what causes thrilling motion or agitation, as *thunder* (רעם), the act of *shattering* or *breaking in pieces* (רעץ, רעד). Comp. פל, פל.

See also what is said in the Heb. Lexicon about the root-syllables גב with the idea of *elevation, curving upward* (*gibbous*) פּר to *break*; לַע, לִח to *lick, to sip up*, under the articles לִיץ, פָּרַר, גָּבַב.

From further consideration of this subject, the following observations occur:—

- a) These roots are *mere abstractions* from stems in actual use, and are themselves *not* in use. They merely represent the hidden germs (*semina*) of the stems which appear in the language. Yet the latter have, now and then, so short a form, that they exhibit only the elements of the root itself, as הָם to *be finished*, קָל *light*. The determination of the root and its signification is of the highest importance to the lexicographer. Another much contested question is whether there has ever been a period in the development of the Semitic languages when merely bi-literal roots, either rigidly isolated or already augmented by inflection, have served for the communication of ideas. If so, it must have been at a stage in its progress, when the ideas conveyed were extremely few and elementary and the gradual enlargement of words was required by the influx of stronger shades of thought. No historical evidence of such a transition has been clearly established.
- b) Many of these monosyllabic roots are imitations of natural sounds, and sometimes coincide with like-meaning roots of the Indo-Germanic stock (§ 1, 4); e. g. הָפַת (comp. E. *tap, thump, dump*), טָּפַטַּו (טָּפַו), רָפַץ רָפָטַו (רָפָו) (comp. Welsh *rhâff* = G. *Reif* = E. *rope* = *ribbon*), קָלַח כּוֹלָאֵטַו (comp. E. *club, clap*). Of other roots it is evident that the Semitic linguistic instinct regarded them as onomatopoeitic, whilst the spirit of the Indo-Germanic languages refuses to accept them as imitations.
- c) The stems with hard, strong consonants are to be regarded, according to the general progress of language (§ 6, 4), as the *oldest*, while the feebler and softer consonants distinguish forms of a later period, which consequently are more frequently used for the derivative and metaphorical significations; e. g. קָרַח and גָּלַח to *be smooth, to be shorn, to be bald*; and even גָּלַח to *be bare*. Comp. בּוֹר and פּוֹר, שָׁחַק and צָחַק, זַעַק and עָלַק, עָלַס (עָלַס) and רָקַק, רָכַךְ and רָכַךְ, and also the almost universal softening of initial ו and י. In other instances however harder stems have been adopted at a later period from the Aramaic, (e. g. טָעַה, Hebr. חָעַה). Sometimes the harder or softer sound is essential to the imitative character of the word, as גָּלַל to *roll* (spoken of a ball, of the rolling of waves), but פָּרַר more for a rough sound, as made in the act of *scraping* = סָאֵרַו, טָטַו, *verro*; so in חָצַב to *cut stones or wood*, we find a stronger sound than in חָצַו to *cut grass, to mow*.
- d) It appears also that those consonants, which *resemble* each other in strength or feebleness, are commonly associated in the formation of root-syllables, as קָץ, כָּס, גּוּ, גָּר (never בָּץ, גָּץ, גָּס); בּוּ, פָּץ (seldom פּוּ); גָּר, קָט (not גָּט). Rarely if ever are the first two radicals the same

in the (trilateral) stem. The seeming exceptions come from the reduplication of the root, e. g. דרה Arab. دَرَدَا or from other reasons. Comp. בבה in the Lexicon. The first and third consonants may be identical only in the so-called hollow stems (with middle ו or י), e. g. צוץ, נוץ. On the contrary, the last two are very often the same (§ 67).¹

e) The tendency to substitute smooth for harsh sounds (see letter c) is sometimes so great, that *l, n, r*, especially when used as middle stem-letters, are even softened to vowels, as צלץ (comp. אנס) to *press*, עוף, עוף, and many others. Comp. *salvare*, French *sauver*; *calidus*, Ital. *caldo*, in Naples *caudo*, French *chaud*; *falsus*, It. *falso*, in Calabria *fauzu*, French *faux*; and the pronunciation of the English words *talk*, *walk*. Comp. § 19, 5, Rem.

f) The cases where the trilateral stems cannot safely be traced back to a biliteral root, may have arisen in part from a combination of two roots, by which were created corresponding expressions for complicated ideas.

A fuller development of this active change in the primitive elements of the language belongs to the Lexicon.

4. To a secondary development (or later stage) of the language belong stem-words of *four*, and, in the case of nouns, even of *five*, consonants. These are, however, comparatively far less frequent in Hebrew than in its sister dialects, especially Ethiopic. They spring from the extension of the trilateral stem. This extension of the form is effected in two ways:—*a*) by adding a fourth stem-letter;—*b*) in some cases probably by combining into one word two trilateral stems, by which process even *quineliterals* are formed. Such lengthened forms as arise from the mere repetition of one or two of the three stem-letters, as קטל from קטל, סכסך from סכסך, are not regarded as quadrilateral, but as variations in the so-called conjugation forms (§ 55). So likewise the few

¹ Letters which are not found associated as radicals are called *incompatible*. They are chiefly such as too strongly resemble each other, as קג, גק, פב, בפ. Some letters, however, have been falsely considered *incompatible*, as ל, ר, which are found associated, e. g. in קרל and קרל, softened from the harsher forms קרר, קרר. Comp. γαργαρός along with γράβδην, ὄζω along with ὄζω, and much that is analogous in Sanskrit.

words which are formed by prefixing **ש**, as **שֶׁלֶהָבָה** *flame* (from **לָהַב**), Aram. conj. *Shāphēl* **שֶׁלֶהַב**.

Rem. on *a*). Some forms are made by the *insertion* particularly of *l* and *r* between the first and second radicals; as **כָּסַם כָּרָסַם** *to, shear off, to eat off*; **שֶׁרֶבִיט** = **שֶׁרֶבֶט** *sceptre* (the form with **ר** very frequent in Syr.); by the insertion of *l* we have from **זָרַח** *to glow*, **זֶלְזָרָה** *hot wind*, **שָׁלָאֵן** *tranquil* (from **שָׁאֵן**) Job 21, 23, possibly also **גִּלְמִיד** from **גִּמֵּד** but comp. *Delitzsch* in Is. 49, 21. Comp. the Aramaic **עָרַל** *to roll*, as an expansion of the *Pa'el* conjugation (corresponding to the Hebrew *Pi'el*) **עָרַל**. In Latin there is a corresponding strengthening of the stem; as *findo, scindo, tundo, jungo* (in Sanskr., Class. VII.) from *fid, scid, saxedāw* (=Eng. *scatter*), *tud* (=Eng. *thud*), *jug* (=Eng. *yoke* = Welsh *iau*). Additions are also made at the end, principally of *l* and *n*; as **גִּרְוֹן** *axe*, from **גָּרַז** *to cut* (comp. *graze*); **כֶּרְמֵל** *orchard*, from **כָּרַעַל**; **גִּבְעֵל** *flower-cup*, from **גָּבַרַעַל**; **הֶרְגֵּל** *to hobble* which *Ges.* derived from **הָרַג** is by *Dietrich* referred to **הָגֵל** with the insertion of **ר**, v. *Lex.*

Rem. on *b*). So probably are compounded **צַפְרִירַע** *frog* Ex. 8, 1 ff., and **הַבְּצִלְתָּ** *meadow-saffron* (or *crocus*, comp. *Delitzsch* on Is. 35, 1) Cant. 2, 1, although this explanation is not altogether certain. [Comp. *Ges. Lex.* 8th Ed. where **צַפְרִירַע** is not regarded as a compound but, according to *Dietrich*, a derivation from the Arabic form of the word (**ضَفْدَع**) as the older, and this from the usual stem expansion]. Many words of this class may prove to have been taken from other languages (§ 1. 4) and therefore not appropriately considered here.

5. To a special class as derived from an earlier stage of the language, in which other laws prevailed, or from mutilations of already developed word-stems belong the *pronouns*. At all events their very irregular mode of formation requires a special treatment (§ 32). In like manner the *interjections* (§ 105), as an immediate imitation of natural sounds stand outside of existing formative laws.¹ On the other hand all the so-called particles (adverbs, prepositions, conjunctions) have in Hebrew, arisen from the fully developed nominal-stem, although in some instances, on account of their very great abbreviations, the original form is no longer distinguishable, see § 99.

¹ Comp. *Hupfeld's System der semitischen Demonstrativbildung und der damit zusammenhängenden Pronominal- und Partikelnbildung*, in the *Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, Bd. II, S. 124 ff. 427 ff.

§ 31.

OF GRAMMATICAL STRUCTURE.

1. The formation of the parts of speech from the stems, and their inflection, are effected in two ways:—*a*) internally by changes in the stem itself, particularly in its vowels;—*b*) externally by the addition of formative syllables before or after. On the other hand the expression of grammatical relations through separate words by periphrasis (as in expressing the comparative degree and several relations of case), belongs rather to the syntax than to that part of grammar which treats of *forms*.

The second mode of forming words, viz., by agglutination, which is exemplified in the Egyptian, appears on the whole to be the more ancient of the two. Yet other languages, and particularly the Semitic, had early recourse also to the first mode, viz., internal modification of the stem, and in the period of their youthful vigour developed a strong tendency to follow this process; but in their later periods this tendency continually diminished in force, so that it became necessary to use syntactical circumlocution.—This is exemplified in the Greek (including the modern), and in the Latin with its branches (called the *Romance dialects*).

2. Both methods of formation and inflection are found together in Hebrew. That which is effected by vowel changes exhibits considerable variety (קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל; קָטַל, קָטַל, etc.). To this is joined in numerous cases the external formation (הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל etc.), and even the formative additions undergo, also often, the inner transformation, e. g. הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטַּל. The addition of formative syllables occurs, as in almost all languages, in the formation of the persons of the verb, where also the import of these annexed syllables is still, for the most part, perfectly clear (see §§ 44, 47); moreover, it occurs in the distinction of gender and number in the verb and the noun. Of case-endings, on the contrary, there appear in Hebrew only imperfect traces (§ 90).

CHAPTER I. OF THE PRONOUN.

§ 32.

OF THE PERSONAL OR SEPARATE PRONOUN.

1. The personal pronoun (as well as the pronouns generally) belongs to the oldest and simplest component parts of the language (§ 30, 5); and therefore it here claims our first attention, because it lies at the foundation of the inflection of the verb (§§ 44, 47).

2. The separate and primary forms of the personal pronoun, which, as in Greek and Latin, serve to express more emphatically the subject-nominative, are the following:—

| <i>Singular.</i> | <i>Plural.</i> |
|---|---|
| 1. <i>com.</i> אֲנִי, in <i>pause</i> אֲנִי; } <i>I</i> אֲנִי, in <i>pause</i> אֲנִי } | 1. <i>com.</i> אֲנַחְנִי, in <i>pause</i> אֲנַחְנִי } <i>we</i> (נַחְנִי, p. נַחְנִי), (אֲנִי) } |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> אַתָּה (אַתָּ) in <i>p.</i> אַתָּה } or אַתָּה } <i>thou</i> { <i>f.</i> אַתָּ (אַתְּ, pr. אַתִּי) <i>p.</i> אַתָּ } | 2. { <i>m.</i> אַתֶּם } { <i>f.</i> אַתֶּנָּה (אַתֶּנָּה; אַתֶּן, אַתֶּן) } <i>ye</i> |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> הוּא } <i>he, also it</i> { <i>f.</i> הִיא } <i>she, also it</i> | 3. { <i>m.</i> הֵם (הֵם), הֵמָּה } <i>they</i> { <i>f.</i> הֵנָּה (הֵן, הֵן) } |

The forms included in parentheses seldom occur. A complete view of these pronouns, with their shortened forms (*suffixes*), is given in Paradigm A at the beginning of this Grammar. Comp. also § 121.

REMARKS.

I. *First Person.*

1. The form אֲנִי is less frequent than אֲנִי which is probably shortened from it. The *former* is found in the Phœnician, Moabitic and Assyrian, but in no other kindred dialect;¹ from the *latter* are

¹ In Phœnician and Moabite (§ 2, 2) it is אֲנִי, without the ending ׀, and in Punic *anec* (Plaut. Pœn. 5, 1, 8) or *'anekh* (Plauti Pœnulus, 5, 2, 35, comp. Schröder, Phœn. Sprache, S. 143); in Assyrian, *anaku*. In ancient Egyptian, ANEK, Coptic *anok*, *nok*.

formed the *suffixes* (§ 33). אָנְכִי prevails chiefly in the Pentateuch. In the Talmūd אָנְכִי has almost entirely disappeared and in some later books wholly. The *ō* is probably an obscuring of orig. *a* (comp. Aram. אָנָּא, Arab. 'āna).

2. The formation of the plural in this and the following persons, though analogous with that of nouns, exhibits (as also in the pronoun of other languages) much that is peculiar and irregular. The short form אָנִי, which resembles the suffix (§ 33), occurs only in Jer. 42, 6 (*Kethābh*). The form אָנִי is found only six times; e. g. Num. 32, 32. (Gen. 42, 11 in pause אָנִי). In the Mischna the form אָנִי alone appears; in Arab. *nachnu* is the standard form.

3. The first person only is always of the *common gender*, because one that is present speaking needs not the distinction of gender, as does the second person addressed (in Greek, Latin, English etc., the distinction is omitted here also), and as the third person spoken of which needs it still more (but see Rem. 6).

II. Second Person.

4. The forms אָנְתָּה, אָנְתָּ, אָנְתָּם, אָנְתָּנָה, are contracted from אָנְתָּה, etc., and the kindred dialects have still the *n* before the ת, Arab. *ānta*, f. *ānti* thou, plur. *āntum*, f. *antūnna* ye. In Syriac אָנְתָּ, fem. אָנְתָּי is written, but both are pronounced *at*; in the Western Aramaic אָנְתָּ stands for both genders.

אָנְתָּ without ת occurs only five times, e. g. Ps. 6, 4, and each time as *Kethābh* with אָנְתָּה as *Qerî*. As the vowels of the text belong to the *Qerî* (§ 17), the reading of the *Kethābh* may have been אָנְתָּ, as an abbreviation from אָנְתָּה (acc. to Aram., see above), for אָנְתָּ actually serves twice for masc., as in Num. 11, 15, Deut. 5, 24, Ezek. 28, 14.

The feminine form was originally pronounced אָנְתָּי, as in Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic. This form is still found in seven instances as *Kethābh* (e. g. Judg. 17, 2, 1 K. 14, 2), and shows itself also in the corresponding personal ending of the verb (see § 44, Rem. 4), specially before suffixes (אָנְתָּיִךְ § 59, 1, c). The final *i* sound, however, was gradually given up (in Syriac also it was at length only written, not pronounced), and the ת therefore dropped, so that the Jewish critics, even in those seven passages, place in the *Qerî* אָנְתָּ, the Sh'wā of which stands in the punctuation of the text (אָנְתָּי, § 17). The same final ת appears, moreover, in the rare forms of the suffix, אָנְתָּיִךְ, אָנְתָּיִכָּה (§§ 58, 91).

5. The plurals אָנְתָּם, אָנְתָּן (אָנְתָּן), are blunted forms (comp. 27, Rem. 4, b) of אָנְתָּמָה (Arab. *āntūm*, Aram. אָנְתָּמָה, אָנְתָּמָן), and אָנְתָּנָה or אָנְתָּנָה (Arab. *āntūnnā*, Aram. אָנְתָּנָה, אָנְתָּנָן). Hence doubtless the fact that the *suff.* of the 2d pers. pl. perf. is added to the ending תָּה (instead of תָּם or תָּן). אָנְתָּ is ἀπαξ λεγόμενον, being found only in Ez. 34, 31 (so *Kimchi*,

others אִתָּךְ), and אִתָּךְ (for which MSS have also אִתָּךְ) occurs only four times, viz., in Gen. 31, 6, Ez. 13, 11, 20, 34, 17 (13, 20 together with אִתָּם for *fem.*).

III. Third Person.

6. At the end of הוּא *hû* and הִיא *hî*, the א seems to be only an orthographic finish for the long open syllable, as in לֵיאוּ, לֵיאוּ, (§ 23, 3, Rem. 3), yet the writing with א is constant in the separate pronoun, and הוּא becomes הוּ (but הִיא becomes הִי) only as a toneless suffix (§ 33, 1).¹ (In Arab., as in Syr., they write הוּ and הִי but speak *hûwa*, *hûa*, *hû*, and *hîya*, *hîē*). However this Arab. pronunciation alone would decide nothing, as the vowel complement may be derived from the more consonantal pronunciation of the ו and י; but the Æthiopic *we'tû* for הוּא, *yêlî* for הִיא, shows that originally the א indicated a vowel termination (comp. Nöldeke, Ztschr. der DMG Bd. XX, S. 459).

The form הוּא stands in K^ethibh in the Pentateuch (except in 11 cases) also for the *fem.* הִיא as if similar to the epicene use of נַעַר for boy and girl (see § 2, 5, Rem.). But the punctators, whenever it stands for הִיא, give it the pointing הִיא, and require it to be read הִיא (comp. § 17).²

7. The plural forms הֵם (הֶמָּה) and הֵנָּה (after *pref.* הֵן. הֵן) are derived from הוּא and הִיא in the same manner as אֵלֶּם from אֵלָּם. In Arab., where they are sounded *hûm*, *hûnna*, the obscure vowel-sound is retained, for which in Hebrew S^eghô'l stands also in the suffixes הֵם and הֵן (comp. § 27, Rem. 4, b). The הֵ- in both forms (הֶמָּה, הֵנָּה) is of *demonstrative* nature, but without observable effect of the sense. In West Aram. (הַמִּי, הַמִּי), Syr. *henûn*, Arab. *hûmû*, (archaist. for *hum*) and Ethiop. (*ômu*) there is an *ô* or *û* appended, which appears in Hebrew in the poetical forms מוּ, מוּ, מוּ (§ 58, 3, Rem. 1). In some passages הֵמָּה stands as feminine (Zech. 5, 11; Cant. 6, 8; Ruth 1, 22). The quite anomalous עֲדֵיהֶם 2 K. 9, 18 should probably be read עֲדֵיהֶם.

8. The pronouns of the third person הוּא, הִיא, הֵם, הֵן, refer to *things* as well as *persons*. On their *demonstrative* meaning, see § 122, 1.

¹ In the inscription of Mésa (see § 2, 2), הוּא stands for הוּא in line 6.

² Kautzsch does not accept the common opinion (v. Lex. 8th ed.) that this use of הוּא for הִיא is an archaism,—since the epicene use *a*) lacks analogy in Sem. dialects, *b*) is not in oldest texts outside the Pent., *c*) is wanting in the kindred text of Joshua, and since *d*) הִיא occurs 11 times (Gen. 38, 25 together with הוּא),—but regards it as an orthographic peculiarity arising from some revision of the text of the Pentateuch. He cites as deserving of consideration, the supposition of Levy that originally הוּא was written for both forms (as it is found on the Moabite stone, see note above) and was then enlarged into הוּא without regard to gender.—*Ed.*

§ 33.

THE SUFFIX PRONOUN.

1. The full forms of the personal pronoun (the *separate pronouns*), as given in the foregoing section, express only the nominative (but comp. § 121, 3): the accusative and genitive, on the contrary, are expressed mostly by shorter forms (or fragments) of them which are joined to the end of verbs, nouns, and particles (*suffix pronouns*, or usually *suffixes*); e. g. הוּ (without accent) and הִי *him* and *his* (from הוּא *he*), thus קָטַלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him*, קָטַלְתָּהּ or (with *āhû* contracted to *ô*) קָטַלְתָּו *thou hast killed him*, סוּסָהּ and סוּסוֹ *his horse*.

The same method occurs in all other Semitic tongues, as also in the Egyptian, Persian, Finn, Tartar and others; but in Greek, Latin and German, we find only slight traces of it, as πατήρ μου for πατήρ ἐμοῦ, Lat. *eccum* in Plautus for *ecce eum*, Germ. *er gab's* for *er gab es*.

2. As to the *cases* which these suffixes indicate, let it be remarked that—

- a) When joined to verbs, they denote the accusative (but comp. § 121, 4), as in קָטַלְתִּיהוּ *I have killed him*.
- b) When joined to substantives, they denote the genitive (like πατήρ μου, *pater ejus*), and then serve as *possessive pronouns*, as אָבִי ('ābh-î) *my father*, סוּסִי *his horse* (answering to the Latin *equus ejus* or *equus suus*, comp. § 124, 1, b).
- c) When joined to particles, they denote either the genitive or the accusative, according as the particle involves the meaning of a noun or a verb, e. g. אִתִּי (prop. *my vicinity*) *with me*, like Lat. *mea causa*, on the contrary הִנֵּנִי *behold me*, Lat. *ecce me*. בֵּינִי literally *interstitium mei* “between me.”
- d) The Indo-Germanic dative and ablative of the pronoun are expressed by combining with the suffixes the prepositions, that are signs of these cases (לְ to sign of the dative, בְּ *in*, מִן *from*, § 102), as לוֹ *to him* (Lat. *ei* and *sibi*), בּוֹ *in him*, מִמֶּנִּי *from me*.

3. The suffixes of the 2d person (הָ—, etc.) are formed with the *k* (and not *t*) sound, based on an exchange of these two sounds exemplified also elsewhere.¹

So likewise in all the Semitic tongues; but in Ethiopic also the verbal form is *qatalka* (thou hast killed)=Heb. הָרַגְתָּ.

4. The *suffix of the verb* (the accusative), and the *suffix of the noun* (the genitive), are mostly the same in form, but sometimes they differ, e. g. נִי— *me*, י— *my*.

Paradigm A at the beginning of this Grammar, gives a view of all the forms of the *pronoun*, both *separate* and *suffix*; fuller explanations about the *suffix to the verb* and the mode of attaching it to the verb will be found in §§ 58—61, about the *suffix to the noun* in § 91, about *prepositions with suffixes* in § 103, about *adverbs with suff.* in § 100, 5.

§ 34.

THE DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUN.

| | | | |
|------------------------------|---|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Sing. m. הַזֶּה ² | } | this. | Plur. com. הֵלֵךְ (rarely הֵלֵךְ) |
| f. זֶהָ (זֶה, זֶה) | | | these. |

The feminine form זֶהָ is (*ô* obsce. fr. orig. *â*) for הַזֶּה (comp. הַזֶּה = הַזֶּה; for the feminine ending ה, see § 80), and the forms זֶה, זֶה, which are both of rare occurrence, come from הַזֶּה by dropping ה. In Ps. 132, 12 זֶה is used as *relat.*, v. Lex. For הַזֶּה is found Jer. 26, 6 in *Kethibh* הַזֶּה (with article and demonstrative הַ—). הֵלֵךְ and הֵלֵךְ are plural by usage, and not by grammatical form. The former (הֵלֵךְ) occurs only in the Pentateuch and then always with the article as הַזֶּה and 1 Chr. 20, 8, (without הַ). Both the singular and the plural is applicable to things as well as to persons.

¹ That a palatal (*k*) and lingual (*t*) are liable to be exchanged, is manifest from the speech of young children, who frequently confound them, as *likkie* for *little*. Obvious instances of this exchange are found in many languages, as Gr. δαίω = αἰώ, Gr. τίς = Aeol. xís, Lat. *quis*, and in the Hebrew itself שָׁתָה = שָׁתָה *to drink*. There is thus a strong presumption that the pronoun of the second person in the Semitic languages must have had two forms, one with *k* and the other with *t*, as אָתָה and אַתָּה, אַתָּם and אַתֶּם.—*Tr.*

² In many languages the demonstratives begin with *d*, hence called the *demonstrative sound*, which is, however, interchanged with a *sibilant* (as in Heb. הַזֶּה) or a rough breathing. Thus in Aram. דִּן, דִּן, דִּן, דִּן *this*, Arab. *dhâ*, *dhî*, *dhâ*; Sanskr. *sa*, *sâ*, *tat*; Gr. *ô*, *hî*, *τό*; Goth. *sa*, *sô*, *thata*; Germ. *da*, *der*, *die*, *das*; Eng. *the*, *this*, *that*; Welsh *dyna*; *hyn*, *hyna*; *hwn*, *hon*, etc.

A secondary form **הַ** is used only in poetry. It stands mostly for the relative (like Eng. *that* for *who*), and serves alike for the sing. and plur. and for both genders, like **אֲשֶׁר** (§ 36). Cf. § 122, 2.

Rem. 1. This pronoun receives the article (**הַהֹאֲלֵה, הַהֹאֲלֵה, הַהֹאֲלֵה**) according to the same rules as the adjectives, § 111, 2 and § 122, 1.

2. Rarer secondary forms, with stronger demonstrative force, are **הַזֶּה** Gen. 24, 65, 37, 19; **הַזֵּה** fem. Ez. 36, 35, and shortened **הַזֶּה** masc. in Judg. 6, 20, 1 Sam. 14, 1, 17, 26; but fem. in 2 K. 4, 25. In Arabic there is a corresponding form *‘allādhî*, as relative pronoun.

3. Also the personal pronouns of the 3d person often have a demonstrative force, see § 122, 1. Some other pronominal stems occur among the particles, § 99—105.

§ 35.

THE ARTICLE.

By nature the article is a demonstrative pronoun, akin to the pronoun of the 3d person. It nowhere occurs in Hebrew as an independent word, but always in closest connection with the word before which it stands; and it usually takes the form **הַ**, with a short sharp-spoken *ă* and a doubling of the following consonant (by *Dāghē’sh fortè*), e. g. **הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ** *the sun*, **הַיָּאֵר** *the river* for **הַיָּאֵר** (see § 20, 3, *b*).

When, however, the article (**הַ**) stands before a word beginning with a guttural, which (according to § 22, 1) cannot be doubled, then the short and sharp *ă* (*Pä’thäch*) is mostly lengthened into *ā* (*Qā’mēs*) or *ä* (*S°ghô’l*).

But to be more particular:—

1) Before the weakest guttural **א** and before **ר** (§ 22, 1 and 5, comp. § 27, Rem. 2, *b*) the vowel of the article is always lengthened into *Qā’mēs*, as **הָאָב** *the father*, **הָאֵחֶר** *the other*, **הָאִם** *the mother*, **הָאִישׁ** *the man*, **הָאוֹר** *the light*, **הָאֵלֵהִים** *the gods*, **הָרֵגֶל** *the foot*, **הָאָרֶץ** *earth* becomes **הָאָרֶץ**, **הָרֹאשׁ** *the head*, **הָרָשָׁע** *the evil-doer*.

2) For the other gutturals there occurs either a sharpened syllable (virtual doubling § 22, 1),—especially with **ח** and **ה**, less often with **ע**—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the

first case the article retains —, the syllable remaining virtually closed; in the second, the *Päthäch* is either slightly lengthened to — or fully to —. The following cases are to be distinguished:—

A) When the guttural is followed by any other vowel than \bar{a} (—) or \bar{o} (—), then—1) before the stronger ה and ה, the article regularly remains ה, as הָהוּא *that*, הָחֹדֶשׁ *the month*, הַחֵיל *the force*, but with some rare exception, as in הָהָי Gen. 6, 19, הַחַמְנִים Is. 17, 8 and always in הָהֵם, הַהֵמָּה, הַהֵנָּה *those*;—2) before ע *Pä'thäch* becomes generally Qā'mēs, as הָעֵינַן *the eye*, הָעִיר *the city*, הָעֶבֶד *the servant*, pl. הָעֶבְדִּים. (Exceptions in Is. 24, 2; 42, 18, Jer. 12, 9, Prov. 2, 17.)

B) But when the guttural is followed by \bar{a} (—), then—1) before ה and ע the article is always ה, provided it stands immediately before the tone-syllable, else it is ה, e. g. הָעָם *the people*, הָהָר *the mountain*, הָעֵין (in pause), הָהָרָה *towards the mountain*, on the contrary הַהָרִים *the mountains*, הָעֹון *the guilt*;—2) before ה the article is always ה, without regard to the place of the tone, as הַחָכָם *the wise*, הַחֹזֶק *the strong*, הַחֵג *the festival*, הַחַי *the live* Lev. 16, 20; so also—3) before ה, as הַחֲלִי *the sickness*, הַחֲרָשִׁים *the months*. On the contrary הַחֲכָמָה according to A, 1.)

Gender and number, as in English and Welsh, have no influence on the form of the article.

Rem. 1. The form of the Hebrew (also the Phœnician) article ה seems to have originated from הָל, the ל of which however has been constantly assimilated to the next letter (as in רִיקָה from רִלְקָה § 19, 2). This assimilation is to be accounted for from the enclitic nature of the article. In the Arabic it sounds هَل (pronounced *hal* by the modern Bedâwîn¹), the ل of which is likewise assimilated, at least before all letters like *s* and *t*, and before *l*, *n* and *r*; e. g. 'al-Qor'ân but 'as-sana (Bed. *has-sana*)=Heb. הַשָּׁנָה *the year*. The Arabic article itself occurs also in the Old Testament prob. in the Arabic name אֱלִמְוֶדֶד Gen. 10, 26, in אֱלִמְוֶדֶד 1 K. 10, 11, 12 (also אֱלִמְוֶדֶד 2 Ch. 2, 7, 9, 10, 11) perhaps

¹ See Wallin in the Zeitschr. d. D. Morgenl. Ges. Bd. VI, S. 195, 217.

sandal wood (acc. to Ges. fr. Sansk. *mocha*¹, but comp. *Lex.* 8th ed.), and perhaps also in אֵלֶּיךָ *ice, hail*=גִּבִּים (Arab. *gíbs*) Ez. 13, 11, 13, 38, 22, and perhaps also אֵלֶּיךָ² in Prov. 30, 31.

2. When the prepositions בְּ, לְ, and the ׀ of comparison (§ 102, 2, b) come before the article, the ה is dropped by contraction, and the preposition³ takes its points (§ 19, 3, b, and § 23, 4), as בְּשָׁמַיִם *in the heaven* for בְּהַשָּׁמַיִם, לְעָם *to the people* for לְהָעָם, בְּהָרִים *in the mountains*. Exceptions appear almost exclusively in the later books (Ezr. Eccl. Neh. Chr.; yet comp. 1 Sam. 13, 21, Ps. 36, 6. Elsewhere e. g. 2 K. 7, 12 the Massora, in *Qerî* requires the Syncope). But in 8 places with בְּ, the ה remains in בְּהַיִּים Gen. 39, 11, etc. but oftener without ה, as כִּיִּים Gen. 25, 31, 33. But see 1 Sam. 13, 21, Ps. 36, 6.—With וְ (and), the ה always remains, as וְהָעָם *and the people*.

§ 36.

THE RELATIVE PRONOUN.

The relative pronoun is the same for all *genders* and *numbers*, viz., אֲשֶׁר *who, which*. In the later books, (esp. Eccl. Lam. and the late Psalms) as well as in Canticles constantly and in Judges occasionally, instead of this full form we have אֲשֶׁ (with the א elided and the ר assimilated, § 19, 2, 3), more rarely אֲשֶׁ Judg. 5, 7, Cant. 1, 7, once אֲשֶׁ before אֲ Judg. 6, 17 (else אֲשֶׁ before gutturals), and before ה even אֲשֶׁ⁴ Eccl. 3, 18, and according to some (e. g. *Kimchi*) also 2, 22. On the mode of expressing the *cases* of the relative, see § 123, 1. On the signification see *Lex.* 8th ed.

¹ So also ἐλέφας=*elephant* is most likely derived from the Sanskrit *ibhas* (*elephant*), with the Semitic article הַל or אֵל prefixed.—*Tr.*

² Arab. *alqaum* with the signification of *militia* (*Heerbann*).

³ The prep. מִן, if prefixed before the article (as rarely happens, § 102, 1), does not take its place, but becomes מִי, as in מִיִּשְׂרָאֵל in 2 Ch. 7, 1, for the usual מִן הַשָּׁמַיִם *from the heavens*.—*Tr.*

⁴ In Phœnician the full form אֲשֶׁר does not occur, but אֲ, esp. in the later Ph. (*Plaut. Pœn.*) pronounced *sa, su, si*, and אֲשֶׁ (pron. *asse*=אֲשֶׁ, *esse* but also *as, es, is, us, ys*), *Schröder's Phœn. Sprache*, p. 162—66. Comp. above in § 2, 7. Also in modern Hebrew the אֲשֶׁ has become quite predominant.

§ 37.

THE INTERROGATIVE AND INDEFINITE PRONOUNS.

1. The interrogative pronoun (about persons) is **מִי** *who?* and (about things) **מָה** *what?*

According to Olshausen **מָה** *what?* was originally **מַה**, which in close connection (v. below) was assimilated with the following consonant. The forms **מַה**, **מִי**, **מִי** etc. (with *Dāghē'sh fortè conj.*) can however be sufficiently explained from the close uttering of the words. It should be further remarked that *a*) in closest connection stands **מַה** *mā* with *Mäqqē'ph* and *Dāghē'sh fortè conjunctive* (§ 20, 2) as **מַה־לָּךְ** *what to thee?* and even in one word, as **מַה־לָּכֶם** *what to you?* Is. 3, 15. **מַה־זֶּה** *what is this?* Ex. 4, 2;—*b*) before gutturals in close connection with *Mäqqē'ph* or a conjunctive accent it either likewise receives *Päthäch* with the *Dāghē'sh* implied in the guttural (§ 22, 1)—so especially before **ה**, and (Gen. 31, 36, Job 21, 21) before **ה**,—or the doubling is wholly omitted. In the latter case either *ā* is lengthened into *Qā'mēs* comp. § 35, 1,—so always before **א** and **ר**,—or only slightly lengthened into *Sēghōl*, especially before **נ**, **ה**, **ה** (before **ה** however also **מָה**). The omission of the implied doubling also occurs, as a rule, with the hard gutturals, when they have no *Qā'mēs* and then it stands **מָה** or **מַה** the latter especially before **ה**, **ע** when *Mäqqē'ph* follows. The longer forms **מַה** and **מָה** also remain before non-gutturals if the connection does not take place through *Mäqqē'ph*, but by a simple conj. accent. As a rule then **מָה** stands, but, by a wider separation from the chief tone we have also **מַה** Is. 1, 5. Ps. 4, 3 (upon **מָה** in the combination **בְּמָה**, **כִּמָה** and even **לָמָה** 1 Sam. 1, 8, comp. § 102, 2, *d*). *c*) in great pause **מָה** stands without exception, also generally with smaller *distinctivi*, and almost always before gutturals (**מָה** in very rare cases only). On the other hand **מָה** stands also occasionally before letters that are not guttural, as **מָה קוֹל וגו'** *what voice, etc.*? 1 Sam. 4, 6, 2 K. 1, 7, but only when the tone of the clause is far removed from the word; moreover, in the form **בְּמָה**, **כִּמָה** (see under **מָה** in the Heb. Lexicon).

2. Both **מִי** and **מָה** occur also as indefinite pronouns, in the sense of *whoever, whatever*; see § 123, 3.

CHAPTER II.

THE VERB.

§ 38.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. The verb is, in the Hebrew, the most elaborated part of speech as to inflection, and also the most important, inasmuch as it mostly contains the *word-stem* (§ 30), and its various modifications are, to a great extent, the basis for the forms of the other parts of speech.

2. Verbal stems are either original or derived. They may be divided, in respect to their origin, into three classes,—

- a) *Primitives*, representing the simple stem, e. g. מִלֵּךְ *to reign*.
- b) *Verbal derivatives*, those derived from *primitives*, e. g. צָדַק *to justify*, הִצְטַדֵּק *to justify one's self*, from צָדַק *to be just*; usually called *conjugations* (§ 39).
- c) *Denominatives*, those derived from nouns (both primitive and derivative), e. g. אָהַל and אָהַל *to pitch a tent*, from אֹהֶל *tent*; הִשְׁרִישׁ *to take root* and שָׁרַשׁ *to root out*, from שֹׁרֶשׁ *a root*.

The noun, from which the denominative verb comes, is in most cases itself derivative; though the meaning shows that the orig. stem is nominal and not verbal, e. g. לָבֵן *to be white*, hence לִבְיָה *a brick*, and hence again לָבֵן *to make bricks*; from דָּגָה *to be prolific* comes דָּג *a fish*, and hence again דָּוַג *to fish*.

§ 39.

1. The 3d person singular of the *Perfect*, in the simple form of the primitive verbs (i. e. in Qāl, see No. 4) is generally regarded as the stem or ground-form of the verb, as קָטַל *he*

has killed, כָּבֵד *he was heavy*, קָטַן *he was little*.¹ From this are derived the other persons of the Perfect, and also the *Participle*. Another stem-form, more simple still, is the *Infinitive*, as קָטַל, also קָטַל, with which the *Imperative* and the *Imperfect* (see § 47) connect themselves.

Both groundforms contain the idea of a noun (§ 44, 1) and both have therefore this analogy in noun forms. More closely considered the second ground-form, which is generally monosyllabic (Arab. *qātl*, *qātl*, *qūtl*) may be called the abstract, and the first, consisting of two syllables (Arab. *qātālā*, *qātūlā*, *qātūlā*), the concrete. The same analogy prevails in the division of nouns into abstract and concrete.

In verbs whose second radical is ה, the full stem appears only in the second form which is accordingly adopted to represent the verb; e. g. Inf. שָׁיב *to turn*, of which the 3d person Perf. is שָׁיב *he turned*; also most stems with middle ה, e. g. דָּיַן *to judge*.

2. From the simple form of the primitives, viz., *Qāl*, are formed, according to an *unvarying analogy* in all verbs, the *verbal derivatives*, each distinguished by a specific change in the form of the stem, with a corresponding definite change in its signification (intensive, frequentative, privative, causative; reflexive, reciprocal, partly with corresponding passive forms); e. g. לָמַד *to learn*, לָמַד *to cause to learn, to teach*; שָׁכַב *to lie*, הִשְׁכִּיב *to cause to lie, to lay*; שָׁפַט *to judge*, נִשְׁפַּט *to contend in judgment, to litigate*. In other languages such words are regarded as new, *derivative verbs*, e. g. G. *fallen*, *fällen* = E. *to fall*, *to fell*, G. *trinken*, *tränken* = E. *drink*, *drench*, L. *lactēre* (*to suck*), *lactāre* (*to give suck*); *jacēre* (*to throw*), *jacēre* (*to lie down*); γίνομαι, γεύναι. But in Hebrew, where these formations are incomparably more regular than (e. g.) in the German, Latin and Greek, they are usually called, since the time of Reuchlin, *conjugations*² (the Heb. grammarians call them בְּנֵי־יָם i. e. *formations*, more correctly *species*) of the primitive form, and both in the grammar and lexicon are always treated of in connection, as parts of the same verb.

¹ For brevity's sake the sense of the Heb. stem is expressed in the Infinitive, in most of our grammars and lexicons, thus לָמַד *to learn*, prop. *he has learned*.

² The term *conjugation* must therefore be taken here in a totally different sense from what it bears in Greek and Latin grammar.

3. The changes of the primitive form consist partly in varying its vowels, and doubling the middle consonant (קָטַל, קָטַל; קוּטַל, קוּטַל); comp. G. *liegen, legen; fallen, fällen*. E. *to lie, to lay; to fall, to fell*; partly in the repetition of one or two stem consonants קָטַלִּל, קָטַלִּטַּל and finally in the addition of formative letters or syllables (נִקְטַל, comp. E. *to speak, to bespeak; to count, to recount; to bid, to forbid*), to which sometimes the first is united, as הִתְקַטַּל. Comp. § 31, 2.

In the Aramæan this is effected less by the change of vowels than by the addition of formative syllables; so that, for instance, all the passives are formed as reflexives by the prefix syllable אָח, אָח. The Arabic is rich in both methods, while the Hebrew holds also here the middle place (§ 1, 6).

4. Grammarians differ as to the *number and arrangement* of these so-called conjugations. The common practice, however, of giving to them still the old technical designations, prevents any error. The simple form is called *Qāl* (קָל *light*, because it has no formative additions); the others (נִבְרִים *heavy*, because weighted as it were with formative additions) take their names from the Paradigm (or pattern) used by the old Jewish grammarians, viz. פָּעַל *he has done*.¹ Several of them have passives which distinguish themselves from their actives by more obscure vowels. The most common conjugations (including *Qāl* and the passives) are the *seven* following; but only a few verbs exhibit them all:—

| | <i>Active.</i> | <i>Passive.</i> |
|-------------|---|-----------------|
| 1. Qāl, | קָטַל <i>to kill.</i> | (wanting) |
| 2. Nīph'āl, | נִקְטַל <i>to kill one's self; also passive.</i> ² | |

¹ This verb, on account of the guttural which it contains, is unsuitable for a Paradigm, and has been exchanged by some for פָּקַד, which has this advantage, that all its conjugations are actually in use in the Old Testament, but the disadvantage, that there is some indistinctness in the pronunciation of some of its forms, as in פָּקַדְתָּם, פָּקַדְתָּהּ. The Paradigm קָטַל, in common use since the time of Danz, obviates this inconvenience, and is especially adapted to the comparative treatment of the Semitic languages, inasmuch as it is found with a slight change (Arab. and Ethiop. קָהַל) in them all. In Hebrew, it is true, it occurs only a few times in *Qāl*, and that only in poetry; yet it may be retained as a *type* or model sanctioned by usage.

² Comp. § 51, 2 d.

*Active.**Passive.*

- | | | | |
|----------------|---------------------------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 3. Pī'ē'l, | קָטַל <i>to massacre.</i> | 4. Pū'ā'l, | קָטַל. |
| 5. Hīph'ī'l, | הִקְטִיל <i>to cause to kill.</i> | 6. Hōph'ā'l, | הִקְטַל. |
| 7. Hīthpā'ē'l, | הִתְקַטַּל <i>to kill one's self.</i> | (Hōthpā'ā'l, | הִתְקַטַּל.) |

There are *several other less frequent* conjugations, of which some, however, are more common than these in the kindred languages; and in the weak (see § 41) or irregular verb in Hebrew they sometimes take the place of the usual conjugations (§ 55).

In Arabic there is a greater variety of forms, and their arrangement is more appropriate. Arranged after the Arabic manner, the Hebrew conjugations would stand thus:—1. *Qāl*. 2. *Pī'ē'l* and *Pū'ā'l*. 3. *Pō'ē'l* and *Pō'a'l* (§ 55, 1). 4. *Hīph'ī'l* and *Hōph'ā'l*. 5. *Hīthpā'ē'l* and *Hōthpā'ā'l*. 6. *Hīthpō'ē'l* (§ 55, 1). 7. *Nīph'ā'l*. 8. *Hīthpā'ē'l* (§ 54, Rem. 2). 9. *Pī'l* (§ 55, 2). The more appropriate division is into *three* classes:—1. The intensive *Pī'ē'l*, with the analogous form *Hīthpā'ē'l*;—2. The causative *Hīph'ī'l*, and its analogous forms *Shāph'ē'l*, *Tīph'ē'l*;—3. The reflexive and passive *Nīph'ā'l*.

§ 40.

1. It is chiefly from these *conjugations* or derivative forms, that the Hebrew verb obtains a certain affluence and compass. In *moods* and *tenses* however it is poor, having only two tenses, the *Perfect* (or *Preterite*) and the *Imperfect* (or *Future*),¹ besides an *Imperative*, (active) an *Infinitive* (with two forms), and a *Participle*. All relations of time, absolute and relative, are expressed either by these forms alone (hence the diversity in the senses of the same form, §§ 125—129), or by syntactical combination. The *Jussive* and the *Optative* are partly indicated by expressive modifications of the *Imperfect* (see § 48).

¹ See note on § 47. *Gesenius*, like other Hebraists, called the tenses the *Preterite* and the *Future*; but since *Ewald* adopted the names *Perf.* and *Imperf.* instead, *Rödiger* and most of the present Orientalists have followed the example, which therefore may now be accepted as the most approved style; though one may not be able to see clearly any decided advantage in the change of terminology, and hence the name *Future* is used in my *Heb. Lexicon*, as being more convenient. The truth is, that the well-known difficulty about the Hebrew tenses remains practically the same on either system.—*Tr.*

2. In the *inflection* of the Perf. and Impf. as to the persons, the Hebrew differs from the Western languages, since it has distinct forms for both *genders* (in most instances), *just as in the personal pronoun, by whose incorporation with the verb-stem the personal inflection of these tenses is formed.*

As a preliminary view for the beginner, we exhibit here in a Table the formative syllables (*affirmatives* and *preformatives*) of both tenses. Fuller information concerning them will be found in §§ 44—47, in connection with the Paradigms.

Perfect.

| <i>Sing.</i> | | | | <i>Plur.</i> | | | |
|--------------|------|---|---|--------------|------|---|---|
| 3 m. | . | . | . | 3 c. | וְ | . | . |
| 3 f. | הָ | . | . | 2 m. | תִּם | . | . |
| 2 m. | תָּ | . | . | 2 f. | תֵּן | . | . |
| 2 f. | תְּ | . | . | 1 c. | נָה | . | . |
| 1 c. | תִּי | . | . | | | | |

Imperfect.

| <i>Sing.</i> | | | | <i>Plur.</i> | | | |
|--------------|----|---|-----|--------------|-------|---|-----|
| 3 m. | . | . | י | 3 m. | וְ | . | י |
| 3 f. | . | . | תְּ | 3 f. | תְּהָ | . | תְּ |
| 2 m. | . | . | תְּ | 2 m. | וְ | . | תְּ |
| 2 f. | וְ | . | תְּ | 2 f. | תְּהָ | . | תְּ |
| 1 c. | . | . | אֶ | 1 c. | . | . | נִ |

§ 41.

The general analogy in the inflection of verbs, which is normally exhibited in the stems with strong and firm consonants, holds good for all verbs; and the deviations which occur from this model of the *strong* or *regular verb*, are only modifications owing to the peculiar nature and the feebleness of many consonants, viz.—

- a) When one of the stem-letters or radicals is a guttural, which occasions various vowel (not consonant) changes, according to § 22 (*guttural verb*, §§ 62—65)

- b) When a stem-letter disappears by assimilation (§ 19, 2) or contraction (*contracted verb*, §§ 66, 67), as in *קָטַב, קָטַב, קָטַב*.
 c) When one of the radicals is a feeble letter (§§ 23, 24), so that many changes appear through its commutation, omission or quiescence (*quiescent or feeble verb*, §§ 68—75), as in *נָלַח, קָטַח, קָטַח, קָטַח*.

NB. The letters of the old Paradigm פָּעַל are used in naming the letters of the stem, פ denoting the first radical, ע the second, and ל the third. Hence the expressions, *verb פ"א* for a verb whose first radical is א (*primæ radicalis* א); *verb ל"ה* for one whose third radical is ה (*tertiæ radicalis* ה); *verb ע"ע* (ע doubled) for one whose second and third radicals are the same (*mediæ radicalis geminatae*).

I. THE STRONG VERB.

Paradigm B.

E. G. *קָטַל to kill, קָבַר to be heavy, קָטַן to be small.*

§ 42.

As the rules for the inflection of the strong or regular verb apply, with only occasional modifications, to all the weak or irregular verbs, it will be most convenient, and at the same time set the subject in the clearest light to the learner, if while treating of the former, we present whatever belongs to the general analogy of the verb.

Paradigm B (together with the above Table of the formative syllables in § 40, 2) exhibits a complete view of the usual and normal forms. Full explanations are given in the following paragraphs (§§ 43—55), where every subject is elucidated on its first occurrence; thus, under *Qāl* the inflections of the *Perfect*, and of the *Imperfect* with its modifications, are minutely explained with reference also to the other conjugations; and under the strong verb are given the forms and significations of conjugations which apply also to the weak, etc.

A. THE PURE STEM, OR QĀL.

§ 43.

ITS FORM AND SIGNIFICATION.

The common form of the 3d person *Perf.* in Qāl is *קָטַל*, with a short *ă* (*Păthäch*) in the second syllable, especially in *transitive verbs*. There is also a form with *ē* (*Šē're*), and

another with *ō* (*Chō'lēm*), in the second syllable; the two latter are usually found with *intransitive* meaning, and serve for expressing states and qualities, e. g. *כָּבֵד* *to be heavy*, *קָטַן* *to be small*. Sometimes the transitive meaning is distinguished from the intransitive of the same stem by the aid of vocalization, as *מָלֵא* *to fill* (Est. 7, 5), *מִלֵּא* *to be full* (comp. § 47, Rem. 2); but also with the same (intrans.) sense for both forms, as *קָרַב* and *קָרַב* *to approach*.

In Paradigm B a verb *middle A*, a verb *middle E* and a verb *middle O* are given side by side. The second example *כָּבֵד* shows, at the same time, the effect of inflection in the setting of *Dāghē'sh lenè*.

Rem. 1. The vowel of the second syllable is the principal one, and hence the distinction between the transitive and intransitive¹ meaning depends on it. The *Qāmēs* of the first syllable is lengthened from original *ā* (comp. Arab. *qātālā*) but it can be maintained in Hebrew only before the tone,—or at most with the secondary tone or *Methēgh*—; in other places, like all so-called pretonic vowels (*ā*, *ē*) it becomes vocal *Shewā* on the shifting of the tone, as *קָטַלָהּ*. In Aramæan it wholly disappears in the root itself, as *קָטַל*=Heb. *קָטַל*.

2. Examples of *denominatives* in Qāl:—*חָמַר* *to cover with pitch*, from *חָמַר* *pitch*; *מָלַח* *to salt*, from *מָלַח* *salt*, v. § 38, 2, c.

§ 44.

PERFECT OF QĀL AND ITS INFLECTION.

1. The inflection of the Perfect, in respect to person, number and gender, is effected by the addition of fragments of the personal pronouns and signs of 3 fem. sing. and 3 pl. (*affirmatives*) to the end of the ground-form, which expresses the predicate idea. In explaining this connection, we may treat the ground-form as a *participle*² or a *verbal adjective*, but ex-

¹ The intransitive forms are in Arabic *qātīlā*, *qātūlā*; consequently, in Hebrew (after rejecting the closing vowel) *ī* in the accented syllable is regularly lengthened to *ē*, *ū* to *ō*.

² On the intimate connection between the Perfect and the Participle or verbal adjective, see what has been already said in § 39, 1. In intransitive verbs they have the same form, as *מָלַח* *he was full*, and *full*; *קָטַן* *he was small*, and *small*. In transitive verbs the participle presents, indeed, a different form (*הַמְלִיךְ*), but yet with *הַמְלִיךְ* may be compared the nominal form *הַמְלִיךְ*, though generally it is expressive of quality, as *הַחֲכָמִים* *wise*, *הַזָּהָב* *gold* (§ 84, 1).

pressing by itself the 3d pers. sing. masc. Perfect; as קָטַל *he has killed*, קָטַלְתָּ *thou hast killed* (as it were *killing-thou*, or *killer-thou*, a *killer wast thou*, קָטַל אֶתָּה), יָרָא *he was fearing*, יָרְאוּ *fearing were ye* (for (יָרָא אֲתֶם)). In the second pers. sing. and pl. this is readily seen as well as in קָטַלְנוּ *we have killed* for קָטַל אֲנִי. In the first person sing. קָטַלְתִּי *we have*, which probably by virtue of an exchange of כ for ת (comp. § 33, 3) has come directly from אָנֹכִי.¹ In the third person, הִ— (originally הִ—, comp. Rem. 4) is a mark of the feminine (as in the noun § 80, 2), and ו (orig. וָ, as still in Deut. 8, 3, 16, Is. 26, 16; comp. *ûnă* as termination of the masc. pl. of nouns in written Arabic) is a sign of the plural.

In the Indo-Germanic tongues, the personal inflections originated in the same manner, by appending pronominal forms, as is shown in Sanscrit and Greek; e. g. from the stem, *as* (to be) Sans. *asmi*, εἰμῆ, Doric εἰμῆ (for εἰμί) *I am*, where the ending μῆ belongs to μοί and μέ; Sans. *asi*, Dor. εἶσσι *thou art*, where σι is identical with σύ; Sans. *asti*, εἶστί *he is*, where τί answers to the pronoun τό, etc. But the etymology in all these languages (except in Welsh) is more obliterated than in Hebrew. This is partly true also of inflection in the other Semitic languages; e. g. 1st pers. Arab. *qataltû*, Syr. *qeṭleth*, where the characteristic *i* is lost.

2. The characteristic *Pǎthäch* of the second syllable becomes *Shewâ* before an affirmative beginning with a vowel, because it then would stand in an open syllable (thus קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְו; but in pause קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְו). Before an affirmative beginning with a consonant, the *Pǎthäch* remains in the tone syllable (קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתִּי, קָטַלְנוּ; in pause קָטַלְתָּ etc.) as well as before it. In the latter case however the *Qǎmëš* of the first syllable, standing no longer before the tone is reduced to *Shewâ*, thus; קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתָּ; comp. § 27, 3 and § 43, Rem. 1.

Rem. 1. Verbs *middle E*, falling back in their inflection to the type of verbs *middle A*, generally lose in Heb. as in Ethiopic (but not in Arabic and Aramæan), the *E* sound, which passes over into *Pǎthäch*, as the Paradigm shows. This tendency comes from the laws

¹ See Note to § 33, 3 by Dr. Davies.—Rödiger held that the demonstrative ה was inserted before the simple germ of the pronoun (אֲנִי) as if to form אֲנִי, אֲנִי after the analogy of אֶתָּה; others (Gesenius, Ewald) maintained that אֲנִי, אֲנִי may have been ancient forms actually in use for אָנֹכִי. The explanation given above, as adopted by Kautzsch from Olshausen, is much simpler.—Ed.

of vocalisation of the accented closed penult, which does not easily take *Šērě*, and not at all the *Chîrěq* shortened from *Šērě*. The original *E* appears, however, in open syllable; regularly so in the feeble stems ל"נ (§ 74, Rem. 1); in strong stems only in *pause*, e. g. דָּבָרָה *she cleaves* (not דָּבָרָה), Job 29, 10; comp. 2 Sam. 1, 23, Job 41, 15; even in a *closed* pausal syllable, e. g. נָשָׂן Deut. 33, 12 (but נָשָׂן without the *pause* Is. 32, 16).

2. In some feeble stems *middle A*, the *ä* under the second radical sometimes passes over into (—), in one example also into (—), when the syllable is closed and toneless. Thus שָׁאַלְתִּי *I have asked him* 1 Sam. 1, 20, יֵשְׁאַלְתֶּם *ye have asked* 1 Sam. 12, 13; 25, 5; Job 21, 29; יֵרֶשְׁתֶּם *ye possess* Deut. 4, 1, 22; וִירֶשְׁתֶּם Deut. 17, 4; וִירֶשְׁתֶּם Deut. 19, 1; וְיִלְדֶּיךָ *I have begotten thee* Ps. 2, 7 (comp. Num. 11, 12, Jer. 2, 27, 15, 10); וְיִפְשְׁתֶּם Mal. 3, 20. The *ī* in these forms may be simply an attenuated *ä* (§ 27, Rem. 2, 3), which is also favored by the following sibilant or labial and esp. sustained by the consimilation of the vowels; but see § 64, Rem. 1, § 69, Rem. 4 and Davies' Heb. Lex. on a secondary form *Med. E*.

3. In verbs *middle O*, Chôlēm is retained in the inflection where it has the tone, as תָּרַחְתָּ *thou hast trembled*, רָכַלְתָּ in *pause* for יָכַלְתָּ *they could*. But when the tone is thrown forward, Chôlēm becomes Qāmēs-chātú'ph, as יָרַבְלְתִּי *I have prevailed over him* Ps. 13, 5, וְיָרַבְלְתָּ (see § 49, 3) *and thou wilt be able* Ex. 18, 23.

4. Uncommon forms:¹ *Sing. 3. fem.* in ת— (as in Arab., Ethiop., Aram.), e. g. אָזְלָתָּ *it has gone* Deut. 32, 36. Before suffixes this is the prevailing form (§ 59, 1, a); so with stems ל"ה partly in the form ת— (as often w. verbs ל"נ § 74, Rem. 1) partly with disapp. of — bef. the pleon. ending ת—, e. g. גָּלְתָּה § 75, Rem. 1.—In Ez. 31, 5 גָּבְהָה acc. to Aram. orthog. for גָּבְהָה.—2. *masc.* הָה (differing only orthographically) for הָ, as הָבְהָה *thou hast been unfaithful* Mal. 2, 14; comp. Gen. 3, 12.—2. *fem.* sometimes has still a *Yôdh* at the end, especially in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, as הָלַבְהָתִי Jer. 31, 21 (which really means הָלַבְהָתִי pointed as if without י, cf. אָהָת in § 32, Rem. 4). Thus we have the form הָטַלְהָתִי always before suffixes (§ 59, 1, c).—1. *com.* sometimes without *Yôdh*, as יָדַעְתָּ in Ps. 140, 13, Job 42, 2, 1 K. 8, 48, Ezek. 16, 59. This, however, is found only in the K'thûbh and is probably only a curtailed form anal. w. 2. fem. הָטַלְתָּ (comp. Aram. 1st pers. הָטַלְתִּי); the Qerî has the full form.—*Plur. 2. fem.* הָיָה (according to others הָיָה) Amos 4, 3 (as ה follows it may be merely *dittography*; but cf. אָהָה § 32, Rem. 5).—3. *com.* 3 times with the old plural ending הָ (but often in Aram. and Samar.), as יָדַעְתָּ *they know* Deut. 8, 3, 16 (probably to avoid a hiatus) and Is. 26, 16, or with a superfluous *N* (according to Arabic orthography

¹ Almost all these forms, which in Hebrew are infrequent, are the usual ones in the kindred dialects, and they may be called Aramaisms, Syriasm, and Arabisms. It should be understood however that they have not been taken from these dialects but merely indicate a return to more original forms.

§ 23, 3, Rem. 3), as **הָלַכְתָּ** Josh. 10, 24, Is. 28, 12. For the Impf. with **וְ** see § 47, Rem. 4.

5. With the affirmatives **וְ** (וְ), **וְ**, **וְ**, which are generally unaccented the word is *Mil'el* (e. g. **הָלַכְתָּ**); with the others it is *Milra'* (§ 15, 2). The place of the tone is shifted,—a) by the *pause* (§ 29, 4), where it is moved backwards, and at the same time the vowel of the second syllable, if it has become a *Shewâ* (—), is restored, as **הָלַכְתָּ** for **הָלַכְתָּ** (**הָלַכְתָּ** f. **הָלַכְתָּ**), **הָלַכְתָּ** for **הָלַכְתָּ** (**הָלַכְתָּ** f. **הָלַכְתָּ**);—b) in certain cases after *Waw consecutive of the Perfect* (see § 49, 3).

§ 45.

THE INFINITIVE OF QĀL.

1. The Infinitive, strictly a verbal substantive, has two forms, a shorter and a longer. The shorter form (*Infinitive construct*), in *Qāl* **קָטַל**, is used in various ways, partly in connection with the pronominal suffixes, and as governing the genitive as well as the accusative of the object (§ 133), partly in connection with prepositions before it, as **לְקָטַל** for *to kill* (§ 132, 2) and finally in dependence upon substantives (as genitive) or upon verbs (as accusative of the object). The longer form (*Infinitive absolute*), in *Qāl* **קָטַל**, is limited to the expression of the abstract verbal idea, without regard to the subject or object of the action. It stands most frequently, when added to a finite verb of the same stem, as an adverbial accusative (see § 131).¹

To the flexibility and variety in the uses of the Infin. constr. and the inflexibility of the Infin. absolute corresponds also their vocalisation. The latter has *Chô'lēm* unchangeable, but the former has *Chô'lēm* changeable (hence with suff. **קָטַלְי** *qôlî*).

Besides **קָטַל**, the Infin. Qāl has also the following unusual forms:—

- a) **קָטַל**, e. g. **שָׁכַב** to lie down Gen. 34, 7, **שָׁפַל** to sink Ec. 12, 4 especially with verbs which have *ā* in the second syllable of the imperfect or with those whose second or third stem consonant is a guttural (frequently in addition to the usual form). Before suffixes the form **קָטַל** becomes **קָטַל** or by attenuating *ā* into *i* **קָטַל**, e. g. **בָּלַעַי** Job 7, 19.

¹ In the Paradigms, the *Inf. constr.*, as the predominant form, is put before the other, under the name of Infinitive *κατ' ἐξοχήν*.

b) הַטָּלָה and, attenuated from it, הַטָּלָה; הַטָּלָה and הַטָּלָה (feminine forms from הַטָּל and הַטָּל mostly used with intransitive verbs and partly beside forms without feminine-endings); as אֶשְׁמָה *to trespass*, שִׁנְאָה *to hate*, קָרְבָה *to approach* Ex. 36, 2, הַמָּלָה *to pity* Ez. 16, 5. But see Gen. 19, 16 הַמָּלָה (orig. *ā* inflected into *ē*); comp. also Is. 8, 11.

These rare forms are more in use as *verbal nouns* (§ 84, Nos. 10, 11, 14).

2. A sort of *Gerund* is formed in Hebrew by the *Infin. constr.* with the preposition לְ, as לְהַטָּל (*for to kill*) *interficiendo*, *ad interficiendum*, לְנַפֵּל (*for to fall*) *ad cadendum*.

The לְ is here so closely connected, that it constitutes part of the grammatical form, as appears from the syllable-division and the use of *Dāghē'sh lenē*, viz., לְנַפֵּל *lin-pōl* (§ 28, 1), so probably also לִיקְ-תֹל. On the contrary, בִּנְפֹל *bin^ephōl* Job 4, 13, כִּנְפֹל *kin^ephōl* 2 Sam. 3, 34, where the prepositions בְּ and כִּי are conceived to be less closely connected with the Infinitive; and by way of exception it is so also with לְ, as לְנִחֹשׁ וְלִתְחִין Jer. 1, 10. לְשִׁדֹּר 47, 4 and according to some לְסַבֵּב Num. 21, 4.

§ 46.

THE IMPERATIVE OF QĀL.

1. The groundform of the Imperative קָטַל (קָטַל) is consonant with the infin. construct and lies also at the basis of the Imperfect (§ 47).¹ It expresses only the *second* person, but has forms for the feminine and the plural. For the *third* person it has no distinct form (see § 130, Rem. 2), but this is expressed by the Imperfect as the jussive form (§ 127, 3, c), and even the second person must be expressed by the jussive form, when a negative precedes, as אַל תִּקָּטַל (not קָטַל) *kill thou not*, Lat. *ne occidas*, see § 128, 2, b. The proper passive conjugations have no Imperative,² but the reflexive Niph'al and Hithp'al have.

2. The inflection of the 2d Sing. fem. and the 2d pl. masc. is quite similar to that of the Imperfect, and it will be understood from the explanations given below in § 47, 2. Like the Imperfect, the Imperative Masc. Sing. also has a lengthened

¹ The *Inf. absol.* also is occasionally used, like the Greek Infinitive, for the Imperative (§ 131, 4, b). Upon the infinitive in general comp. *Koch, Der semitische Inf.* (Schaffh. 1874).

² An Imper. is found twice (Ez. 32, 19, Jer. 49, 8) in *Hoph'al*, but with a reflexive meaning rather than a passive.

and a shortened form, the first after the manner of the cohortative (הִ— paragog.), the second after the analogy of the jussive (see § 48, 5).

Rem. 1. Besides the form קָטַל (also קָטַל; before *Māqqēph* -קָטַל), there is also one with *Pāthäch*, for verbs middle *E* and also for a number of intransitive verbs which have *ā* in the perfect, as שָׁכַב *lie thou down* as in the *Inf.* and *Impf.* 2 Sam. 13, 5; in *pause* שָׁכַב. See the Paradigm.

2. Now and then there is found in the first syllable of the feminine sing. and masc. plural (which have the *Shewâ vocal*, as קָטַל, קָטַל; therefore שָׁכַב, without a *Dāghē'sh lenē*; comp. however אָסַפְּךָ Jer. 10, 17, and in the same combination הָשִׁיב Is. 47, 2) an *ō* (Qā'mēš-chāṭūph) instead of the *ī*, as שָׁכַב *draw ye* Ez. 32, 20, מָלַךְ *reign thou (fem.)* Judg 9, 10. This throwing back of original *ū* of the 2d syllable (for *ō* is inflected from *u*) would be really according to rule, and the forms with *ī* are merely an attenuation of the characteristic vowel. In *pause* we get מָלַךְ 1 K. 3, 26; from שָׁכַב=שָׁכַב etc., likewise from 2. sing. fem. in *Pause* מָלַכְךָ Is. 23, 12 (even outside of *pause* קָסַמְךָ 1 Sam. 28, 8 in *Kethîbh*); from שָׁמַח=שָׁמַח Joel 2, 21.

3. In the form שָׁמַח, the הִ— is at times dropped, and then a helping vowel is introduced, as in שָׁמַח *hear ye (fem.)* for שָׁמַח Gen. 4, 23. The anomalous קָרָא *call ye (fem.)* for קָרָא Ex. 2, 20 ought perhaps to be read, קָרָא, as it is in Ruth 1, 20.

§ 47.

THE IMPERFECT OF QAL AND ITS INFLECTION.¹

1. Fragments of the personal pronoun are employed in the inflection of the Imperfect as well as of the Perfect; but

¹ The name *Imperfect* is here used in direct opposition to *Perfect*; and therefore in a wider sense than in Latin and Greek grammar. The Heb. (Semitic) *Perf.* denotes, in general, the *concluded, ended and past*, what is come to pass or is gone into effect; but at the same time, that which is *represented* as completed, whether extending still into the present, or in reality yet future. The *Imperfect*, on the contrary, denotes the *incoming, unfinished and continuing*, that which is being done, or coming to pass, and is future; but also that which is repeated or in connected sequence in past time (the Latin Imperfect). From the above it is manifest that the formerly used designation of the *Impf.* as *Future* expresses only a part of the idea. Altogether the transfer of the names of Indo-Germanic tenses to the Semitic tenses (carried out under the influence of Greek grammarians by the Syrian, Arabic and afterward the Hebrew scholars, following their example) has created a great many misconceptions. To the Semitic idea of time which knows only the complete and the incomplete, the indo-germanic division into three *tempora* (past

in the Imperfect these fragments are *pre-fixed* (*preformatives*) to the stem in the abstract or Inf. form (קָטַל), as however the tone is retained on the characteristic vowel of the stem form, or passes over (2 fem. sing. and 3 and 2 masc. pl.) to the affirmatives, these preformatives of the Imperfect, are much more curtailed than the affirmatives of the Perfect, so that in every case only one consonant remains (י, ת, א, נ). But as these are not always sufficient to mark, at the same time, the distinction of gender and of number, the defect is in some cases supplied by additions at the end. Comp. the Table in § 40, 2.

2. The derivation and signification of both the preformatives and the affirmatives, are still in most cases clear.

In the 1st pers. אֶקְטַל, plur. נִקְטַל, א is an abbreviation of אָנִי, : of נִהְיֶה; and here no addition at the end was needed to mark the gender and number. As to vocalization, the Arab. points towards the groundforms 'äqtül and näqtül; the *i* of the 1. plur. is therefore attenuated from *a* (as in the other preformatives). The *Seghöl* of the 1. sing. may be explained from the predilection which the א has for this sound.¹

In the 2d pers. sing. the ת in תִּקְטַל (orig. form täqtül') is from אַתָּה, the י— in תִּקְטַלִּי is the sign of the feminine, as in אַתָּה־י thou (feminine, see § 32, Rem. 4). In the 2d pers. plur. the ר (more fully רָן, see Rem. 4 below) in תִּקְטַלְרֵי is the sign of the plural as in the 3d person, and as already in the Perfect (§ 44, 1), but it is here appropriated to the *masculine*;²

present and future) is quite foreign.—This Semitic distinction of tenses shows itself in the mode of their formation. Thus, in the more objective Perfect, the verbal-stem precedes, and the designation of the person follows as some accessory idea; but in the Imperfect, the subject, from which the action proceeds or of which some state is predicated, is expressed by a prefixed pronoun. See more in the Syntax §§ 125—29.

¹ According to *Kimchi* the *Seghöl* of the 1st sing. may be explained from the endeavor to avoid the conformity of sound in אֶקְטַל and יִקְטַל, the latter being supposed to have been pronounced *iqtöl*.

² This is also the proper gender of the plural syllable *ân, â*. It is true that in the Perf. the Hebrew employs it for both genders; but in the kindred tongues, it stands even in the Perf. for the masculine alone: as in Syriac, mas. *qetalûn*, fem. *qetalên*; in Arabic, mas. *qätälû*, fem. *qätälnä*; in Eth. *qätälû*, *qätälâ*.

while **נָה** (for which also **נִי**) in **תִּקְטְלֶנָה** is the sign of the 2d and 3d pers. plural *feminine* and either points towards an old fem. pl. ending (in Aramaic **נִי**) or is borrowed from **הֵנָּה** *they or those (fem.)*, and **אַתְּנָה** *you (fem.)*.

In the 3d person the preformatives (**י** in the masc. **יִקְטַל**,¹ Grdf. *yāqtûl*, plur. **יִקְטְלוּ**, Grdf. *yāqtûlû*; **ת** in fem. **תִּקְטַל**, plur. **תִּקְטְלֶנָה**), have not yet found a satisfactory explanation. The **ת** is probably allied to the original feminine-ending **ת־** of nouns as well as of the 3 sing. fem. Perfect. For the affirmative **וּ** (**וְהִי**) and **וַיִּ** see above.

3. The characteristic vowel of the 2d syllable becomes *Shewâ* before an accented affirmative beginning with a vowel, but is retained (in the tone-syllable) before the unaccented affirmative **נָה**. Therefore **תִּקְטְלֶנָה**, **יִקְטְלֶנָה**, **תִּקְטְלֶנָה** (*pause תִּקְטְלֶנָה* etc.), **תִּקְטְלֶנָה**.

Rem. 1. The final *ō*, leng. from *û*, is only tone-long (§ 9, No. 10, 3), as in the *Infin. constr.* and *Imper.* Hence,—a) The examples in which it is written *fully*, though not rare, are to be regarded as exceptions;—b) Before *Mäqqēph* it becomes *Qāmēṣ-chātûph*, e. g. **וַיִּכְתֹּב־שָׁם** and *he wrote there* Josh. 8, 32;—c) It becomes vocal *Shewâ* before the affirmatives **וְ** and **וַיִּ** (v. above No. 3). Quite anomalous are the three examples which have long **וּ** instead of *Shewâ*: **וְשָׁפוּטֵי הָם** Ex. 18, 26, immediately before the great pause, but according to *Qimchi* (ed. *Rittenb.* p. 18 b), contrary to our editions, with the tone in the ultima; in the same way **וַיִּשְׁמְרוּם** Ruth 2, 8; **וַיִּשְׁמְרוּם** (in great pause) Prov. 14, 3. In the two first cases perhaps **וְשָׁפוּטֵי** and **וַיִּשְׁמְרוּם** (for **וַיִּשְׁפֹּטֵי** etc.) were intended, by virtue of a retraction of the pause, whilst **וּ** Prov. 14, 3 could only be explained as a vocal equivalent for **וְ** (comp. e. g. Ez. 35, 6). In the few instances in which it remains before these affirmatives, the pointing becomes **וּ**, because it stands close before the pause, e. g. **וַיִּשְׁפֹּטֵי הָם** *yîsh-pûṭû* (*they were judging*) Ex. 18, 26, Ruth 2, 8, comp. Prov. 14, 3.

2. This *Chō'lem* is confined almost exclusively to verbs *middle A*, like **קָטַל**. *Intransitive* verbs (*middle E* and *O*) take *ä* (*Pä'thäch*) in the Impf., as **וְהָרַגְלָה** *to be great*, **וְהִקְטַנְהָ** *to be small*, **וְהִקְטַנְהָ**. Sometimes

¹ The usual derivation of the **י** from the **י** of the pronoun **הוּא**, analogous to **וְשָׁב** from **וְשָׁב** (§ 69) has little in its favor, nor does it explain the **י** preformative of the plural. *Rödiger* supposed that formerly a corresponding pronoun of the third person (*ya?*) may have existed, and compared with it the Amharic *yēh* (this) and *ya* (who), on the supposition that this is old Semitic. The fact that in the Arabic and West. Aram. *Yōdh* stands also as preformative of the 3d pl. fem., at all events, deserves consideration (v. below, Rem. 3).

both forms exist together; the Impf. with *ō* is then transitive, and that with *ā* intransitive; e. g. יִקַּצַּר *he will cut off, will reap*; יִקַּצַּר *he will be cut off*; i. e. will be short. So also חָלַשׁ, Impf. *ō*, *to subdue* Ex. 17, 13, Impf. *ā*, *to be subdued* Job 14, 10. More seldom both occur without any difference in signification; e. g. יִשְׁחָד and יִשְׁחָד *he will bite*, יִרְחֹץ and יִרְחֹץ *he is inclined* (but. cf. Job 40, 17). In the irregular verbs פָּ and some נִפְ, a changeable *ē* (*Šere*) is also found in the final syllable (§ 68, 1; § 69, 1), besides only in יָתַן for יָתַן *he will give* (יָתַן). These three forms of the Impf. are called Imperfect *O*, Imperfect *A*, Imperfect *E*.

3. For the 3d plur. fem. הִקְטִלָּה there occurs in three instances, as if to distinguish it from the 2d pers., the form הִקְטִלָּה, as in West. Aram. Arabic, Ethiopic and Assyrian, e. g. הִקְטִלָּה *they shall arise* Dan. 8, 22; comp. Gen. 30, 38, 1 Sam. 6, 12. In several instances הִקְטִלָּה seems to have been used improperly for the 3d pers. fem. or 2d masc. singular, as הִשְׁלַחָה (for which הִשְׁלַחָה ought probably to be read) Judg. 5, 26 and Obad. 13 (for 2 masc. sing., acc. to Olsh. mutil. fr. הִשְׁלַחָה); comp. Job 17, 16, Is. 28, 3.¹—In the Pentateuch (mostly) נָ (nā) occurs in place of הִ, especially after *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2); e. g. Ex. 1, 18, 19, 15, 20, in Arabic always nā. Acc. to Elias Levita הִבְשִׁיחַ 2 Sam. 13, 18 is the only ex. of this kind in strong verbs.—Once occurs (Ezek. 16, 50) the anomalous form הִקְטִלָּה with הִ inserted, after the manner of verbs עָ"ע and עָ"י (§ 67, 4, § 72, 5); which Olshausen regards as a blunder, caused by the following form.

4. The plural forms ending in ה appear also not unfrequently (but oftenest in the older books) with the fuller ending הִ, most commonly with obvious stress on the word at the end of a period or clause, where the vowel of the second syllable is then retained, as הִקְטִלָּה *they gather* Ps. 104, 28, הִרְגָּזוּ *they tremble* Ex. 15, 14, הִשְׁמָעוּ *ye shall hear* Deut. 1, 17. But it is not confined to this position; see e. g. Ps. 11, 2 הִשְׁמָעוּ (comp. 4, 3, Gen. 18, 28, 29, 30—32, Is. 8, 12, 1 Sam. 9, 13). In the last example and perhaps in some others, euphonic reasons may have cooperated. But the preference for this form at the end of a clause or sentence is clearly seen in Is. 26, 11 הִרְגָּזוּ וְיִבְשׁוּ *they see not; may they see and be ashamed*. This holds also for the corresponding forms of the Imperfect of the derived conjugations.² This original ending הִ is the common one in Aramæan and Arabic (Old Arab. *ūnā*); yet in vulgar Arabic it is likewise shortened. Of the Impf. with נ appended, (following the Arabic orthography § 44 Rem. 4) יִקְטֹל Jer.

¹ By this small number of examples we are hardly justified in taking them as remainders of an emphatic imperf. form (anal. to the *Modus energicus I* with the ending *ännā* in Arabic).

² It is worthy of remark, that the Chronicles often omit the *Nūn* where it stands in the books of Kings; see 1 K. 8, 38, 43; comp. 2 Chr. 6, 24, 33.—1 K. 12, 24, 2 K. 11, 5; comp. 2 Ch. 9, 4, 23, 4.

10, 5 is the only example (but this may stand by erroneous metathesis for *יְנַשֵּׂא* caused by the preceding *יָשׂוּעַ*).

5. In like manner *יְהַקְטִילֵךְ* has a longer form with final *י*, viz., *יְהַקְטִילֶיךָ*, which is also the common one in Aramæan and Arabic (old Arab. *inā*); yet in Hebr. chiefly as a fuller form in great *pause*, and almost everywhere with the retention of the vowel in the penult as *יְהַקְטִילֶיךָ* Ruth 2, 8, 21. See examples in 1 Sam. 1, 14, Ruth 3, 4, 18, Jer. 31, 22, Is. 45, 10.

6. On the restoration in *pause* of *ō* which had become *Shwā* in the forms *יְהַקְטִילֵךְ* etc. v. above No. 3. In consonance with this also is the fact that the imperfects with *ā* restore this vowel in *pause* and, at the same time, lengthen it (as a tone vowel) into *ā* e. g. *יְהַקְטִילֶיךָ*. This influence of the pausal tone extends itself even to the forms which have no affirmative, e. g. *יְהַקְטִילֶיךָ* in *pause* *יְהַקְטִילֶיךָ*; but the fuller forms in *יָ* and *יִ*— keep the tone on the last syllable (the vowels *ū* and *ī* in the closed *ultima* never allow the removal of the tone).

§ 48.

SHORTENING AND LENGTHENING OF THE IMPERFECT AND IMPERATIVE.

Jussive and Cohortative Forms.

1. Against the lack of specific forms to express the *relative Tenses* and the *Moods*, which is felt in the Hebrew and its kindred dialects, a small set-off is made by *changes* in the *form* of the Imperfect, to which changes a certain signification is either exclusively or principally attached.¹

2. We distinguish, accordingly, between the common form of the Imperfect and two others, viz., a *lengthened* form (with a *cohortative* force) and a *shortened* form (with a *jussive* force). The lengthened Imperfect, however, occurs only in the 1st person (with few exceptions), while its shortened form is mostly found only in the 2d and 3d persons, rarely also in the first (1 Sam. 14, 36). In Hebrew, however, for reasons of accentuation and vowel formation the Jussive could not always be orthographically distinguished from the common (*Indicative*) form of the Imperfect.

In classic Arabic the distinction is almost always clear. Besides the common Indicative *yāqtūlū*, it has—*a*) a Subjunctive, *yāqtūlū*;—*b*) a

¹ In the Perfect, the corresponding relations or modal senses are expressed only by the one common form, that stands also for the Indicative (§ 126, 5).

Jussive, *yāqtûl*; and—*c*) a doubled so-called *Modus energicus* of the Impf. *yāqtûlānnā* and *yāqtûlān* (in pause *yāqtûlā*), which latter answers to the Heb. Cohortative.

3. The characteristic of the *cohortative* is a long *â* הַ, attached to the 1st person, as in אֶקְטֹל from אֶקְטַל; comp. the הַ directive of the noun § 69, 2, *a*. It is found in all the conjugations and in all classes of strong and weak verbs (except in the *passives*), and the ending הַ has the tone wherever it is taken by the affirmatives ו and וֹ; hence it affects the final vowel in precisely the same manner as these do; e. g. in *Qāl* אֶשְׁמְרָה *I will observe*, in *Pi'el* נִנְתָּקָה *let us break asunder* Ps. 2, 3; but the unchangeable vowel of the final syllable is retained before הַ, as in *Hiph'il* אֶזְכְּרָה *I will praise*. Finally (as before *û* and *i*) the vowel is restored in pause, as tone vowel; thus the cohortative אֶשְׁמְרָה becomes in pause אֶשְׁמְרָה (Ps. 59, 10).

Twice הַ takes the place of הַ, e. g. 1 Sam. 28, 15, and, with the 3d pers. Ps. 20, 4 (here in a syllable sharpened by *dag. forte conjunc.*). The הַ is attached to the 3d person: Is. 5, 19 (twice); Ezek. 23, 20 (and afterward required v. 16 in *Qeri*), where, as also Prov. 1, 20 and 8, 3 it has no influence upon the signification. Probably Job 11, 17 also belongs here although הַעֲפָה may, with *Kimchi* be regarded as 2nd Masc. Quite anomalous is הַבִּיָּאָה Deut. 33, 16 (for הַבִּיָּאָה = תִּבְּאָה). It is not impossible that in some of the above named cases the הַ may be a second (pleonastic) designation for the feminine.

The *Cohortative* expresses *effort* and the *direction of the will to an action*; and accordingly it especially denotes *excitement of one's self, determination, wish* (as *Optative*), in the 1st Pl. also an exhortation of others, etc. (see § 128).

4. The *Jussive* form of the Impf. essentially rests on quicker pronunciation, united with a tendency of the accent towards the beginning of the word (in order, as it were, to emphasize the command immediately in the first syllable), so that it very often causes a shortening at the end. Yet elsewhere the jussive must be satisfied with the shortening of the vowel of the 2d syllable, without being able to withdraw from it the tone, and very frequently the nature of the form does not allow any change whatever, v. above No. 2. It is not impossible however that even in such a case the *Jussive* and *Indi-*

cative differed perceptibly in the tone of the living speech. So **רָקַטַל** as Ind. means *he will kill*, but as Jussive *let him kill*. Where the shortening is orthographically indicated, will be shown in every case under the conjugations. In the strong verb it is confined, as a distinct form, to Hiph'il, as in Juss. **רָקַטַל**, Ind. **רָקַטִיל**. It is found in Qāl and Hiph'il of verbs **עָרַר**, as Jussive **רָמַת** and **רָמַת**, Ind. **רָמַת** and **רָמִית**; and in all the conjugations of verbs **לָהּ**, where after the removal (*apocope*) of the ending **הּ**— in Qāl and Hiph'il monosyllabic forms arise with or without a helping vowel under the 2d stem consonant (*Impf. apoc.*), e. g. Qāl, Ind. **רָגַלָהּ**, Juss. **רָגַלְהּ**; Hiph. Ind. **רָגַלָהּ**, Juss. **רָגַלְהּ**; but also in *Pi'el* **רָצַר** from Indic. **רָצָהּ**. But in all cases the plural forms of the *Jussive* coincide with those of the Indicative, only that the ending **וֶן** cannot occur. Also the 2d pers. sing. fem. sounds the same in both, viz., **תִּמְתִּילי**, **תִּמְתִּילי**, etc., and so likewise all the singular and plural forms, when they have pronominal suffixes, e. g. **תִּמְתִּילִי** as Indicative in Jer. 38, 15, as Jussive in Jer. 41, 8.

The force of this form is similar to that of the *Cohortative*, only that in Jussive the command or wish extends, with few exceptions, only to the 2d or 3d person. On particular uses of the Jussive, e. g. in hypothetical sentences (even in the first person), see § 128, 2.

5. The *Imperative*, as it is allied in form and meaning to the Imperfect, is also lengthened (by **הּ**) and shortened, in a manner perfectly analogous (compare the Arabic *Imperativus energicus*, with the ending *-ānnā* or *-an*, in pause *-ā*). The lengthened *Imp.* occurs, e. g. in Qāl of the strong verb, as **שָׁמְרָהּ**, **שָׁמְרָהּ** (*shōm-rā* like **קִטְלִי** *qīṭli*, § 46, Rem. 2) *keep thou*; **שָׁכְבָהּ**, **שָׁכְבָהּ** *lie thou down*; the shortened *Imp.* in verbs **לָהּ**, as in *Pi'el* **גַּלְהּ** for **גַּלְהּ**. In Hiph'il the *i* of the 2d syll. is reduced to *ē*, when the syll. is closed e. g. **הִקְטַלְהּ**; but the *i* is retained in open syllables e. g. **הִקְטִילִי** (both cases exactly as in jussive). The force of these forms is not always so strongly marked as in the *Imperfect*. The longer form, however, is often emphatic, as **קִים** *stand up*, **קִימָהּ** *up!* **תֵּן** *give*, **תֵּן** *give!*

§ 49.

THE PERFECT AND THE IMPERFECT WITH WĀW CONSECUTIVE.

1. The use of the two tenses, as is shown more fully in the Syntax (§§ 126, 127; compare Note ¹, § 47), is by no means confined to the expression of the past and the future. One of the most striking peculiarities in the consecution of the Hebrew¹ tenses, is this; that in continued narrations of the past, only the first verb stands in the Perfect, the following ones being in the Imperfect; and on the contrary, in continued descriptions of the future, the first verb is in the Imperfect (Future), while the subsequent ones are in the Perfect. Thus in 2 K. 20, 1: *In those days Hezekiah sickened* (Perf.) . . . *and Isaiah . . . came* (Impf. וַיָּבֹא) *to him, and said* (Impf. וַיֹּאמֶר) *to him, etc.* Just the reverse in Is. 7, 17: *And the Lord will bring* (Impf. וַיָּבִיא) *upon thee, and upon thy people, and upon thy father's house, days, such as have not come since, etc.* 18 v. *And it will happen* (Perf. וַיִּהְיֶה) *on that day . . .* This progress in the succession of time is generally indicated by the so-called *consecutive Wāw*,² which in itself, it is true, is but a variety of the usual copulative *Wāw*, but partly (in the impf.) appears with an unusual vocalization. Moreover the tenses compounded with the *consecutive Wāw* undergo in part a variation of tone and hence at times also other variations.

2. The *Wāw consecutive of the Imperfect* is—*a*) regularly prefixed with *Pä'thüch* and a *Dāghē'sh fortè* in the next letter,

¹ The other Semitic tongues have no trace of this construction, except that the Phœnician (the most closely related to the Hebrew), and of course the trans-jordanic Heb. (or Moabite) inscription of Mēsha' has it (see § 2, 2).

² This name expresses best the prevailing syntactical relation, for by *Wāw consec.* an action is always represented as a direct or at least temporal *sequence* of a preceding action. If whole books (Lev., Num., Josh., Judg., 1 and 2 Sam., 2 Kings, Ezek., Ruth, Esth., Neh., 2 Chron.) begin with *impf. consec.*, others (Ex., 1 Kings, Ezra) with *Wāw copul.*, it is to establish a close connection with the historical books preceding them (now or originally). Compare on the other hand the independent beginning of Job and Daniel. Merely external is the formerly used designation as *Wāw conversive*, as changing the respective tenses into their opposites (acc. to the former conception, the *fut.* into *pret.* and *vice-versa*).

as **וַיִּקְטֹל** and *he killed*, but with *Qā'mēs* before the א of the 1st pers. sing. (according to § 22, 1), as **וַאֲקַטֵּל** and *I killed* (the preform. ו with *Dāgh. f.* omitted occurs in such cases as **וַיִּדְבֹּר** and **וַיִּהְיֶה**, see § 20, 3, *b*);—*b*) it takes a shortened form of the Imperfect, where possible (comp. § 48, 4), e. g. in *Hiph'il* **וַיִּקְטֹל** (§ 53, Rem. 4), and tends to remove the tone from the ultima even more than the jussive. With this removal is necessarily connected a decided shortening of the vowel of the 2d syllable which being closed is now toneless, as in **וַיָּקָם**, Jussive **וָקָם**, with *Wāw consecutive* **וַיָּקָם** and *he arose* (§ 67, Rem. 2 and 7, § 68, 1, § 69, Rem. 3, § 71, § 72, Rem. 4 and 7, § 73, Rem. 2).¹ But in the 1st pers., especially in the singular, the shifting back of the tone and even the reduction of long vowels in the 2d syllable (*û* to *ō*, *î* to *ē*) is not usual, and the apocope in verbs ל"ה occurs much seldomer, e. g. always **וַאֲקִיָּם** (def. **וְאָקָם**) and *I arose*; *Hiph.* **וַאֲרָאָה**, **וַאֲרָאָה** and *I saw* (rather oftener than **וַאֲרָא**). But on the contrary we oftener find, specially in the later books, the *Cohortative* form in ה— used here, e. g. **וַאֲשַׁלְּחָהּ** and *I sent* Gen. 32, 6, Judg. 6, 9, 10, Ps. 3, 6, Neh. 2, 13, 5, 7, 8, 13, 6, 11, 13, 7—11.—See more in § 129.

NB. This ו is in sense a strengthened *Wāw copulative* and resembles in its pronunciation the usual Arab. *copul.* (*wā*). The close connection of this *wā* with the following consonant caused in Hebrew the doubling of the latter, especially as *ā* could not stand in an open syllable; comp. **בְּמָה**, **בְּמָה**, **בְּמָה** (for **בְּמָה**), where the prepositions **בְּ**, **בְּ**, **בְּ** are connected with **מָה** in a similar way.

The encounter of numerous *consecutive* forms with jussives of the same conjugation must not lead to the supposition of a close relationship between the two moods. In the consecutive forms the shortening of the vowel (or the shifting of the tone) is occasioned by the strengthening of the preformative syllable, and is only accidentally similar to the form of the Jussive, where the shortening is based on the character of the form itself.²

3. The counterpart of *Wāw consecutive of the Imperfect* is *Wāw consecutive of the Perfect*, by which the Perfects are

¹ Also the plural forms in וִי, occur more seldom after *Wāw consecutive*, but comp. **וַיִּרְיִבוּן** Judg. 8, 1, 11, 18, Am. 6, 3, Ez. 44, 8, Deut. 4, 11, 5, 20. The 2d fem. sing. in וִי— never occurs after *Wāw consecutive*.

² The opinion of earlier grammarians, according to which **וַיִּקְטֹל** is an abbreviation and contraction from **הָיָה וַיִּקְטֹל** (= **הָיָה**) it was (that) he killed, is in every respect erroneous, and now obsolete.—Equally unfounded is the opinion of some that it is a contraction of **וַיִּהְיֶה וַיִּקְטֹל**.

placed as the future sequents of actions or events conceived of as incomplete (therefore in Imperf., Imperat. or even Partic.). In form it is the usual *Wāw copulative* and therefore also shares its various vocalization (ו, י, ך e. g. 2 K. 7, 4, ון), e. g. וְהָיָה (after an Impf.) *and it happens—it will happen*; yet it has generally the effect of shifting the tone to the last syllable in those verbal forms which would otherwise have it on the penultima, e. g. הִלַּכְתִּי *I went*, consec. form וְהִלַּכְתִּי (coordinate with another Perf. consec., which is a consecutive to an Imperat.) *and I will go* Judg. 1, 3; הִבְדִּילָהּ, consec. וְהִבְדִּילָהּ *and it shall divide* Ex. 26, 33 (but this loss of the tone by *i* in the 2d syll. is exceptional, comp. under letter *b*). See more on the usage in § 126.

As the first of the above examples shows, the *Qā'mēš* of the 1st syl. is retained in the strong perf. consec. Qal, as formerly before the tone, so now with the secondary tone (therefore necessarily provided with *Méthē'gh*). On the other hand the *ō* of the 2nd syl. in verbs *med. ō*, upon losing the tone, becomes *ö* e. g. וְהָלַךְ Exod. 18, 23. This shifting forward of the tone does not always take place, and the exceptions are sometimes strange. It is omitted—*a*) always in the 1st pers. pl. וְיִשְׁכְּנִי Gen. 34, 16;—*b*) generally at least in Qal in verbs לִ"א and לִ"ה, e. g. וְיִשְׁכְּנִי Ex. 26, 4, 6, 7, 10, etc.; but before a following א the vowel, long by contraction in the Perf. Qāl of these verbs, frequently loses its tone, for orthophonic reasons, e. g. וְיִבְאֶהָ אֵל Gen. 6, 18;—*c*) always when such a Perfect stands in pause, e. g. וְיִשְׁכְּנֶה Deut. 8, 10, 11, 15, and frequently also immediately before a tone-syllable (according to § 29, 3, *b*) as in וְיִשְׁכְּנֶהָ Deut. 17, 14, וְיִצְאֶהָ שָׁמָּה Deut. 23, 13, Amos 1, 4. 7. 10. 12 (yet also וְיִשְׁכְּנֶהָ Deut. 21, 11, 23, 14, 24, 19). Elsewhere the accent is shifted back even before the *Méthē'gh*, e. g. Zeph. 1, 17.

§ 50.

OF THE PARTICIPLE OF QĀL.

1. Qāl has two forms of the Participle, viz., an *active*, called also *Pō'ēl* from its form (פְּעֹל), and a *passive*, called *Pā'ūl* (פְּעוּל).¹

The *Pā'ūl* is doubtless a remnant of a lost passive form of Qāl, which still exists complete in Arabic. In the Aramæan the passives of *Pi'ēl* and *Hiph'ūl* are in like manner lost, except in the Participles.

2. The form of the Participle active of Qāl in the intransitive verbs *mid. E* and *mid. O*, coincides with the form

¹ The Jewish Grammarians call the Part. Act. also בִּינִינִי (*middle word*); yet not in the sense of the Latin name, but as holding in sense (as present participle) the *middle* place between the past and the future; in this sense the בִּינִינִי is opposed by them to the passive form פְּעוּל as part. *praeterit*.

of the 3d person sing. of the Perfect, as *רָשָׁן*, *sleeping* (from *r. רָשָׁן*), *רָגַז*, *fearing* (only orthographically different from the Perf. *רָגַז*); comp. the formation of the Part. in Nīph'āl (§ 51, 1). But the Participle of verbs *mid. A*, takes the form *קָטַל*, the *ô* of which has sprung from *â* and is therefore unchangeable (*qôtē'l* from *qâte'l*, § 9, No. 10, 2). (The form *קָטַל*, which with two changeable *Qā'mēṣ* would correspond to the forms *רָשָׁן* and *רָגַז*, is in use only as a *verbal noun*, § 84, 1.)—The inflection of the Participle in *Pī'ēl*, *Pū'āl*, *Hīph'īl*, *Hōph'āl*, *Hithpā'ēl* follows a different method, taking a prefixed *מ*.

3. Participles form their feminine (*act.* *קָטְלָה* or *קִטְלָה*, *pass.* *קִטְלוּהָ*) and their plural (*act. mas.* *קָטְלִים*, *fem.* *קִטְלוֹת*; *pass. m.* *קִטְלוּלִים*, *f.* *קִטְלוֹת*) like other nouns (§§ 87, 94).

Rem. 1. From the above it follows: 1) the *ā* of the form *רָשָׁן* is lengthened from *ā* and is consequently changeable (e. g. *fem.* *רָשְׁנָה*); 2) the *ô* of *קָטַל* on the contrary is inflected from unchangeable *â*. In Arabic the verbal adj. after the form *qātīl* corresponds to the form *qātēl* and the part. *qātīl* to *qôtēl*. In both cases therefore the *ē* of the second syllable has been lengthened from *ī*, and is therefore changeable (e. g. *קָטַל* pl. *קָטְלִים*; *const. pl.* *קָטְלִים*; *comp. pl.* *קָטְלִים*).—An uncommon form perhaps is *תִּשְׁמְרָה* *supporting* Ps. 16, 5; it is possible, however, that *תִּשְׁמְרָה* is intended with incorrect full writing of *—* (comp. *סָבִיר* 2 K. 8, 21), or perhaps it is the *impf. Hiph.* of *שָׁמַר*. Many reckon here also *יִשְׁרָה* Is. 29, 14, 38, 5; but this is rather 3 *sing. Impf. Hīph'īl* of *יָשַׁר* (compare a quite similar construction in Is. 28, 16; the prop. n. *אֲבִיר* 1 Ch. 27, 30, being a foreign word, need not be considered here).—The form *הִיָּלָם* Is. 41, 7 (for *הִיָּלָם*) is explained in § 29, 3, b.

2. The Participle in the passive form at times belongs to an intransitive verb and cannot properly take a passive meaning, but expresses a passive state. Thus *בָּטַחְתָּ* is *trusting* (not *trusted*) in Ps. 112, 7, *שָׁכַחְתָּ* *inhabiting* (not *inhabited*) Judg. 8, 11 (like the Lat. *deponent* forms *confisus*, *commoratus*) and even in the transitive verb *אָחַזְתָּ* *holding* (not *held*) Cant. 3, 8.

B. DERIVED CONJUGATIONS.

§ 51.

NĪPH'ĀL.

1. The characteristic of this conjugation consists essentially in a *נ* prefixed to the stem. This is either vowelless with prefixed *ה* (in all verbs whose 1st stem letter has a firm vowel) or joined to the stem by a short vowel (orig. *ā* but in strong verbs attenuated to *ī*), so that, by assimilation of the *נ*, we have the *Impf. and Inf.* *הִנְקַטַל* (for *הִנְקָטַל*), the *Inf. absol.* *הִנְקַטַל*, and also

the *Impf.* יִקְטֹל (with the ה elided) for יִקְהַטֹּל. But when the latter is vowelless the נ joins itself to the stem by means of a short vowel, as in the *Perf.* נִקְטַל, *Part.* נִקְטֵל, and at times in the *Inf. absol.* נִקְטֹל. The inflection of Niph'al is perfectly analogous to that of Qāl. (The VIIth conjug. of the Arab. 'inqātālā corresponds to the Niph'al.)

Niph'al may be known in the *Perf.* and *Part.* by the *Nûn* prefixed; in the *Imp. Inf.* and *Impf.*, by the *Dāgh. f.* in the first stem-letter. The same marks are found in the irregular verbs, except that, where the first stem-letter is a guttural, the Dāghēsh must be omitted (§ 63, 4), and consequently the preceding vowel made long (§ 22, 1).

2. The *significations of Niph'al*. It is similar to the Greek *middle voice*, and hence—*a*) It is primarily *reflexive* of Qāl, e. g. נִשְׁמַר to *watch one's self, to beware*, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִסְתַּר to *hide one's self*; often in verbs which express an emotion that re-acts on the mind, as נָחַם to *trouble one's self, to grieve*, נִאֲנַח to *bemoan one's self, to bewail*; comp. ὀδύρεσθαι, *lamentari, contristari*;—*b*) Then it frequently expresses *reciprocal action*, as from שָׁפַט to *judge*, Niph. נִשְׁפָּט to *go to law with one another*, יָעַץ to *counsel*, Niph. to *consult together*; comp. the *middle* and *deponent* verbs βουλεύεσθαι (נִיעֵץ), μάχεσθαι (נִלָּחֵם), *altercari, preliari, luctari*, ἐρίζεσθαι (נִנְצָה);—*c*) It has also like Hithpāl (§ 54, 3, *c*) and the Greek *middle*, the *signification of the active*, with addition of *self*, Lat. *sibi*, for *one's self*, e. g. נִשְׁאַל to *ask for one's self* (1 Sam. 20, 6, 28, Neh. 13, 6), precisely like αἰτοῦμαί σε τοῦτο, ἐνδύσασθαι χιτῶνα to *put on (one's self) a tunic*;—*d*) It is often also *passive* of Qāl, e. g. יָלַד to *bear*, Niph. to *be born*, קָבַר to *bury*, Niph. to *be buried*; likewise of Pī'el and Hiph'il, when Qāl is intransitive or not in use, e. g. כָּבַד to *be in honour*, Pī'el to *honour*, Niph. to *be honoured*, בָּתַר, in Pī'el to *conceal*, Hiph. to *make disappear, to destroy*, Niph. passive of both: and in this case its meaning may again coincide with Qāl (תָּלַה Qāl and Niph. to *be ill*), and even take an accusative (§ 138, 2, Rem. 1).

Examples of *denominatives* are נִזְכָּר to *be born a male* (from זָכָר a male) Ex. 34, 19, נִלְבָּב cordatum fieri (from לֵב heart) Job 11, 22.

NB. The older Hebrew grammarians have represented Niph'al as strictly the *passive* of Qāl. This representation is decidedly incorrect; for Niph'al has not the characteristics of the other passives. There

are still found in Qāl traces of an early passive form (§ 50, 1), and the Arabic has a distinct conjugation, corresponding with Nīph'āl ('*ingātālā*'), which has its own passive; nay, in Hebrew itself, there is probably a trace of the passive of Nīph'āl in the form נִנָּאֵל Is. 59, 3, Lam. 4, 14. According to the *usage* of the language, the *passive* signification is certainly predominant; but it was first derived from the reflexive.—The הָן prefixed has the force of a reflexive pronoun, like הָהָן in Hīthpā'ēl,¹ the הָ probably serving to make the characteristic נ utterable (comp. Arab. 'ingātālā).

Rem. 1. The *Inf. absol.* קָטַל connects itself, in form, with the Perf., to which it bears the same relation as קָטַל to קָטַל; it also occurs in connection with the Perfect, as in נִשְׁאַל rogando 1 Sam. 20, 6, נִדְּבַח desiderando Gen. 31, 30. An example of the other form, connecting with the Impf., is הָקֵיִן Jer. 32, 4; once אָדַרשׁ Ezek. 14, 3. The *ô* in the final syllable (which is originally *â*) is also exhibited in this Infinitive form in Pī'el and Pū'āl, and it resembles, in this respect, several Arabic Infinitives, in which there is a corresponding *â*. Moreover, the form הִקְטַל is not infrequently used for the Inf. absol., e. g. Num. 15, 31, Deut. 4, 26, 1 K. 20, 39.

2. In *Pause*, a *Päthäch* often takes the place of *Šērê* in the final syllable of the Impf. e. g. וַיִּנְמָל and he was weaned Gen. 21, 8, as also in other cases, comp. 2 Sam. 12, 15 (with final ו): 17, 23 (with ק); Jonah 1, 5 (with נ); (§ 29, 4 at the end). In the 2d and 3d pers. plural feminine, the *Päthäch* is common, e. g. הִזְכֵּרְנָה they shall be remembered Is. 65, 17; *Šērê* is found only in הִזְכֵּרְנָה Ruth 1, 13 (from עֵן for עֵנָה with *Dāghesh* omitted; comp. הִזְכֵּרְנָה Is. 60, 4.).

3. When the Impf., Inf., or Imp. is immediately followed by a word of one syllable, the tone is commonly shifted back upon the penultima, and consequently the final syllable, losing the tone, takes *Seghôl* instead of *Šērê*; e. g. רָפַשׁ בָּהּ he stumbles at it Ez. 33, 12; וַיִּשְׁמָע and he heard him Gen. 25, 21; also *Päthäch* הִשְׁמָעַי Job 18, 4, but comp. וַיִּשְׁמָעַי and God heard 2 Sam. 21, 14. While in some isolated cases e. g. Ezra 8, 23, the shifting back of the tone is omitted, in spite of an accented syllable following, it has however become general with certain forms, even when the following word begins with an unaccented syllable; especially after ו cons. e. g. וַיִּלָּחֶם and he fought Num. 21, 1 etc. For the *imperative* הִקְבֹּצִי there is found (with the rejection of initial ה) הִקְבֹּצִי Is. 43, 9 (in *pause* הִקְבֹּצִי Joel, 4, 11; comp. הִלָּוִי Jer. 50, 5).

¹ Also in other languages, specially in the Slavonian, the change of the reflexive into the passive is observed. It is still clear in Sanscrit and in Greek how the middle goes before the passive voice; the *r* at the end of the Latin passive is the reflexive pronoun=*se*; in the ancient Slavic and Bohemian, *amat-se* stands for *amatur*, in Dacoroman *io me laudu* (I am praised). See *Pott's Etymologische Forschungen*, Th. 1, S. 133 ff., Th. 2, S. 92; *Bopp's Vergleichende Grammatik*, § 476 ff.

4. For the 1st pers. sing. of the Impf. אֶקְטֹל the form אֶקְטִיל is equally frequent, as אֶתְרַשׁ *I will let myself be sought* Ez. 14, 3; אֶשְׁבַּע *I swear* Gen. 21, 24; in the *Cohortative* always with *i*, e. g. אֶקְטִילָה *I will avenge me* Is. 1, 24. Comp. § 69, Rem. 5.

§ 52.

PĪ'Ē'L AND PU'Ā'L.

1. The *characteristic* of this conjugation is the *doubling of the middle stem-letter*. In the *active* (Pī'ēl), the *Perf.* would naturally have קָטַל from the simple stem קָטַל (comp. § 43, Rem. 1, and Arab. Conj. II *qā'tlālā*); the *ā* of the first syllable is however with one exception (v. Rem. 1) always changed to *ī* in the *Perf.* In the 2nd syllable *ā* has usually been retained (therefore the conjugation should properly be called *Pī'āl*); often here however occurs an attenuation to *ī* which the tone regularly lengthens to *ē* (comp. Aram. קָטַל, Biblical Aram. קָטַל). Thus arise for the 2d sing. masc. perf. forms like אָבַד, אָמַד, קָדַשׁ, לָמַד; קָדַח, קָבַד etc.¹—Before affirmatives however *ā* is always retained, thus קָטַלְתָּ, קָטַלְתֶּם, קָטַלְתִּי etc. The *Infinitive absol.* has קָטַל (inflected from *qattāl*). The Inf. const. and Impf. have קָטַל with *ā* in the first syllable, and so the Impf. makes יִקְטַל and the Part. מִקְטָל, the preformatives here having a vocal *Shewā*, which seems to be the relic of a short vowel.—The *passive* (Pū'āl קָטַל) has an obscure vowel of the third class (*ū* or rarely *ō*) after the first stem-letter, and *ā* (in pause *ā*) after the second. On the use of obscure vowels to express intransitives, comp. § 43. Also in Arabic passives are formed throughout with *ū* in the 1st syllable. In regard to inflection these two conjugations are analogous to that of Qāl.

The ׀, which occurs also in the succeeding conjugations, as the characteristic of the Part., seems to be connected with ׀ִי *who?* (fem. מִיָּה comp. § 37) in the sense of *some one*.

Pī'ēl and Pū'āl are throughout distinguished by the *Dāghēsh* in the middle stem-letter. It is omitted only in the following cases:—*a*) Always when this letter is a guttural (§ 64, 3);—*b*) Sometimes, though rarely, when this letter has *Shewā* (§ 20, 3, *b*), as שֶׁתִּתְּחַלֵּשׁ *she stretches*

¹ On three cases which take ׀ instead of ׀ before final ׀ or ׀ see below Rem. 1.

forth (for שָׁחָה) Ez. 17, 7; בָּקְשׁוּהוּ for בָּקַח they sought him 2 Ch. 15, 15; also at times the omission is indicated (§ 10, 2 Rem.) by a *Chât'êph*, under the *litera dagessanda*, e. g. לָקְחָהּ for לָקַחְהָ she was taken Gen. 2, (23, — though influence of preceding —) comp. 9, 14. In the Impf. and Part. the *Shêwâ* under the preformatives may always serve as a mark of these conjugations.

2. The primary idea of *Pî'êl* is urgency, especially that which is self impelled (a busy doing) hence.—a) It denotes *intensity* and *repetition* (comp. the *intensive* and *iterative nouns*, which are likewise formed by doubling the middle stem-letter, § 84, 6—9);¹ e. g. צָחַק to laugh, *Pî'êl* to sport, to jest (to laugh repeatedly), שָׁאַל to ask, *Pî'êl* to beg; hence it denotes that the action has to do with *many*, as קָבַר to bury (one) Gen. 23, 4, *Pî'êl* to bury (many) 1 K. 11, 15. (So in Syriac and Arabic frequently). This signification of *Pî'êl* is found with various shades of secondary meaning, as פָּתַח to open, *Pî'êl* to loose, סָפַר to count, *Pî'êl* to relate.—The eager performance of an action makes the agent *influence* others also in the same direction. Hence—b) *Pî'êl* has a *causative* signification (like *Hîph'il*), e. g. לָמַד to learn, *Pî'êl* to teach. It often takes the modifications expressed by *to permit*, *to declare* or *to hold as*, *to help*, as חָיָה to let live, צָדַק to declare innocent, יָלַד to help in child-bearing.—c) *Denominatives* are frequently found in this conjugation, which in general mean *to make a thing* (viz. that which the noun expresses), or *to be in any way occupied with it*; as קָנַן to make a nest (from קֶן nest), עָפַר to throw dust, to dust (from עָפָר dust). It also expresses the *taking away* or *injuring* the thing expressed by the noun (as in English *to behead*, *to skin*, *to bone*), e. g. שָׁרַשׁ (from שָׁרֵשׁ a root) to root out, extirpate, זָזַב (from זָזַב tail) properly to injure the tail,

¹ Analogous examples, in which the doubling of a letter has an *intensive* force, are found in the German words, *reichen*, *rechen* (E. reach, rack); *streichen* (*stringo*, Anglo-Saxon *strecan*), *strecken* (E. stretch, streak); comp. *Strich*, *Strecke*; *wacker*, from *wachen*: others in which it has the *causative* signification, are *stechen*, *stecken* (E. stitch, stick); *wachen*, *wecken* (E. watch, wake); τέλλω *to bring to an end*, from the stem τέλω *to end*, γεννάω *to beget*, from γένω *to come into being*. The above examples in German show also that *ch*, when doubled, takes the form of *kk*, *ck*, in accordance with the laws relating to the *Dāghê'sh* in Hebrew (§ 13, 3).

hence to rout the rear of an army, רָעַץ to remove the ashes, שָׁבַר to break the bones. So also in verbs the origin of which may not now be traceable to a noun; e. g. סָקַל to stone, and also to remove the stones (i. e. from a field);¹ comp. Eng. to stone in both senses.

The significations of the *passive* (Pū'āl) will occur readily from the above, e. g. גָּנַב to steal, Pī'el to steal, Pū'āl to be stolen.

In Pī'el, the proper and literal signification of a word is often retained, when Qāl has adopted a figurative one, the former being the stronger and more palpable sense; e. g. רָפָא in Pī'el to stitch up, in Qāl to heal; כָּרַא, Pī'el to cut or hew out, Qāl to form or make; יָלַח, Pī'el to uncover, Qāl to reveal.

In intransitive verbs, also, Pī'el occurs as an intensive form, but only in poetic diction, as רָחַח to be broken in pieces Jer. 51, 56, פָּחַר to tremble Deut. 51, 13, Prov. 28, 14, פָּתַח to be open Is. 48, 8, 60, 11, רָיַח to be drunken Is. 34, 5, 7.

Rem. 1. The Perf. Pī'el has (—) in the final syllable quite as often as (—), e. g. אָבַד to destroy, שָׁבַר to break in pieces, לָמַד to teach. This occurs especially before *Mäqqēph* (Eccles. 9, 15, 12, 9), and in the middle of a period in continuous discourse; but at the end of a period (in *pause*), *Sērē* is the more common vowel. Comp. נָהַל Is. 49, 21 with נָהַל Josh. 4, 14; Est. 3, 1. Some verbs have *Sēghôl*, namely דִּבֶּר to speak, כָּפַר to atone, and כָּבַס to wash clothes, but דִּבֶּר in *pause*.

A single instance of (—) in the first syllable (after the manner of the Arab. and Aram.) is found in Gen. 41, 51 נָשַׁח to cause to forget, a change occasioned by the play upon the name מְנַשֶּׁה. Compare the quadriliteral פָּרַשׁ, which is analogous in form to Pī'el (§ 56).

2. The *Impf.*, *Inf.*, and *Imp.*, when followed by *Mäqqēph*, generally take *Sēghôl* in the final syllable, e. g. רִבֵּק־לִי he seeks for himself Is. 40, 20, קִדְּשֵׁנִי sanctify to me Ex. 13, 2. So too in Hithpā'el.—In the 1st pers. sing. *Impf.* besides אֶכְתֹּל, there occurs also in a few cases the form with (—) under the א, as אֶזְרֶה Lev. 26, 33; and even with (—), as אֶסְיֶר Zech. 7, 14 (according to § 23, 3, Rem. 2). With *Wāw cons.* we have also וְאֶזְכֹּר for וְאֶזְכָּר Judg. 6, 9. Instead of וְאֶכְתֹּל are found forms like וְאֶכְתֹּלָה, as in Is. 3, 16, 13, 18 (before a sibilant in *pause*).

3. The *Inf. absol.* in Pi. has the special form תִּזְכֹּר, as תִּזְכֹּר castigando Ps. 118, 18; but much more frequently the form of the *Inf.*

¹ In Arabic, *denominatives* of Conj. II. often express injury done to a member, the removal of vermin and noxious things. This force is not wholly foreign, also, to the simplest Conj. I. Comp. Hebrew Qāl שָׁבַר (from שָׁבַר) to buy or sell grain; Lat. *causari*, *prædari*, etc.

constr. קָטַל is used instead, as in Jer. 12, 17, 32, 33. For the latter the form קָטַל also occurs exceptionally, namely in Lev. 14, 43 קָטַלְךָ, and (for the sake of assonance) even for *Inf. absol.* in 2 Sam. 12, 14 קָטַלְתָּ וְנָצַפְתָּ.

4. In *Pū'āl*, instead of *Qibbū's*, *Qā'mēš-chātū'ph* is found less frequently, e. g. מִצְדָּם *dyed red* Nah. 2, 4, comp. 3, 7; Ps. 72, 20, 80, 11. It is merely an orthographic variation when *Shū'rēq* takes the place of *Qibbū's*, as יִיזֵר in Judg. 18, 29.

5. As the *Inf. absol.* of Pu. there is found קָטַב in Gen. 40, 15.—The *Inf. constr.* does not occur in a regular verb in *Pū'āl*.

6. The *Part. Pū'āl* sometimes occurs without the prefixed מ¹; and is then distinguished from the 3. pers. Perf. (like the *Part. Niph.*) only by the *Qā'mēš* in the final syllable, e. g. לָקַח *taken* 2 K. 2, 10, comp. יִיזֵר for מִיזֵר Judg. 13, 8; also Ec. 9, 12, Ez. 26, 17, Prov. 25, 19, Is. 18, 2; the last two examples on account of the presence of an initial ב.

§ 53.

HĪPH'ĪL AND HÖPH'ĀL.

1. The characteristic of the *active* (Hīph'īl) is ה, in the Perf. ה (the *ā* being attenuated into *ī* as in *Pī'ēl*) and forming with the 1st stem consonant a closed syllable. The 2d syllable had in the Perf. originally likewise *ā*; comp. Arab. conj. IV. 'aqtālā and in Hebrew the return of *Pā'thāch* in the 2d and 1st person הִקְטַלְתָּ etc. The *ā* having been attenuated into *ī*, the latter when having the tone, should, according to rule have been lengthened into *ē* (as in Aram. אִקְטַל, in Biblical Aram. הִקְטַל). Instead of this however the strong verb has received *ī*. Thus in the *Inf. constr.* הִקְטִיל with which are connected the *Impf.* and the *Part.* מִקְטִיל, הִקְטִיל² contracted from יִהְיֶה הִקְטִיל, מִהְיֶה הִקְטִיל. In the *passive* (Höph'āl) the ה is sounded with an obscure vowel, and the second syllable has *ā* instead of *ī*, as הִקְטַל or הִקְטַל, *Impf.* קִטַּל (syncopated from יִהְיֶה קִטַּל)

¹ This omission of the מ seems to occur also at times in *Part. Pī'el*, as in שִׁבַּח for מְשַׁבַּח *praising* Ecc. 4, 2, מִצֵּן for מְצִיץ *refusing* Ex. 7, 27, perh. also הִלְלִים in Ps. 87, 7 may be for מְחַלְלִים *dancing or dancers*.—Tr.

² Here the corresponding Arab. forms (*yaqtīl* and *maqtīl*) indicate an original *ī* in the second syllable. In Hebrew this *ī* is lengthened into *ē* (after the general rule) at least in the *Jussive* and the *Imperf. consec.* (see below 3 Rem. 4) as well as in the *Imperative* of the 2d pers. sing. masc. (see 3, Bem. 3).

or **הִקְטִיל**, Inf. absol. **הִקְטֵל**, Participle **מִקְטֵל** and **מִקְטֵל**; and in its other forms it follows the general analogy. Upon the origin of the preformative **ה** compare § 55, No. 6.

The marks of this conjugation are, therefore, in the Perf., Imp. and Inf., the prefixed **ה**; in the Impf. and Part., the vowel under the preformatives, which in Hiph'il is *Pāthäch*, in Hōph'al, *Qibbāʿ* (ֹ) or *Qāmēš-chātūph* (ֹ).

2. *Significations of Hiph'il.*—It is properly *causative of Qāl*, and in this sense is more frequently employed than Pi'el (§ 52, 2, b), e. g. **הִצִּיא** to go forth, Hiph. to bring out, to lead forth; **הִקְדֵּשׁ** to be holy, Hiph. to sanctify. To the category of the *causative* belongs also the *declarative* signification, e. g. **הִצְדִּיק** to declare just; **הִרְשִׁיעַ** to declare guilty (render criminal). When Qāl is transitive, Hiph. takes two accusatives (see § 139, 1). Frequently Pi'el and Hiph'il are both in use in the same signification, as **הִאָּבַד** to perish, Pi. and Hiph. to destroy; but generally only one of them is found, or they have some difference of signification, as **הִכָּבֵד** to be heavy, Pi. to honour, Hiph. to make heavy. Intransitive verbs merely become transitive, e. g. **הִנָּטָה** to bow (intrans.), Hiph. to bow, to bend.

Rem. 1. The Semitic conception of the causative and transitive signification of Hiph'il embraces also other forms of thought which can only be translated by periphrase. Thus a) the Hiph. is used to express some assumption of a corporal or spiritual condition, e. g. **הִאָּרַל**, **הִלָּל**, **הִזָּהַר**, Hiph. to emit a lustre, **הִשָּׁהַ**, Hiph. to create gloom, **הִצָּלַח**, Hiph. to be prosperous, **הִשָּׁפַל**, Hiph. to be needy, **הִשָּׁמַן**, Hiph. to become fat (properly to produce fat);¹ **הִחֲזֹק** and **הִזְמִין**, Hiph. to become strong (properly to develope strength); so too **הִשָּׁבַח**, Hiph. to become feeble; **הִאָּדַם** to be red (prop. to show redness), **הִלְבִּין** to be white, **הִתְחַרַּשׁ** to be silent, but properly to keep silence (*silentium facere*, Plin.); b) the Hiph. express entrance into and continuance in a given state or condition, e. g. **הִאָּמַן** to be firm, Hiph. to trust in, **הִלָּה** to become sick, **הִבָּשׁ** to become ashamed, **הִתְחַבֵּט** to keep quiet; c) the Hiph. expresses a qualified action,

¹ The verb **הִשָּׁבַח** to make is employed in the expression of the same ideas, e. g. to make fat (fatness), i. e. to produce fat upon the body Job 15, 27; to make fruits, to make branches, i. e. to produce, to put forth Job 14, 9, Hos. 8, 7. Compare in Latin, *corpus facere* Justin. 11, 8, *robur facere* Hirtius, Bell. Afr. 85; *sobolem, divitias, facere* (Plin.) and in Italian *far corpo, far forze, far frutto*,

as *הַיָּטִיב* to deal well, *הַשְׁחִיתָ* to do wickedly, properly to make good, or bad one's way (sc. *הַרְבֵּי*, *הַרְבִּי* which are also often expressed); *הָטָא* to make sinful, *עָרַם* to act craftily.

2. Causatives also are certain *denominatives*, in Hiph. expressing the idea of *producing* or *putting forth* that of which the original noun is the name, e. g. *הַשְׁרִישׁ* to put forth roots, *הַקְרִין* to put forth horns. It also expresses the active use of a member, as *הַאָזִין* to listen (properly to make ears); *הַלְשִׁין* to chatter, to slander (after the same analogy, properly to make tongue, to use the tongue freely).

3. The signification of *Höph'al* is *passive*—a) chiefly of *Hiph'il*, as in *הַשְׁלִיךְ* to cast out, *הַשְׁלַךְ* or *הַשְׁלֹךְ* to be cast out;—b) at times also of *Qāl*, as in *נָקַם* to avenge, *הָקַם* to be avenged.

Rem. 1. The *î* of 3d sing. masc. Perf. Hiph. remains unchanged also in the 3d fem. (in the tone-syllable). But that it has arisen from a short vowel and is therefore changeable is shown from the Imperf. and Imper., where *ē* (through the influence of a guttural also *ā*) takes its place. In an open syllable the *î* is retained; only in rare cases does it become *Shewā* (v. Rem. 4 and 5).

2. The Inf. absol. has generally *Sērê*, usually without *Yôdh*, as *הַקְהֵא* Judg. 17, 3; rarely (and incorrectly) with *Yôdh*, as *הַשְׁמִיר* Amos 9, 8. After the manner of the Aram., we have *א* instead of the *ה* in *אֲשֵׁרִים* to rise early Jer. 25, 3. Rare exceptions, in which the form with *Sērê* stands for the Inf. constr., are found in Deut. 32, 8. Is. 57, 20. For the usual Inf. constr. *הַקְטִיל* we find a few times *הַקְטִיל*, as *הַשְׁמִיר* to destroy Deut. 7, 24, 28, 48, Josh. 11, 14, Jer. 50, 34; so also *הַקְצוּת* for *הַקְצוּת* from *קָצָה* Lev. 14, 43. Upon elision of *ה* v. Rem. 7.

3. The Imperative retains the *î* (יִ) according to Rem. 1 in the open syllable and therefore before suffixes (v. § 61, 2) and before *ה*—paragogic e. g. *הַקְשִׁיבָה*. On the other hand in the 2nd masc. sing. the original *î* (comp. Arab. *'aqtīl*) is lengthened into *ē*, e. g. *הַשְׁמֵן* to become fat and before *Mäqqēph* it becomes *Sēghô'l*, e. g. *הַשְׁכֵּן־נָא* Job 22, 21.—In a few instances the form *הַקְטִיל* is anomalously substituted for *הַקְטַל*: Ps. 94, 1 (77, 2?) Is. 43, 8. Jer. 17, 8; in other places the Massora has preferred the incorrect fully written form *הַקְטִיל*, e. g. 2 K. 8, 6.—In Lament. 5, 1 for *הַבִּרַּשׁ* the *Qerî* requires *הַבִּרְשָׁה*.

4. In the Impf. of Hiph. the apocopated form with *Sērê* is the usual one for the *Jussive* in the 2. m. and the 3. m. singular, as *אֶל־תִּגְדֵּל* make not great Obad. 12, *רַחֵם* let him cut off Ps. 12, 4, also with *י* consec., as *וַיִּבְדֵּל* and he divided Gen. 1, 4 (yet the 1. per. sing. is usually *î*, as *וַאֲשִׁמִּיר* Am. 2, 9). Before *Mäqqēph* the *Sērê* becomes *Sēghô'l*, as *וַיִּחַזְקֵב* and he held him Judg. 19, 4. In the plural the forms *הַקְטִילוּ*,

וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ stand also in the Jussive and with *ו* cons., e. g. וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ and they pursued Judg. 18, 22; but the *î* (after the Aramæan) sometimes becomes *Shewâ*, as וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ 1 K. 20, 23, וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ and they bent Jer. 9, 2, וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ and they pursued 1 Sam. 14, 22, 31, 2. This shortening is found also in the imperf. and in 2d and 3d masc. sing. before suffixes (1 Sam. 17, 25. Ps. 65, 10. Job 9, 20). It is however doubtful whether we really find in these isolated examples a trace of the groundform (*yagîl*) and not rather a misconception from defective writing (וַיִּדְרֹכּוּ etc.) which often occurs elsewhere as a pure orthographical license (even in the 3d sing. Is. 44, 28 וַיִּשְׁלֹם).

5. The Part. מִשְׁתַּחֲוִי (Is. 53, 3) might be traced to the Grdf. *magîl* unless with *Delitzsch* one regards the word as a substantive (comp. also מוֹצֵא Ps. 135, 7, where, however, *Šerê* could be explained from the shifting of the tone). In the following plurals the vowel has become *Shewâ*: מְחַלְמִים dreamers Jer. 29, 8, מְעֻזִּים helpers 2 Ch. 28, 23 and in מְחַצְרִים 1 Chron. 15, 24.—The fem. is usually like מְחַלְמִת, e. g. מְשֻׁנָּה Lev. 14, 21, מְזֻבָּח Num. 5, 15.

6. In the Perf. are sometimes found such forms as הִקְצַמְנִי we have reproached 1 Sam. 25, 7, comp. Job 16, 7, also אֶאֱחָלֵה I have soiled (with *א* for *ה*, as in Aramæan) Is. 63, 3; comp. אֶשְׁשִׁים, Rem. 2.

7. In the Impf. and Part. the characteristic ה regularly gives place to the preformatives, as הִקְטִיל, מִקְטִיל, but not to prepositions in the Inf., לְהִקְטִיל, because their connection with the stem is less close than that of the preformatives. In both cases, however, there are some few exceptions, as יִהְיֶה he will save for יוֹשִׁיעַ Ps. 116, 6 (in pause), יִהְיֶה he will praise for יוֹדֶה (only in verbs פ"י) Neh. 11, 17; on the contrary לְשַׁמֵּם for לְהַשְׁמִיד to sing Ps. 26, 7, לְהִצְרִיב for לְהַצְרִיב to cause to faint 1 Sam. 2, 33, לְשַׁמֵּר for לְהַשְׁמִיד to destroy Is. 23, 11, לְשַׁבֵּר Am. 8, 4, בְּחַצֵּר for בְּהַצִּיר Ps. 73, 20, לְמִירוֹת for לְהַחֵץ Ps. 78, 17.¹

8. The tone, in Hiph'il, does not fall on the affirmatives ה, ה— and —, not even in the Perf. with *Wāw* consec. except in Ex. 26, 33, Lev. 15, 29; (to avoid a hiatus because ה or א follows in an unaccented syllable) but the plur. ending ין takes the tone, as in תִּקְרִיבוּן Deut. 1, 17.

9. In the passive (*Höph'äl*) Perf., Impf. and Part. *û* (—) is found in the first syllable as well as *ô* (—) הִקְטִיל, but not so often in the regular verb, e. g. הִשָּׁעַב he is laid Ez. 32, 32 (but הִשָּׁעֲבָה in 32, 19), הִשָּׁלַךְ Part. מְשָׁלֵךְ 2 Sam. 20, 21 (but הִשָּׁלַכְתָּ in Is. 14, 19). Verbs פ"נ have *û* constantly, as הִצִּיר, הִצֵּר (according to § 9, 9, 2).

¹ So also לְהַחֲמֹס for לְהַחֵץ Ex. 13, 21, לְהַצִּיב for לְהַצֵּב Num. 5, 22, לְהַלְבִּיץ for לְהַלְבִּיץ to purify Dan. 11, 35; but part. *Hoph.* מְהַחֲצִיבָה in Ez. 46, 22 for מְחַצֵּב.—Tr.

10. The Inf. absol. has (—) in the final syllable (in *Hoph.* as in *Hiph.*); e. g. **הִחַל** *fasciando* Ez. 16, 4, **הִנָּח** *nuntiando* Josh. 9, 24. The Inf. constr. is not found in any regular or strong verb.

11. About the Imperative of *Hōph'al*, see above on p. 117, note 2.

§ 54.

HĪTHPĀ'ĒL.

1. This conjugation connects itself with *Pī'ēl*, inasmuch as it prefixes to the form **קָטַל** the syllable **הִתְ** (West. Aram. **הַתְ**, but Biblical Aram. **הִתְ**; Syr. **הַתְ**¹), which, like **הִתְ** in *Niph'al* (§ 51, 2, Rem.), has undoubtedly the force of a reflexive pronoun.

2. The **ת** of the syllable **הִתְ** in this conj., as also in *Hīthpō'ēl* and *Hīthpāl'ēl* (§ 55), suffers the following changes:—

- a) When one of the sibilants (**ס**, **ץ**, **ש**) is the first radical of the verb, it changes places with the **ת** (§ 19, 5), as **הִתְשַׁמֵּר** *to take heed*, for **הִתְשַׁמֵּר**; **הִתְסַבֵּל** *to be burdened*, for **הִתְסַבֵּל**. (A solitary exception is found in **הִתְשַׁוְּעַט** *to avoid cacophony* which would result from the succession of three T sounds Jer. 49, 3). With **צ**, moreover, the transposed **ת** is changed into **ט**, as being more akin to the **צ** (see § 19, 1), as **הִצְטַדֵּק** *to justify one's self*, for **הִצְטַדֵּק**.
- b) Before **ד**, **ט** and **ת**, the **ת** is assimilated (§ 19, 2), e. g. in **הִדְכָּא** *to be crushed* (but **מִתְדַּכָּק** in Judg. 19, 22). **הִטְהַר** *to cleanse one's self*, **יִטְמָא** *he shall defile himself* Lev. 21, 1. **הִתְמַם** *to behave uprightly*; sometimes also before **נ** and **כ**, as **הִנְבֵּא** *to prophesy* Jer. 23, 13, else **הִתְנַבֵּא**; **הִתְכַּוֵּן** *to make one's self ready*, for **הִתְכַּוֵּן** Prov. 26, 26. Also before **ש** Ec. 7, 16, before **ר** Is. 33, 10.

Rem. Metathesis should likewise take place when **ת** and **ז** meet, and the **ת** should be changed into **ד**. Instead of this the **ת** has been assimilated with the **ז** in the only instance of this kind. **הִזְדַּבֵּי** Is. 1, 16.

3. *The significations of Hīthpā'ēl.*—a) Most frequently it is *reflexive*, but chiefly of *Pī'ēl*, as **הִתְקַדַּשׁ** *to sanctify one's self*, **הִתְנַקֵּם** *to avenge one's self*, **הִתְאַוֵּר** *to gird one's self*. Then

¹ See also in the Hebrew **הִתְחַבֵּר** 2 Ch. 20, 35, cf. Ps. 76, 6.

further it means, *to make one's self* that which is expressed by the first conjugation; hence, *to conduct one's self* as such, *to show one's self*, *to imagine one's self*, *to affect to be* such; properly *to make one's self* so and so, *to act* so and so; e. g. **התגדל** *to make one's self great, to act proudly*; **התחכם** *to show one's self cunning, crafty*, also (Ec. 7, 16) *to fancy one's self wise*; **התעשר** *to make* (i. e. *to feign*) *one's self rich*. Its signification sometimes coincides with that of Qāl, and both forms are in use with the same meaning, e. g. **אבל** *to mourn*, found in Qāl only in poetry, in Hithp. in prose, and it can then even take an accusative (§ 138, 2, Rem. 1).—*b*) It expresses *reciprocal action* (like Niph. § 51, 2, *b*), as **התראה** *to look upon one another* Gen. 42, 1.—*c*) More frequently it expresses what one does more directly *to or for himself* (comp. Niph. § 51, 2, *c*). It has then an active signification, and governs an accusative, e. g. **התפשט** *exiit sibi (vestem)*, **התפחת** *solvit sibi (vincula)*. So without the accusative **התהלך** *to walk about for one's self (ambulare)*.—*d*) Only seldom it is *passive*, e. g. **השתכח** *to be forgotten* Ec. 8, 10. Comp. Niph'al, § 51, 2, *d*.

Rem. 1. The passive *Höthpā'āl* is found only in the few following examples: **השמא** *to be made unclean* Deut. 24, 4, **הקבס** *to be washed* Lev. 13, 55, 56, **התשנה** (for **התפשנה**, see § 20, 3, *b*) *it is glutted with fat* Is. 34, 6. Comp. also **התפקדי**; see Rem. 4.

2. *Denominatives* with the reflexive signification are **התנהג** *to embrace Judaism* (i. e. *to make one's self a Jew*), from **יהוד**, **יהודי** *Jew*; **התצטרף** *to provision one's self for a journey*, from **צידה**.

3. The Perf. has often, as in Pī'el, *Päthäch* (or *Qā'mēš* in verbs ל"א) in the final syllable, as **התחזק** *to strengthen one's self* 2 Ch. 13, 7, 15, 8, **התשם** *he shall defile himself* Lev. 21, 1. Final *Päthäch* occurs also in the Impf. and Imp., as **תחכם** *he deems himself wise* Ec. 7, 16. In pause these forms always take *Qā'mēš*, as **התאגר** *he has girded himself* Ps. 93, 1, **התאבל** Ez. 7, 27, **התלכדי** Job 38, 30, **התלהב** Job 18, 8; **התקדשתי** *sanctify thyself* Josh. 3, 5. But in the Part. always *Sērē*, e. g. **מתקדם** Ps. 8, 3, Is. 45, 15.—As in Pī'el **התשלינה** (§ 52, Rem. 2), so in Hithp. **התהללנה** Zech. 6, 7.

4. To this Reflexive **התקטל** (apparently from Pī'el) are commonly reckoned also some reflexive forms of the verb **פקד** (*to muster*), which do not double the middle radical and have under the first a long *ā* (*Qā'mēš*), namely **התפקדי** Judg. 20, 15, Impf. **תפקדי** Judg. 21, 9, together with the passive form **התפקדתי** Num. 1, 47, 2, 33, 26, 62, 1 K. 20, 27. But these forms appear rather to be a reflexive of *Qāl*, with the

sense to *present oneself at the muster, to be mustered*, after the manner of the Aram. *Ithpé'el* (West. Aram. אִתְּחַבֵּל, Syr. اِتَّحَبَّلَ) and of the Ethiopic *taqatēla*, also Arab. *'iqta'tala* (which has *always* the *t* transposed behind the first radical (see above in No. 2, p. 138).—Such a reflexive of *Qal* (also with the *t* transposed) is to be recognised in הלחח (i. e. הִלַּחַח after the analogy of the O. Test. Hebrew) in the Moabite inscription of king Mēsha' (§ 2, 2), in the sense of the O. Test. *Niphal* נִלַּחַח to *fight* or *wage war* (see lines 11, 15, 19 and 32 of the Inscription, the two former lines showing נִלַּחַח in the *Impf.* with the *Wāw* consecutive; on line 19 *infin.* with *suff.* בִּי נִלַּחַחַמָּה בִּי by his fighting with me).

§ 55.

RARER CONJUGATIONS.

Of the unusual conjugations (§ 39, 4) some are connected, in form, with *Pī'el*, and are made by the doubling or repetition of one or more stem-letters, or by the lengthening of a vowel, i. e. by changes *within* the stem itself; others are analogous to *Hīph'il*, and are formed by the addition of prefix letters or syllables. To the former class besides a *passive*, distinguished by the vowels, belongs also a *reflexive* form with the prefix הִת, after the analogy of *Hīthpā'el*.

Those which are analogous to *Pī'el*, and which follow it in their inflection, are—

1. *Pō'el*; as קִיַּבֵּל, pass. *Pō'al* קִיַּבֵּל, reflex. *Hīthpō'el* הִתְקִיַּבֵּל (corresp. to Conj. III. and VI. in the Ar. *qātālā*, pass. *qātīlā*, reflex. *tāqātālā*) *Impf.* יִקְיַבֵּל, *Part.* מְקִיַּבֵּל, *Impf. pass.* יִקְיַבֵּל, etc. Accordingly in Heb. the *ô* of the first syllable is everywhere inflected from the *â* whilst the passive form is distinguished simply by the *a* sound in the second syllable. In the strong verb these conjugations occur but very seldom. Examples are:—*Part.* מִשְׁפַּעֲרִי my opponent at law Job 9, 15, יוֹדְעָתִי I have appointed 1 Sam. 21, 3 (unless we ought to read הוֹדְעָתִי), שֹׁרֵשׁ to take root, pass. שֻׁרֵשׁ, denom. from שֹׁרֵשׁ root; of *Hīthpō'el* Jer. 25, 16, 46, 8; Is. 52, 5 (part. מִתְנַאֵץ for מִתְנַאֵץ). In verbs עָע (§ 67) it is more frequent, e. g. חִיַּל, סִיַּב, חִיַּן.

The *signification* of *Pō'el* is, like that of *Pī'el*, often causative of *Qāl*. Sometimes both *Pō.* and *Pi.* are in use in the same signification, as רִצָּץ and רִצֵּץ to oppress; sometimes each has its peculiar shade of meaning, as סָבַב to turn about, to change, סִיַּב to go about, to sur-

round; הָלַל to exult, הִלֵּל to make foolish (from הָלַל to be brilliant, but also to be vainglorious, foolish); הִנֵּן to make pleasant, הִינֵן to commiserate; שָׁרַשׁ to root out, שָׁרַשׁ to take root.

With קָוִיֵּל may be connected the formation of quadrilaterals that insert a liquid at the end of the first syllable, as קָרִיֵּל (§ 30, 3, § 56).

2. *Pī'le'l*, *Pi'la'l*, *Pū'lä'l*, *Hithpā'le'l*: as קָוִיֵּל and קָוִיֵּל (י atten. from original *ä*; so final *ē*=*ī*=*ä*), pass. הִקְוִיֵּל, reflex. הִתְקַוִּיֵּל, like the Arabic Conj. IX. *'iqtällä*, and XI. *'iqtällä*, used especially of permanent states or of colours, as שָׁמַן to be at rest, רִיחֵן to be green; pass. אֶקַּל to be withered; but of all these verbs there is no example in Qäl. It is more frequent in verbs ע"י, where it takes the place of Pi. and Hithp. (§ 72, 7).—See also § 75, Rem. 18.

3. *Pē'äl'äl*; as קָוִיֵּל with repetition of the last two stem-letters, used especially of slight motions in quick succession, e. g. סָבַחְבַּח to go about with quick motion, hence (of the heart) to palpitate Ps. 38, 11, from סָבַח to go about; pass. הִסְבַּחְבַּח to ferment with violence, to make a rumbling sound Lam. 1, 20, 2, 11, Job 16, 6. Nouns of this form are diminutives (§ 84, 23). Nearly related to this is—

4. *Pilpē'l*, formed from verbs ע"ע and ע"י, by doubling both of the essential stem-letters; as גָּלַל to roll, from גָּל=גָּל, reflex. הִתְגַּלְגַּל to roll one's self; בָּלַבַּל, from בָּל (בּוּל).¹ This also is used of motion quickly repeated, which all languages are prone to express by repetition² of the same sound, צָצַצַּח to chirp, צִלְצִל to tinkle, גִּלְגִּל to gurgle, צָפַצַּח to flit or flutter (from עָף to fly).

With *Hiph'il* are connected the following—

5. *Tīphē'l*; as תִּקְוִיֵּל, with ת prefixed, as תִּקְוִיֵּל³ to teach to walk,

¹ Hence the passive *Polpal* תִּקְוִיֵּל 1 K. 20, 27; so too from שָׂנַע we get *Pilpē'l* שִׁנְנַע to caress Ps. 94, 19. *Polpal* שִׁנְנַע to be fondled Is. 66, 12, and from רָפַח prob. comes in *Polp*. רָפַחַח Ps. 45, 3.—*Tr.*

² Compare Lat. *tinnio*, *tintinnus* (=our ding-dong) and in German *Tick-tack* (=our tick-tack), *Wirrvarr*, *Klingklang* (=our clink-clank) The repetition of the same letter in verbs ע"ע produces also the same effect; as in לָלַק to lick, דָּדַק to beat, נָנַח to trip along. The same thing is expressed also by diminutive forms; comp. in Lat. the termination *-illo*, as in *cantillo*, in Germ. *-eln*, *ern*, in *flimmern*, *trillern*, *tröpfeln* (comp. our drip, drizzle). Hence we may discern the relation, mentioned under No. 3, between these forms and the diminutives. Comp. *F. A. Pott*, *Doppelung*, Lemgo, 1862, 8vo.

³ Both תִּקְוִיֵּל and תִּקְוִיֵּל are probably kindred forms of the stem רָכַל=רָכַל=רָכַל=Aram. רָכַל: all traceable to the monosyllabic or ultimate root רָכ=Ar. رَكَ = Sans. *rag* = G. *regen* = E. *wrig* = *wriggle* = W. *rhiglo*, and all meaning to stir or move, and used especially of the feet, tongue, etc., and hence to walk, talk, translate, etc. Hence come תִּקְוִיֵּל (Targūm) interpretation or version, and תִּקְוִיֵּל (interpreter) = E. *dragoman* = Fr. *trucheman*.—*Tr.*

to lead (*denom.* from *לָלַךְ* a foot); in a ל"ה stem, *תַּחַרְהוּ*, *Impf.* *וְתַחַרְהוּ* to vie with Jer. 12, 5, 22, 15 (from *חָרַה* to be hot, eager). The Aram. has a similar form, *תַּרְגָּם* to interpret, whence also the Heb. has the *Part. pass.* *מְתַרְגֵּם* Ezra 4, 7.

6. *Shāplī'ēl*; as *שָׁתַּל*, frequent in Syr., as Aram. *שְׁלַחב*, Syr. *ܫܠܚܐ*, to flame, from *להב*. In Hebrew it is found only in the noun *שִׁלְהֶכֶח* flame, § 84, No. 34; but this conjugation may underlie the Hiph'il, with ה for ש; see *Davies' Heb. Lex.* p. 608. Compare § 39, 4, Rem.

* * * *

Forms of which single examples occur:—7. *קָטַט*, *pass.* *קָטַט*; as *מִתְקַטֵּף* scaled off, having the form of scales Ex. 16, 14, from *קָטַף* = *קָטַף* to peel, to shell.—8. *בָּרַחַל*, as *זֶרְחַל* a violent rain, from *זָרַח*.—9. *נִתְפַּחַל* (frequent in the Rabbinic), a form compounded of Niph. and Hithp., found in the examples *נִתְפַּחְרוּ* for *נִתְפַּחְרוּ* they let themselves be warned Ez. 23, 48; *נִתְפַּחַר* for *נִתְפַּחַר* to be expiated Deut. 21, 8.

We may mention also, as worthy of notice,—10. the form *תְּצַוֵּץ* to sound the trumpet, commonly derived from the stem *חָצַח*. But it is probably a *denom.* from *תְּצַוֵּץ* a trumpet, an *onomatopoetic* (or *mimetic*) form like the old Latin *taratantara* for the sound of the tuba, Ennius ap. Servium ad Æn. 9, 503.

§ 56.

QUADRILITERALS.

Of the formation of quadriliterals we have already spoken (§ 30, 3). The few verbs of this kind (of nouns there are more) are formed after the analogy of *Pī'ēl*, once after *Hīph'il*. The following are all the examples that occur:—

Perf. *פָּרַשׁוּ* he spread out Job 26, 9 (with *Pāthäch* in the first syllable, as in Aram.).¹ *Impf.* *יִכְרַסְמָהּ* he will devour it Ps. 80, 14, r. *פָּרַשׁ* cf. *פָּרַשׁ*. *Pass.* *רָתַשׁ* to become green again Job 33, 25. *Part.* *מִכְרַשׁ* girded 1 Ch. 15, 27. Like Hiph'il is *הִשְׁמָאֵל* (contracted *הִשְׁמָאֵל*) to turn to the left (*denominative* from *שָׂמַל*) Gen. 13, 9, Is. 30, 21.

¹ But *Delitzsch* more properly regards this as the *inf. absol.* of a *Pīlel* form of *פָּרַשׁ* with an euphonic change of the first ש into פ and the second into ו. Besides this, there are also many evidences in favor of the reading *פָּרַשׁוּ* and this has therefore been accepted by *Baer* in his text of Job.

C. STRONG VERB WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.¹

Paradigm C.

§ 57.

The accusative of the personal Pronoun which follows a verb active may be expressed—*a*) by a distinct word, אֶת the accusative-sign with the *suffix-pronoun* (§ 117, 2), as קָטַל אֹתוֹ (*he has killed him*); or—*b*) by the mere *suffix*, as קָטַלְהוּ or קָטַלְוּ (*he has killed him*). The second method is the usual one (§ 33), and it is only of it we now treat.² Neither of these forms is employed when the accusative of the Pronoun is reflexive, in which case a reflexive verb is used, viz. Nīph'al and Hīthpā'el (§§ 51 and 54), e. g. הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *he sanctified himself* not קָדַשׁ, which would only signify *he sanctified him*.

Two points are here concerned, viz., the form of the suffix, and the changes in the verbal form in consequence of appending it. The former is exhibited in § 58 and the latter in § 59—61.

§ 58.

THE PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES OF THE VERB.

1. The *pronominal suffixes* appended to the verb express the accusative of the *personal Pronoun*; and they are the following:—

¹ We treat of this subject here in connection with the strong or regular verb, in order to show in it the general analogy. As to the weak or irregular verbs, the mode of shortening their forms before the suffixes will be noticed under each class.

² On the cases where the former must be employed, see § 121, 4, Rem.

| Singular. | Plural. |
|---|--|
| 1. <i>com.</i> נִי ; נִי (in pause נִי); נִי <i>me.</i> | 1. <i>com.</i> נִי נִי <i>us.</i> |
| 2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הָ, הָ} (khā), \text{ in} \\ \text{pause } \text{הָ}, \text{ also } \text{הָ} \\ f. \text{הֵ, הֵ, הֵ}; \text{ ra-} \\ \text{rely } \text{הֵ} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>thee.</i> | 2. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{כֶּם, כֶּם} \\ f. \text{כֶּן, כֶּן} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>you.</i> |
| 3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הוּ, הוּ}; \text{ (הוּ),} \\ \text{הוּ} \\ f. \text{הִ, הִ}; \text{ הִ} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>him.</i> <i>her.</i> | 3. $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} m. \text{הֵם}^1; \text{ם} \text{ (contr.} \\ \text{from } \text{הֵם}), \text{ם} \\ \text{ם} \text{ (contr. from} \\ \text{הֵם), ם; poet.} \\ \text{מִו, מִו, מִו} \\ f. \text{הֵן}^1; \text{ן, ן, ן} \end{array} \right\}$ <i>them.</i> |

2. That these suffixes are *shortened forms of the personal Pronoun* is for the most part quite clear; and only some of them require explanation.

The suffixes נִי , נִי , הוּ and הִ never have the tone, but the syllable preceding them always takes it.

In the suffix of the 2d person (הָ , הֵ , כֶּם , כֶּן) the basis appears to be a lost form of the pronoun אַתָּה with כ^2 instead of ת (אַכָּה , אַכָּה ; אַכֶּם), which was employed here perhaps in order to distinguish the suffixes from the affirmatives of the Perfect (§ 44, 1).

In the 3d person *masc.*, out of הוּ , by rejecting the feeble h , there arose $\bar{a}-u$, and thence often by contraction \hat{o} (§ 23, 4) usually written הוּ , much more seldom הִ . In the *fem.*, the suffixes from הִיא ought, according to analogy, to sound הִ , הִ , הִ ; but instead of הִ , we have, for the sake of euphony, simply הִ , where the ה is regularly a consonant,

¹ הֵם occurs but once as *verbal* suffix (Deut 32, 26); הֵן not at all. Yet they are given in the list as ground-forms, which frequently occur with nouns and prepositions.

² Traces of this lost form appear still in the affirmatives of the Ethiopic verb, as *qatalka* (thou hast killed), and also in the Samaritan (see *Gesenii Carmina Samaritana*, *Anecdota Orientalia*, p. 43; *Petermann*, *Brevis linguae Samarit. grammatica* etc. Berol. 1873 p. 21). Comp. what was said on קָטַלְתִּי in § 44, 1. The t and k are not infrequently interchanged in languages generally (see § 33, 3, Note ¹).

and therefore with *Mappîq*; however there is also found הַֿ (see No. 3, Rem. 1).

Once (Ez. 41, 15) הַֿ stands for הַֿ, as in West. Aram. and Arabic.

3. The *variety* in the forms of the suffixes was occasioned by the form and tense of the verb, which received and modified them. Thus, *three forms* of almost every suffix may be distinguished:

a) One beginning with the consonant itself, as נִי, הִי, כִי, (הֵם), etc. This is appended to verbal forms which end with a vowel, as קָטְלִי, קָטְלִיָּהּ, קָטְלִיָּהּ.

b) A second and a third, with the so-called *union-vowels*¹ (יִי, יִי) for the verbal forms which end with a consonant (for the exception, see § 59, Rem. 3): with *a* as the *union-vowel* for the forms of the Perfect, as קָטְלִי, קָטְלִי, קָטְלִי; with *e* (rarely *a*) as the *union-vowel* for the forms of the Imperfect and Imperative, as יִקְטֹלֵהוּ, יִקְטֹלֵהוּ. To the Perfect belongs also the suffix יִ, as having originated from הִיֿ (§ 33, 1). With הֵ, כֵּ, בֵּ, the uniting sound is only a half-vowel (*vocal Shewâ*), as הֵֿ, כֵֿ, בֵֿ, e. g. קָטְלֵהוּ (*qəṭu-l'khā*); or when the final consonant of the verb is a guttural, הֵֿ, as in שְׁלַחֵהוּ. In *pause*, the *Shewâ* of הֵֿ, הֵֿ becomes *Seghōl* with the tone, as הֵֿ in קָטְלֵהוּ, שְׁלַחֵהוּ. Comp. however also הֵֿ Deut. 28, 24 et al.

Rem. 1. As *rare forms*, may be mentioned: *sing.* 2d pers. *m.* הֵֿ 1 K. 18, 44, in *pause* הֵֿ Prov. 2, 11; *fem.* כִּי, כִּי Ps. 137, 6, and often in the later Psalms. (הֵֿ, contrary to the rule, joined to the Perf. in Judg. 4, 20).—In the 3d pers. *mas.* הֵֿ Num. 23, 8; *fem.* הֵֿ without *Mappîq* Ex. 2, 3, Amos 1, 11, Jer. 44, 19.—The forms מִיֿ, מִיֿ, מִיֿ, are strictly poetic (except Ex. 23, 31); instead of מִיֿ we find מִיֿ once in Ex. 15, 5. On the origin of these forms, see § 32, Rem. 7.

¹ We retain the common name *union-vowel*, although it rests on a rather superficial view, and is somewhat vague. These union-sounds seem, for the most part, to be traces of ancient terminations of the verb, like *i* of the 2d pers. sing. fem. in קָטְלִיָּהּ. Take, for example, the Hebrew form *qəṭal-ani*, when compared with the Arabic *qatala-ni*; and, on the other hand, the Hebrew *qəṭalatni* and the Arab. *qatalatni*.

2. By comparing these suffixes of verbs with the suffixes of nouns (§ 91), we find that—*a*) there is here a greater variety of forms than there (because the forms and relations of the verb are themselves more various);—*b*) the verbal suffix, where it differs from that of the noun, is longer, as נִי , נִי , נִי (*me*), נִי (*my*). The reason is, that the object of the verb is less closely connected with it than the possessive pronoun is with the noun; on which account, also, the former may even be expressed by a separate word (§ 117, 2).

4. The suffix gains still more strength, when instead of the union-vowels there is inserted between it and the verb a union-syllable, נִי , which, when the syllable has the tone, becomes נִי (commonly called *Nûn epenthetic* or *Nûn demonstrative*), which, however, occurs only in the Imperfect and chiefly in *pause*, e. g. יְבָרֵךְ *he will bless him* (Ps. 72, 15), יְכַבֵּדֵנִי *he will honour me* (Ps. 50, 23). This *Nûn* is, however, for the most part incorporated with the suffixes, and hence we get a new series of forms, viz.—

1st pers. נִי , נִי , for נִי , נִי ;

2d pers. נִי , once נִי (Jer. 22, 24) and *Pause* נִי (Prov. 2, 11);

3d pers. נִי for נִי , also נִי (Num. 23, 13); *fem.* נִי for נִי ;

1st pers. plur. נִי for נִי .

In the other persons this *Nûn* does not occur.

Rem. The uncontracted forms with *Nûn* written distinctly are rare and only poetic (Ex. 15, 2, Deut. 32, 10, Jer. 5, 22, 22, 24), and do not occur at all in 3 *fem.* sing. and 1 *plur.* The contracted forms (with the *Nûn* assimilated) are rather frequent also in prose, especially in *pause*, (very seldom נִי as first pers. pl. Hosea 12, 5; comp. נִי Gen. 44, 16, 50, 18. Num. 14, 40 for נִי).

This *Nûn* is of a demonstrative nature, and gives more emphasis to the word, and is therefore chiefly found in *pause*. But it occurs also in the union of the suffixes with certain particles (§ 100, 5).

It is frequent in West. Aram.; in Samaritan it is appended also to the Perfect, and in similar cases even a נִי is inserted (*Petermann*, gramm. Samar. p. 12 ff.). In the Syriac we find *î* and *ai* inserted in the same way. The Arabic too has a corresponding emphatic form of the Imperfect with the pronominal suffixes, as *yaktulan-ka* or *yagtullanna-ka*, which is however used also without suffixes. Comp. § 48, 2.

§ 59.

THE PERFECT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

1. The personal endings (*affirmatives*) of the Perfect have in part a different form, when connected with the suffixes; viz.—

- a) In the 3 *sing. fem.* הָ—, תָ—, the original feminine-ending, for הָ—;
- b) 2 *sing. mas.* תָ, also תָ, to which the union-vowel is attached, but the only clear instance of this is with הָיָה¹;
- c) 2 *sing. fem.* תִּי, likewise an older form for תָ (comp. אֲתִי, קִטְלִית, § 32, Rem. 4; § 44, Rem. 4). This form is to be distinguished from the 1st pers. sing. only by the context.
- d) 2 *plur. mas.* הִי for הֵם, which is explained by the Arabic *'antum, qataltum*, West. Aram. אַתִּין, קִטְלִיתִין for Heb. אַתֶּם, קִטְלִיתֶם (§ 32, Rem. 5). Examples are found only in Num. 20, 5, 21, 5, Zech. 7, 5. The *fem.* קִטְלִיתִין with suffixes does not occur, but probably it took the same form as the masculine.

We exhibit, first, the forms of the Perfect in *Hiph'il* as they appear in connection with suffixes, because here no further change takes place in the stem itself, except as to the tone (see No. 2):

| <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
|--|---------------------------|
| 3 <i>m.</i> הִקְטִיל | 3 <i>c.</i> הִקְטִילוּ |
| 3 <i>f.</i> הִקְטִילָה | |
| 2 <i>m.</i> הִקְטִילְתָּ, הִקְטִילְתָּ | 2 <i>m.</i> הִקְטִילְתֶּם |
| 2 <i>f.</i> הִקְטִילְתְּ, הִקְטִילְתְּ | |
| 1 <i>c.</i> הִקְטִילְתִּי | 1 <i>c.</i> הִקְטִילְתֶּי |

The beginner is recommended to practise first the manner of connecting the suffixes with this *Hiph'il*-form, and then to take up that with the Perf. of Qāl (see No. 2).

2. The tone inclines towards the appended suffix, so that it does not readily remain on the stem itself. And this

¹ The short *a* here also belongs properly to the form of the verb itself.
See Note 1, under § 58, 3, *b*.

in sound, הָבַלְתָּהּ (*she has born thee*) in the same verse (Cant. 8, 5). The forms הָבַלְתָּהּ and הָבַלְתָּהּ are *contr.* from הָבַלְתָּהּ (in *pause* הָבַלְתָּהּ Is. 59, 16) and הָבַלְתָּהּ, after the analogy of הָבַלְתָּהּ, for הָבַלְתָּהּ (§ 58, 4).

4. In the 2 *sing. masc.* הָבַלְתָּהּ is mostly used, and the suffixes have therefore no union-vowel, e. g. וְנִחַתְנִי פָרַצְתָּנִי *thou hast rejected us, hast scattered us* Ps. 60, 3; only with 1 *p. sing.* we have הָבַלְתָּנִי (from הָבַלְתָּהּ and הָבַלְתָּהּ) e. g. הָבַרְתָּנִי *thou searchest me* Ps. 139, 1, but also in *pause* וְנִחַתְנִי *thou hast forsaken me* Ps. 22, 2.—In the 2 *sing. fem.* הִי is written also defectively, as in הָבַלְתָּהּ *thou (fem.) hast deceived me* 1 Sam. 19, 17, הָבַרְתָּהּ Jer. 15, 10, Cant. 5, 9, Ex. 2, 10; a few times the suff. is attached to the shorter form (הִי—), as in הָשַׁבְתָּהּ *thou (fem.) adjurest us* Cant. 5, 9, Josh. 2, 17, comp. Jer. 2, 27; and with *Šē'rē* הוֹרְדָתָהּ *thou (fem.) hast let us down* Josh. 2, 18.

5. In verbs *middle E*, the *E* remains before the suffixes, e. g. לָבַשׁוּ *he puts them on* Lev. 16, 4, אָהַבְתָּהּ *he loves thee* Deut. 15, 16, אָהַבְתָּהּ *she loved him* 1 Sam. 18, 28. From a verb *middle O*, we have הָבַלְתָּהּ *I have subdued him* Ps. 13, 5, with a shortened *o* in a syllable that has lost the tone (§ 44, Rem. 3).

§ 60.

IMPERFECT WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

In the forms of the Imperfect *Qāl*, which end with the last stem-letter, the vowel *ō* of the final syllable is shortened generally to *e*, *simple Shēwâ vocal* (—), at times to *o*, *Châléph-q'ímēš* (—) Jer. 31, 33; but to *ö*, *Qāmēš-châûl'ph* (—), before הָ, כֶּם, כֶּן. Instead of הָבַלְתָּהּ the form הָבַלְתָּהּ² is used as 2nd and 3rd person, Cant. 1, 6, Jer. 2, 19, Job 19, 15. The forms with *Nûn demonstrative* (§ 58, 4) are very apt to stand at the end of the clause or sentence.

Rem. 1. Verbs with *Impf. A* (to which belong specially all that have a *guttural* for the 2d or the 3d radical, §§ 64 and 65) retain the full *A* in the *Impf.* (and also the *Imp.* § 61, 2), and the *Päthäch*, when it comes to stand in an open syllable, is lengthened into *Qāmēš*, e. g. וַיִּלְבַּשְׁנִי *and it put me on* Job 29, 14, וַיִּדְאַלְתָּהּ *let them demand it back* Job 3, 5, וַיִּשְׁלַחם *and he sent them* Josh. 8, 3, וַיִּקְרָאָהּ *they call upon him* Ps. 145, 18.

2. Occasionally, as exceptions, *suffixes* with the union-vowel *a*,

¹ Comp. 1 Sam. 1, 6, Is. 34, 17, Jer. 49, 24, Ruth 3, 6; in *pause* Ez. 14 15, everywhere, according to *Kimchi* without *Mappiq* in the closing הִי. The form הָבַלְתָּהּ is found 1 Sam. 18, 28 in *pause*.

² This form is also found as *feminine* without a suffix in Jer. 49, 11, Ez. 37, 7.

occur also in the Imperfect, as in *יִלְבָּשׁ* Ex. 29, 30; comp. 2, 17, Gen. 19, 19, 29, 32; even *יִרְדָּפוּ* (*ô* from *āhu*) Hos. 8, 3: Comp. Ps. 35, 8, etc.

3. The *suffixes* are at times appended also to the plural forms in *ן*, e. g. *תִּדְבַּאֲנִי* *ye crush me* Job 19, 2; elsewhere always without a union-vowel, as in *יִצְאֵנִי* *they shall find me* Prov. 1, 28, Is. 60, 7, 10, Jer. 5, 22.

4. In *Pi.* the *Ṣērê* of the final syllable, like the *Chō'lem* in *Qāl*, becomes *Shewâ*; but before the suffixes *יִ*, *כֶּם*, *נָ* it is only shortened into *Sêghô'l*, e. g. *יִקְבֹּץ* *he will gather thee* Deut. 30, 4 (with final guttural *יִשְׁלַח* Gen. 32, 27), more rarely into *Chî'rêq*, as *אֲמַצְּמַח* *I will strengthen you* Job 16, 5; comp. Ex. 31, 13, Is. 25, 1.

5. In *Hiph.*, the long *i* remains, as in *תִּלְבֹּשׁנִי* *thou clothest me* Job 10, 11; after *י* consecutive frequently written defectively e. g. *וַיִּלְבָּשׁ* Gen. 3, 21; and only rarely we meet with forms like *תִּעֲשִׁיכֶנּוּ* *thou enrichest it* Ps. 65, 10, 1 Sam. 17, 25. Comp. § 53, Rem. 4.

§ 61.

INFINITIVE, IMPERATIVE, AND PARTICIPLE WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

1. The *Infinitive* of a *verb active* can be construed with an accusative, and then it takes the *verbal suffix* (i. e. the *accusative* of the personal pronouns), as *קָטַלְנִי* *to kill me*; but as a *noun* it can take also the *nominal suffix* (i. e. the *genitive* of the personal pronoun) as *קָטַלִּי* *my killing* (see § 133, 1, 2). In either case it usually assumes in *Qāl* the form *קָטַל*, with the *ô* drawn backward. The syllable which is created thus is a slightly closed one, e. g. *בִּכְתָּבוֹ* *by his writing* Jer. 45, 1 (not *כְּתָבוֹ* *kôth-bô* § 21, 2, *a*); only before *יִ*, *כֶּם* there is a complete closing e. g. *בְּאַסְפָּה* Exod. 23, 16, Lev. 23, 39, if the throwing back of the vowel is not omitted altogether (v. Rem. 2). Comp. the *segholate nouns* of the form *קָטַל*, with which *קָטַל* is closely related, § 84, Nos. 10, 11, and § 93, Parad. I.

Rem. 1. The *Inf.* of the form *שָׁכַב* becomes with suffixes *שָׁכַבְהוּ* Gen. 19, 33, instead of *שָׁכַבְהָ*, *â* attenuated to *ï*.

2. Before *יִ*, *כֶּם*, *נָ*, forms are found which depart from the analogy of *segholate nouns*, e. g. *אָכַלְתֶּם* *your eating* Gen. 3, 5 *עָמַדְתָּ* *thy standing* Obad. 11; but this analogy is followed in *הָאֲזָנֶיךָ* *your harvesting* Lev. 19, 9 (restoring orig. *û*), and *מֵאֲסָפָם* (*mô-ôsê-khê'm*) *your contemning* Is. 30, 12. In the *infinitive* of the *Piel* the *ê* of the Suff. *יִ*, *כֶּם*, *נָ* is changed into *Sêghôl* e. g. *יִדְבָּרְךָ* Ex. 4, 10, or attenuated into *ï* e. g. *פָּרַשְׁתָּם* Is. 1, 15 (v. § 60, 4).

2. The leading form of the *Imperative* in *Qāl* (קָטַל) takes the *suffixes* in the same form as the *Infinitive*. In קָטְלֵנִי (pronounced *qōṭlē'nî*) the *Shewâ* is very slightly heard, hence we have e. g. רֹדְפֵנִי *rōdhephē'nî*, without *Dāghēsh* in the פ (§ 21, 2, a). The forms קָטְלִי, קָטְלִי, which are not presented in the Paradigm, suffer no change. For the *fem.* קָטְלִינָה the masculine form קָטְלִי is used, as in the Imperfect.—In the verbs that form the *Imperative* with *A* (to which belong especially those that have a *guttural* in the 2d or 3d radical, §§ 64 and 65), as in שְׁלַח, the *A* remains before the suffixes but is lengthened into *Qā'mēš*, because it comes to stand in an open syllable (just as in the *Impf. A*, § 60, Rem. 1), e. g. שְׁלַחֲנִי *send thou me* Is. 6, 8, בְּחַנֵּנִי *prove thou me* Ps. 26, 2. קְרֵאֲנִי *call thou me* Ps. 50, 15, שְׁמַעֲנִי Gen. 23, 8. בַּצֵּעַם Amos 9, 1 is abnormal (for בַּצֵּעַם) with toneless *ām* as in the *perf.* after 3d *sing. fem.* § 59, Rem. 3. In the *Imp.* of *Hiph'il*, not the form הַקְטֵל, but הַקְטִיל is used (*i* on account of the open syllable); e. g. הַקְרִיבֵהּ *offer it* Mal. 1, 8.

3. The *Participles* shorten their vowels in the same way as *nouns* of the like form do, e. g. קָטַל, רֹדֵף, רֹדְפוֹ etc. On the contrary before the *Shewâ mobile* יַצֵּר etc., or by sharpening אִיבָה Exod. 23, 4, אִסְפָּה 2 K. 22, 20; from מַקְטֵל is formed מַקְטִיל, מַקְטִילָה etc. (by sharpening *ē* into *ī*, Is. 52, 12).

On the difference between קָטַל (my killing one) and קָטַלְנִי (killing me) see § 135, 2.

II. THE WEAK VERB.¹

A. VERBS WITH GUTTURALS.

§ 62.

Paradigms D. E. F.

Verbs which have a *guttural* for one of the three stem-letters deviate from the strong verb, according to the general rules in § 22. These deviations do not change the stem consonants and therefore can only in part be taken for actual

¹ See the general view of the classes of verbs, in § 41.

weakness, as in the omission of the doubling (by *Dāghēsh fortè*, § 63, 4 and § 64, 3), on the other hand, a few original elements have been preserved in guttural stems whilst they have degenerated in the regular strong verb. For instance in forms like *יָהֳמַד* (§ 63, 2), the original *ā* of the preformative is kept (§ 47, 2), which is weakened into *i* in the so-called strong verb, as in *יָקַטַל*. Of course the א and ה come into account here only when they retain their power as consonants, and are not substitutes for vowels as the א in a part of the verbs פֿאַ"א, § 68, as well as in some עֵ"א § 73, Rem. 4 and in all לֵ"א § 74. In all these cases the א is originally a full consonant, while ה in verbs הֵ"ל was never anything else but a vowel letter, comp. § 75. The real consonant ה at the end of the word is known by the *Mappiq*—but the ר shares only partially in these anomalies (§ 22, 5). For more convenient representation, we distinguish the three cases in which the guttural stands first, second, or third in the stem. The three Paradigms, D, E and F, where only those conjugations are omitted which are wholly regular, exhibit the inflections, which are more fully explained in the following sections (63–65).

§ 63.

VERBS PĒ (פ) GUTTURAL.

E. g. עָמַד *to stand*. *Paradigm D*.

The deviations here from the regular verb may be reduced to the following particulars:—

1. When the first stem-letter, at the beginning of the word, would regularly have a *simple Shewa* (קָטַל, קְטַל), it takes here always a *composite Shewa* (*Chāṭēph* § 10, 2, § 22, 3); e. g. *Inf.* עָמַד *to stand*, אָכַל *to eat*, *Perf.* עָמַדְתָּם, הִפְעַלְתָּם from הִפְעִיל *to be inclined*.

2. When a preformative is placed before a guttural, they either form together a closed syllable, or the vowel of the preformative appears again as *Chāṭēph* under the guttural. In both cases a double formation may again be distinguished

according as the original *ă* remains or is attenuated into *ĭ*. Examples *a*) for closed syllables with the original vowel of the preformative: נִחְמַד, נִחְמַל, נִחְשֵׁב etc. (and thus mostly with initial ה in *Impf. Qal*, sometimes with forms repeating *ă* as *Châtēph* under the guttural e. g. יִחְשֵׁב etc.); the same in the *impf. Hiph'il* נִחְסֵר etc. Very rarely the original *ă* is found in a closed syllable under the *preform.* נ of the *Perf.* נִפְחַל: נִחְבָּאָה Gen. 31, 27; comp. 1 Sam. 19, 2, Jos. 2, 16; on the other hand *ă* occurs very frequently under the preformative followed by *Châtēph Păthăch* e. g. נִעְשֶׂה etc. likewise in the *Particip.* נִעְרָץ Ps. 89, 8 etc. *b*) slightly closed, with *Châtēph* after the original vowel: נִחְלֵם, נִעְמַד, נִהַרֵם (and so almost always with ע and ה in *Impf. Qāl* and *Hiph'il*; נִעְמַד, נִהַרֵם in *Hôph'āl*). — The *ĭ* attenuated from *ă* is almost always changed before gutturals into *Sēghôl* (comp. however Rem. 5); this *Sēghôl* appears partly *c*) in closed syllables e. g. נִחְבֹּשׁ, נִחְסֹר, נִעְתֹר, נִהַפֹּךְ, נִיאֶשׁ and so almost always in the *Impf. Qāl* with *ă* in the 2d syllable (comp. however Rem. 2); in *Niph.* e. g. נִהַפֵּךְ etc., in *Hiph.* נִחְסֹר etc., and partly *d*) slightly closed, followed by *Châtēph Sēghôl* e. g. נִיאֶשׁ, נִחְשֶׁה in *Impf. Qāl* (however never with ע); נִעְמִיר *Hiph.* נִעְמִיר *Niphal*.

Rem. In connection with the above examples the following remarks may be made: 1) The forms with the closed syllable (the so-called "hard combination" *a*) and *e*)) occur frequently in the verb by the side of forms with slightly closed syllables (the so-called "soft combinations" *b*) and *d*)). 2) In the 1. *sing. Impf. Qāl* the preformative Aleph receives continually —, whether in the slightly or firmly closed syllables. 3) The removal of the tone towards the end causes frequently a change of the *Păthăch* of the preformative into *Sēghôl* and *vice versa*, e. g. נִעְשֶׂה, but 3. *sing. fem.* נִעְשֶׂהָ; נִיאֶשׁ, but נִיאֶשְׁתִּי; נִחְסֵר, but נִחְסֵרָה etc., and thus almost always with the change of the *Châtēph Sēghôl* group into the lighter *Châteph Păthăch* group, whenever the tone is removed one place farther back (comp. § 27. Rem. 5). 4) In all these examples cited above *Sēghôl* may also be considered as a modulation of the original short *Păthăch*. In this case all the formations of the *verba primae gutturalis* (Pē guttural verbs) would be based on a restoration of the original vowel of the preformatives. Compare however the same change from *ĭ* to *ě* in the Imper. (Rem. 1).

3. When in forms like נִעְמַד, נִעְמִיר, the vowel of the final syllable is changed into *simple Shēwâ* vocal, on account of the

accession of one of the affirmatives (ה, י, ו), then the composite *Sh'wâ* of the guttural changes to the corresponding short vowel, as יַעֲמֹד, plur. יַעֲמָדוּ (sound *yă-ăm'-dhû'*), נִעְזְבָה *she is forsaken*. But here also there exists a harder form besides, as יִתְחַבְּלוּ *they take a pledge* (also יִתְחַבְּלוּ), יִתְחַזְּקוּ as well as יִתְחַזְּקוּ *they are strong*. Compare in general § 22, 4, § 28, 3.

4. In the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* of *Niph.*, where the first stem-letter would regularly be doubled (יִקְטֹל, יִקְטֹל), the doubling is always omitted, and the vowel of the preformative is lengthened into *Šê'rê*, as יַעֲמֹד for יַעֲמֹד (§ 22, 1).

REMARKS.

I. On *Qāl*.

1. In verbs פֿ"א the *Inf. constr.* and *Imp.* take (—) under the first letter (according to § 22, 4, Rem. 2); hence יִגֹּד אַתָּה *gird thou* Job 38, 3, אַהֲבֵה *love thou* Hos. 3, 1, אֲכַל to eat, with a prefix אֲחֹזֵק 1 K. 6, 6; e. g. בְּאֹכֶל הָאֵשׁ Num. 26, 10.

Also in the other forms of the *Imp.*, the guttural often exerts its influence upon the vowel, which it changes to *Šeghōl*, as חֲטֹפֵי *strip thyself* Is. 47, 2, צָרָה (for צָרָה, w. ה cohort.) *set thyself* Job 33, 5; especially when the second radical also is a guttural, as אַהֲבֵה Ps. 31, 24. *Päthäch* occurs in תְּבַהֲלוּ *pledge him* Prov. 20, 16, and perhaps Ps. 9, 14 (תְּהַנֵּנִי).

2. The *Imperfect A.*, as the Paradigm shows, has regularly under the first two letters —; by those verbs which are at the same time כ"ה; and with the hard combination — יִחַל *he ceases*, יִחֲסֵם *he is wise*. This is true likewise of some verbs *Pe Guttural*, which are also כ"ה, as יִחַד *he sees*, יִחַד *he divides*, but some are like יַעֲטֵה, יַעֲלֵה, יַחֲנֵה. The pointing — is found even in verbs *Impf. O.* but less frequently, as יִאֲסֹף *he collects*, יִחַשֵׁף *he lays bare*. The form וַיִּחַבֵּב *and she loves* Ez. 23, 5, stands quite by itself.—In these forms the pointing — is frequently shortened to — (according to § 27, Rem. 5), as יִאֲסֹר *he binds*, plur. with suffix יִאֲסֹרֶיהוּ, also יִחַסֵּר. The form יִרְהֵם, Ps. 7, 6, which according to *Kimchi* is a mixed form derived from the *Qāl* (יִרְהֵם) and *Pi*. (יִרְהֵם), can be considered only as a further change from יִרְהֵם (comp. § 64. Rem. 3 יִרְהֵם); יִרְהֵם Ex. 9, 23 is similar.

II. On *Hiph'îl* and *Hôphâl*.

3. The above-named (Rem. 2) shortening of — to — occurs here also in the *Perf. Hiph.* after *Wāw consec.*; i. e. after the throwing

forward of the tone, as $\text{הָעֵצְרָתָּ} thou\ didst\ set$, but with the *Wāw* $\text{וְהָעֵצְרָתָּ} and\ thou\ shalt\ set$ Num. 3, 6, 8, 13, 27, 19; הָעֵצְרָתִי , but וְהָעֵצְרָתִי Jer. 15, 14, Ez. 20, 37.

4. In the *Perf.* of *Hiph.*, — — — is sometimes changed into — — — , and — — — into — — — in *Hoph.*, by lengthening the short vowel, under the influence of the *Methēg*, e. g. $\text{הָעֵצְרָתָּ} thou\ leddest\ over$ Josh. 7, 7, $\text{הָעֵלָה} he\ brings\ up$ Hab. 1, 15; $\text{הָעֵלָה} Judg. 6, 28$, Nah. 2, 8. On an other case of this kind (וְזָמַח) see § 64. 2. Something similar occurs with nouns of the so-called Segholate forms after *qōṭl* comp. § 93.

III. In General.

5. In the verbs $\text{הָיָה} to\ be$ and $\text{חָיָה} to\ live$ the guttural is almost wholly without influence in combination with the preformative; thus the *Impf. Qāl* יִהְיֶה and יִחְיֶה *Niph.* יֵהְיֶה ; only in *Perf. Hiph.* הִיָּחָה (2. plur. יִהְיֶיְהוּ Jos. 2, 13). Where initial ה and ח should have *vocal Shewâ* this is always replaced by *Chateph Seghōl* e. g. יִיָּחָה , יִיָּחָה , יִיָּחָה , יִיָּחָה (except in 2. sing. fem. of the *Impf. Qāl*: יֵהְיֶה Gen. 24, 60 יֵחְיֶה Ez. 16, 6 and in *Inf. יִיָּחָה* Jos. 5, 8); after the prefixes ב, כ, ג, however, the *Chat. Seghōl* becomes *Shewâ* and the prefix takes *î*, as elsewhere before strong consonants with *Shewâ*; therefore in *Perf. Qāl* וְיִיָּחָה , *Imper.* יִיָּחָה , *Inf.* יִיָּחָה , יִיָּחָה etc. The only exception is the 2. masc. of the *Imper.* after *Wāw*: וְיִיָּחָה Gen. 12, 2, וְיִיָּחָה Gen. 20, 7.

6. On verbs פ"נ in which the נ loses its consonant sound and is resolved into a vowel, see § 68.

§ 64.

VERBS 'ĀYĪN (ע) GUTTURAL.

E. g. $\text{שָׁחַט} to\ slaughter.$ Paradigm E.

The deviations from the strong verb are less important in this class,¹ and are mainly as follows:—

1. Where a *simple Shewâ* is required, the guttural takes, nearly without exception, a *composite Shewâ*, viz. the *Chāṭēph-Pāṭhāch* (—); e. g. *Perf.* שָׁחַטוּ , *Impf.* יִשְׁחָטוּ , *Imp. Niph.* הִשְׁחָטוּ . In the *Imp. Qāl* before the affirmatives י and ו the original *Pāṭhāch* occurs in the 1st syllable and is followed by *Chateph-*

¹ *Hōph'āl*, which is not exhibited in the Paradigm, is inflected like *Qāl*: *Hōph'āl* is regular.

Päthäch, the syllable being only slightly closed; but in אָהבו the preference of the א for *Sēghol* has caused the change from *ä* to *ě* and in שָׁהרי Job 6, 22 the *š* remains before a hard guttural.

So in the *Inf. Qāl* w. suf. as in Is. 9, 6 סִיעָדָה to support it (but צִידָדָה thy marching Judg. 5, 4) and in the fem. form (§ 45, 2, b) אָהָבָה to love, נָאָבָה to languish.—

2. As the preference of the gutturals for the *A* sound has generally less influence on the following than on the preceding vowel (§ 22, 2), so not only is the *Chō'lem* in *Inf. Qāl* שָׁהוּט, שָׁהוּט retained, but also, for the most part, the *Sē're* in *Impf. Niph.* and *Pi.* יִלָּחֵם he fights, יִנְחֵם he comforts, and even the more feeble *Sēghō'l* (after *Wāw* consecutive) יִלָּחֵם. But in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* of *Qāl*, the last syllable generally takes (—), through the influence of the guttural even in transitive verbs, e. g. שָׁהַט, יִשְׁהַט; זָעַק, יִזְעַק; בָּחַר, יִבָּחַר (seldom like יִנְחֵם, יִנְחֹז), with *suff.* in the *Imp.* שְׁאֵלֶנִּי, בָּחֲנִי in the *Impf.* יִשְׁאֵלֶנִּי; with the *ō* in *Imper. Qāl* is found only עֲלֵ 2 Sam. 13, 17; אָהוּ Ex. 4, 4, 2 Sam. 2, 21 fem. אָחֹזי Ruth. 3, 15 (so according to *Kimchi* in the *Wurzelwörterb.* with the unusual echo of the expelled *ō* as *Chātēph-Qā'mēš*; on the other hand in pl. regularly אָחֹזי); סָעָד Judges 19, 8 (according to *Kimchi* סָעָד 19, 5 can only be read *sēād* with the abnormal lengthening for סָעָד); finally, here also belongs זָעַמָה instead of זָעַמָה Num. 23, 7 v. § 63, 4. Just as rare are the *Imp. med. gut.* with *ō* as יִנְחֵם, יִנְחֹז comp. Is. 27, 4, Ez. 16, 33 and also in the *Perf. Pi.*, *Päthäch* occurs more frequently than in the strong verb, as נָחַם to comfort.

3. In *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.*, the *Dāghe'sh fortē* is inadmissible in the middle stem-letter; but, in the greater number of examples, particularly before ה, ח, and ע, the preceding vowel remains short, the guttural having *Dāghe'sh fortē implicitum* (see § 22, 1); e. g. *Pi.* שָׁחַק, *Inf.* שָׁחַק to sport, *Pu.* רָחַץ to be washed, *Hithp.* Imper. הִשְׁחַרְרִי cleanse yourselves. The complete omission of the doubling and therefore the lengthening of the preceding vowel occurs continually only with ר e. g. בָּרַךְ to bless, *Impf.* יִבָּרֶךְ, *Pūāl* בָּרַךְ; before א it occurs regularly in the stems בָּאָר, גָּאָל, מָאָן, נָאָר and in the *Hithpā'ēls*

of באש, ראה and שאה; on the other hand א is virtually doubled in the *Perfects* נָאָה (once in *Impf.* Jer. 29, 23) to commit adultery, נָאָץ to despise (twice besides in the participle Is. 60, 14, Jer. 23, 17) נָאָר to abhor Lam. 2, 7 (also נִאָרְתָּה Ps. 89, 40) and נָאָל Ps. 109, 10; furthermore in the *infinitive* נָאֵשׁ Eccl. 2, 20 according to the best reading; in the *Pu ʾāl* נָאֵי Job 33, 21 the א should be written with *Dāghē'sh fortè*, according to the correct Massora.

Rem. 1. In the verb נָאָל to ask, beg some forms of the *Perfect Qāl* seem to have been based upon a secondary form *Med. E.* (acc. to *Kimchi*, see also Davies' Heb. Lex.), comp. נָאָלָה Gen. 32, 18, Judg. 4, 20, נָאָלְנִי Ps. 137, 3, נָאָלָהֶם 1 Sam. 12, 13, 25, 5, Job 21, 29, נָאָלְתִּירוּהוּ Judg. 13, 6, 1 Sam. 1, 20 (also *Hiph.* הִנָּאָלְתִּירוּהוּ 1 Sam. 1, 28). Compare however similar cases (attenuation of an original *ā*) § 69, Rem. 4 and especially § 44, Rem. 2. In the three first cases the *ī* (attenuated from *ā*) would be lengthened into *ē* (before the tone); in the three following cases *ī* would be changed into *ē*.

2. In *Pi.* and *Hithp.*, the tone is sometimes drawn back upon the penultima, and the *Šērê* of the final syllable shortened to *Sēghôl*, viz.—*a*) Before a word of one syllable (according to § 29, 3. *b*) as לְשִׁרְתָּם in order to serve there Deut. 17, 12; even with virtual doubling of the gutt. Gen. 39, 14, Job 8, 18.—*b*) After *Wāw* consecutive, as וַיְבָרֶכֶּה and he blessed Gen. 1, 22, וַיִּדְרֹשׁ and he drove out Ex. 10, 11.

3. The following are rare anomalies: in the *Impf. Qāl* הִצַּחַק Gen. 21, 6 (elsewhere הִצַּחֵק etc., in *pause* הִצַּחֵק comp. § 63, Rem. 2); וָאָחַר Gen. 32, 5 (for וָאָחֵר); in the *Perf.* of *Pi.*: אָחַרוּ they delay Jud. 5, 28, for אָחֵרוּ; and the similar form הִחַמְתִּנִּי she conceived me Ps. 51, 7, for הִחַמְתִּנִּי; finally in the *Imper. Hiph.* הִרְתַּח Job 13, 21 and הִמְצַר Ps. 69, 24, in both cases not without the influence of the closing consonant, and at the same time with the preference of *Päthäch* in *pause* (as a clearer and sharper sound).

4. A few examples where the א, as a middle guttural, loses entirely its consonant sound and is resolved into a vowel, will be found in § 73, Rem. 4.

§ 65.

VERBS LĀMĒDH (ל') GUTTURAL.

E. g. שִׁלַּח to send. *Paradigm F.*

1. According to § 22, 2, *a* and *b*, when the last syllable has a vowel which is heterogeneous to the guttural (i. e. not an *A* sound) we distinguish two cases, viz., either the regular

vowel of the final syllable *remains*, and the guttural takes *Päthäch furtive*, or the full vowel *Päthäch* takes its place. The particulars are as follows:—

- a) The strong unchangeable vowels א, ה, ו, י (§ 25, 1), are always retained; hence *Inf. absol.* *Qäl* שָׁלוּחַ, *Part. pass.* שְׁלוּחַ; *Hiph.* הִשְׁלִיחַ, *Impf.* יִשְׁלִיחַ, *Part.* מִשְׁלִיחַ. So also the *ō*, though less firm, is retained in the *Inf. constr.* שְׁלֹחַ, (comp. however in close connection with the substantive שְׁלַח Is. 58, 9 and גָּרַע Num. 20, 3).
- b) Instead of the *ō* in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* of *Qäl* we have *ä*, either through the influence of the guttural (comp. the remainder of the *o* sound in אֶפְשָׁעָה Is. 27, 4) or because the *Päthäch* was the original vowel, thus: שְׁלַח, יִשְׁלַח. With *suff.* יִשְׁלַחְךָ, יִשְׁלַחְנִי, see § 60, Rem. 1.
- c) Where *Sérê* is the regular vowel of the last syllable, the forms with *ē^a* and *ä* are both employed, but usage generally makes a distinction. Thus—

In the *Part. Qäl* and *Pi.* the only predominant form is שְׁלַחַח, מְשַׁלַּח, and the full *Päthäch* appears only in the *constr. state* שְׁלַחַח, מְשַׁלַּח.

In the *Impf.* and *Inf. Niph.*, and in the *Perf. Inf.* and *Impf. Pi.*, the shorter form with (—) usually stands at the beginning and in the middle of a sentence, the one with (—) at the end, and 'in pause'; e. g. יִרָרַע *it is diminished* Num. 27, 4, comp. יִרָרַע 36, 3; יִרְבַּע *he cleaves* Hab. 3, 9, comp. יִרְבַּע Ez. 13, 11, בָּלַע *to swallow* Hab. 1, 13, Num. 4, 20 with בָּלַע Lam. 2, 8. It may further be observed, that the *Inf. absol.* retains *Sérê*, but the *Inf. constr.* loses it, e. g. שְׁלַח Deut. 22, 7, 1 K. 11, 22, else שְׁלַח *to send*. Outside of the *pause* there is found יִרְבַּע Hab. 1, 16 and even יִרְבַּע 2 K. 16, 4; furthermore in the *Imper. Pi.* שִׁיחַ Ps. 86, 4 (with *Dêchê*): on the other hand in *pause* הִשְׁלַח Ez. 21, 11 as *Imper. Niph.* An example of *ä* in *Imper. Pi.* through the influence of a closing ו is בְּהַר־ Job 36, 2.

In *Hiph.* the shortened forms of the *Imp.* and *Impf.* admit only (—), e. g. הִצְלַח *prosper thou*, הִצְלַחַח *and he caused to trust*, הִצְצַח *and he caused to sprout*. The *Inf. absol.* takes (—), as הִנְבֵּה *to make high*; but as *Inf. constr.* also הִנְבַּח occurs in Job 6, 26.

2. The guttural here has *simple Shewâ* whenever the third radical regularly takes it (because it is *Shewâ quiescent*, which generally remains even under gutturals, § 22, 4), as שְׁלַחַח, שְׁלַחַחַח. But in the 2 *fem. Perf.* a helping-*Päthäch* takes its place, as שְׁלַחַחַח (§ 28, 4), yet comp. לָקַחַח 1 K. 14, 3.

The softer combination with (—) for (—) occurs only in some examples of the 1. plur. Perf. when the tone is thrown forward, as יָדַעְנוּ *we know thee* Hos. 8, 2, comp. Gen. 26, 29, Ps. 44, 18, 2 Sam. 21, 13; and also before the suffixes הָ, כֶּם, הֵן, as אֶשְׁלָחָהּ *I will send thee* 1 Sam. 16, 1, אֶשְׁלָחָהּ Gen. 31, 27, אֶשְׁמְרֶנָּה Jer. 18, 2.

On the weak verbs א"ל, see especially in § 74.

B. CONTRACTED VERBS.

§ 66.

VERBS פ"י.

E. g. נָגַשׁ *to approach*. Paradigm H.

The weakness of initial נ consists principally in its submitting to *Aphæresis* in the *Inf. constr.* and *Imperf.* in a part of these verbs (comp. 19, 3, a). On the other hand, the assimilation of the נ (v. above) cannot really be considered as weakness, as the stem still retains three consonants (by the doubling of the 2d cons.). More particularly we remark:—

1. The *Aphæresis* of the *Nûn a* in the *inf. constr.* This occurs only (though not necessarily) with such verbs as have *a* in the 2d syllable of the *Imperf.*, thus: נָגַשׁ, *Imperf.* יִגָּשׁ, *Inf.* really נָשׂ, but always enlarged with ת to the Segholate form נָשְׁתָּ; with *Suff.* גָּשְׁתָּ Gen. 33, 3 (attenuated from נָשְׁתָּ); with the concurrence of a guttural נָגַע *to touch*, *Imperf.* יִנָּע, *Inf.* גָּעַת (also נָגַע); נָטַע *to plant*, *Inf.* טָעַת (also נָטַע). The feminine ending in this case serves as a means of artificially reestablishing the semblance of a triliterality. (On the verb נָתַן *to give* v. especially Rem. 3). On the other hand, *Aphæresis* does not take place with verbs which have *ō* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָפַל *to fall*, *Imperf.* יִפֹּל, *Inf.* נָפַל, with *Suff.* נָפַלְתָּ also נָפַלְתָּ (which originated from נָפַלְתָּ, נָפַלְתָּ).—b) In the *Imperf.* Here the dropping of the *Nûn* takes place everywhere in verbs with *a* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָגַשׁ, *Imperf.* יִגָּשׁ (frequently with *paragog.* אָה נָגַשׁ, before *Mäqqēph* also גָּשׁ Gen. 19, 9), גָּשִׁי etc., however also with *ō* גָּשִׁי Ruth 2, 14, and גָּשִׁי 2 Chron. 29, 31; in both cases outside of the *pause*. With *Nûn* preserved is found only נָהַג 2 Kings 4, 24 (*Impf.* יִנְהַג *without* the assimi-

lation of the *Nûn*; comp. also of verbs ל"ה which are at the same time נָהָה: פִּיִּן Ez. 32, 18, נָהָה Gen. 32, 34). Here also *Aphaeresis* does not take place with verbs which have *ō* in the *Imperf.*, e. g. נָחַץ, נָצַר etc.

2. Whenever *Nûn* stands at the end of a syllable after a preformative, it assimilates itself to the following stem-letter (§ 19, 2, *a*); viz., *a*) in the *Imperf. Qāl*, e. g. יִפֹּל for יִפֹּל *he will fall*, יִנָּשׁ for יִנָּשׁ, יִתֵּן for יִתֵּן *he will give* (the *Imperf. Ō*, as in the strong verb, being usual, the *Imperf. E* only in this example);¹—*b*) in the *Perf. Niph.*, e. g. נָגַשׁ for נָגַשׁ;—*c*) in the whole of *Hiph.* and *Hoph.* (which here has always *Qibbûṣ*, according to § 9, 9, 2), e. g. הִגִּישׁ, הִגִּישׁ, for הִגִּישׁ, הִגִּישׁ.

The other forms are all quite regular, e. g. *Perf.*, *Inf. absol.*, *Part. Qāl*, all *Pī ēl*, *Pū'āl*, etc. Only the irregular conjugations are given in the Paradigm H.

The characteristic of these verbs in all forms which begin with a formative letter, is the *Dāghēsh fortē* following it in the second radical. Such forms, however, appear also in some verbs פִּיִּן (§ 71) and even in verbs עִיִּן (§ 67, 5). The *Inf. פִּיִּן* and the *Imperf. נָשׂ*, also נָשׂ (Gen. 19, 9) and נָשׂ, coincide with those of verbs פִּיִּן (§ 69).—On יָקַח, יָקַח, יָקַח (from לָקַח to take), see below in Rem. 2.—*Inf. Niph.* יָקַח of קָיָם, and so in all weak verbs עִיִּן (§ 72, 4).—Also אָסַח (Ps. 139, 8) is not from נָסַח, but contracted from אָסַח from סָלַח to ascend (see § 19, 2, Rem.).

Rem. 1. The instances are comparatively few in which the forms retain their *Nûn*, before a firm consonant, e. g. *Imperf. יִנָּשׁ* *he keeps* Jer. 3, 5 (elsewhere יִנָּשׁ), of נָצַר the pausal form is always יִנָּצַר (outside of the pause יִנָּצַר Prov. 20, 28); in the same way the *Nûn* is retained with the pause in Ps. 61, 8, 140, 2, 5, Prov. 2, 11. In *Niph.* this never occurs and very seldom in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, as הִתְחַיֵּךְ to melt Ez. 22, 20, הִתְחַיֵּךְ they are cut off Judg. 20, 31. It regularly occurs, however, in all verbs which have a guttural for their second stem-letter, as יִיָּחַל *he will possess*. In these verbs the *Nûn* only rarely falls away, as יִיָּחַל for יִיָּחַל *he will descend*; *Niph.* נָחַם for נָחַם *he has comforted himself*.

2. Like the *Nûn* of these verbs (§ 19, 2), the ל of the verb לָקַח (to take) is also treated. Hence *Imperf. Qāl* יָקַח, *Imp. קַח* in pause and be-

¹ The *Imperf. A* (יִנָּשׁ) is given in the Paradigm, simply because it is the actual form in יִנָּשׁ.

fore *suff.* קָח, *paragog.* קָחָה; קָחַר etc. (comp. however also לָקַח Ex. 29, 1. Ez. 37, 16. Prov. 20, 16. לָקַחְתִּי 1 K. 17, 11); *Inf. constr.* קָחַר (w. *suff.* קָחַרְתִּי), *Hoph. Impf.* יִקָּח, but *Niph'āl* is always יִלָּקַח.

3. The above mentioned verb נָתַן to *give* furnishes the only example of an *Imperf.* with *ē* (נָתַן for נִתְּנָן); corresponding to which also we have the *Imper.* הֵן or (very frequently) הֵנִה, before *Maqqēph* נָתַן, *fem.* הֵנִי etc. This much used verb has this farther peculiarity that the third radical (the final *Nûn*) is assimilated, as נָתַתִּי for נָתַתִּי, נָתַתָּ for נָתַתָּ (very frequently נָתַתָּ as a kind of orthographical compensation for the assimilated נ); *Niph'āl Perf.* נָתַתָּ Lev. 26, 25.—Also in the *Inf. constr.* *Qāl* the groundform נָתַתָּ has not been enlarged into נָתַתָּ (comp. נָשַׁתָּ from נָשַׁתָּ) but contracted into נָתַתָּ, and this was afterward lengthened into נָתַתָּ when the *Dāghē'sh fortè* was dropped v. § 20, 3, a; therefore with the suffixes נָתַתִּי, נָתַתָּ etc. (before *Māqqēph* with the prefix לִ=נָתַתָּ e. g. Exod. 5, 21, but also elsewhere in close connection e. g. Gen. 15, 7; also the strong formation of the *Inf. constr.* in נָתַתָּ Num. 20, 21 and נָתַתָּ Gen. 38, 9.) In other stems, the נ as third radical is retained, נָשַׁתָּ, נָשַׁתָּ. Upon the entirely anomalous *Aphaeresis* of the *Nûn* with a strong vowel in נָתַתָּ for נָתַתָּ 2 Sam. 22, 41 comp. § 19, 3, a.

§ 67.

VERBS 'ĀYĪN DOUBLED (ע"ע).

E. g. סָבַב to surround. *Paradigm G.*

1. The principal irregularity of these verbs consists in the utterance of the second and third radicals often as one doubled letter, as סָבַב (contracted from the original form *sābhābhû*) for סָבַב (Rem. 10 below), even when a full vowel should regularly stand between them, as סָב for סָבַב, סָב (from the orig. *sābhābhā*, contr. *sābbā*) for סָבַב. Those forms are *not* contracted which contain unchangeable vowels, or a *Dāghē'sh fortè*, as סָבַב, סָבַב, סָבַב.

2. The monosyllabic stem thus obtained takes, throughout, the vowel which the full form would have had in its *second* syllable, because that serves to characterise the form (§ 43, Rem. 1), e. g. *Perf.* סָב for סָבַב; סָבָה for סָבַבָה (both from the original *sābhābhāth*), *Inf.* סָב for סָבַב; *Hiph.* סָבַב for סָבַב (comp. No. 6).

3. The *Dāghē'sh fortè*, which, after this contraction, properly belongs throughout to the final stem-letter, is ex-

cluded from it (§ 20, 3, *a*), except when formative additions are made at the end, as סָבַר, סָבַר, *Impf.* רָסַב, but not סָב, סָב.

4. When the affirmative begins with a consonant (נ, ת), a vowel is inserted before it, in order to render audible the Dāghē'sh of the final stem-letter¹ (§ 20, 3, *c*, Rem.), which vowel in the Perf. is ו, in the Imp. and Impf. —, e. g. סָבַרְתָּ, סָבַרְתָּ, *Impf.* תִּסְבְּרָנָה (for *sabb-ta, sabb-nu, t'sobb-na*).

5. The preformatives of *Impf. Qāl, Perf. of Niph., Hiph. and Hoph.*, which in consequence of the contraction stand in a simple syllable (יֹסֵב instead of יֹסוּב), take, instead of the short vowel of the regular form, the corresponding long one (according to § 27, 2, *a*), e. g. *Impf. Hiph.* יֹסֵב for יֹסֵב, *Imper.* הִסֵּב for הִסֵּב etc. Where the preformatives now have *ī*, either the original *ā* (which was attenuated into *ī*) is restored and lengthened e. g. יֹסֵב in *Impf. Qāl* from original יֹסֵב, or the *ī* itself is lengthened into *ē* e. g. הִסֵּב *Perf. Hiph.* for הִסֵּב (see further details in No. 6). This lengthened vowel can be retained however only before the tone (except the *û* of the Hophal lengthened from *ū* הִסֵּב for הִסֵּב); by the removal of the tone, the vowel, according to § 27, 2, becomes necessarily *Shewâ* (under א and ה composite *Shewâ*) e. g. תִּסְבּ but תִּסְבִּינָה; תִּסְבּ but תִּסְבִּינָה; *Hiph. Perf.* תִּסְבִּינָה etc.

NB. There is still another mode (the common one in *Aramaic*) of constructing these forms, which supplies a Dāghē'sh in the first radical in place of doubling the third (comp. § 19, 2, Rem.); e. g. *Impf. Qāl* יֹסֵב for יֹסֵב, *Impf. Hiph.* יִתֵּם for יִתֵּם, *Hoph.* יִתֵּם for יִתֵּם. These forms do not usually take Dāghē'sh in the final letter on receiving an accession, as יִתֵּם they bow themselves (from יָתַם), יִתֵּם and they smote (from יָתַם), perhaps because the doubling makes the stem trilateral;

¹ No satisfactory explanation for these separating vowels has been given as yet. As in none of these forms it could be said that the original vowel had returned, there remains simply the supposition that a really new vowel has been inserted as an expedient for pronunciation. Rödiger refers to the analogy of the verbs לָ"ה in forms like תִּנְלִינָה, תִּנְלִינָה, but this is not satisfactory because there the tone vowel has not arisen anew but existed already. But Rödiger was right in reminding us of the analogy of the vulgar Arabic which for the written Arabic *madadta, madadti, madadtu* uses the forms *maddēt, maddēti, maddit* and even *maddāt*. The latter form also indicate that the *ô* in the *Perf.* of ע"ע verbs has also been derived from an original *â*.

but see also יִרְעֹבוּ Judg. 18, 23, יִרְחֹו Job. 4, 20. To the same category apparently belongs the stronger form הִצְלִיחַ *they will tinkle* (from צִלַּל) Jer. 19, 3. On the other hand הִמָּנִי (for הִמָּיִנו *we perished*) Jer. 44, 18 follows the analogy of verbs ע"ו (comp. קָמְנוּ from קָיָם). On *Niph.* see Rem. 5.

6. The restoration of original vowels mentioned in No. 5 occurs *a*) in the Preformatives of the *Imperf.* *Qāl.* יָסַב from יִסְבֵּב (comp. § 47, 2; 63, 2 and for verbs ע"ו § 72); *b*) in the *Perf.* *Niph.* נָסַב from יִסְבֵּב (§ 51, 1) as well as in *Impf.* יָסַב from יִסְבֵּב (comp. on *ā* in the final syllable of strong imperfections Niphal § 51, Rem. 2); *c*) in the *Hoph.* הִסְבֵּב from הָסַב, *Impf.* יִסְבֵּב from יִסְבֵּב etc.—On the contrary the attenuated vowel *i* underlies the intransitive *Impf. Qāl* with *ā* in the second syllable e. g. יָמַר for יִמַר (see Rem. 3). The lengthening of the original *ā* (יָמַר) would lead to mistaking it for the 3d sing. perf.; also in the preformative of the *Hiph'il* הִסְבֵּב from הָסַב (groundform הִסְבֵּב § 53, 1). In the same way we have the underlying *i* in the 2d syllable, which, attenuated from original *ā*, is in strong verbs abnormally lengthened into *i* (§ 53, 1). The *ē*, lengthened from *i* is of course only tonelong, therefore הִסְבִּיתָ outside of the tone before *Dāghe'sh fortè*. (On the return of the original *ā* in the 2d syllable comp. Rem. 6.)

7. The *tone* has this peculiarity, that usually it is not thrown forward upon the affirmatives beginning with a vowel (הִ—, הִ, § 40, 2), but remains *before* them on the stem-syllable, e. g. 3d sing. fem. *Impf.* הִתְהַלְכִי, *pause* הִתְהַלְכִי; with ר and gutturals מָרָה (for מִרָה) Ps. 44, 26; with ר *consec.* however יִרְבֶּה Is. 6, 12. In the 3d pl. perf. the accent varies; besides יִלְכֶּה, יִלְכֶּה is found also יִלְכֶּה, יִלְכֶּה (Hab. 3, 6) etc., but in *pause* יִלְכֶּה, יִלְכֶּה etc. and, vice versa in *perf. consec.* יִלְכֶּה etc. (comp. however יִלְכֶּה Jer. 44, 12 before the tone syllable). The tone remains likewise on the stem syllable in *Imperf. Qāl* in יִסְבֵּב, יִסְבֵּב *Hiph.* יִסְבֵּב, יִסְבֵּב (*Perf. Hiph.* הִסְבֵּב, הִסְבֵּב) etc. In the forms with separating vowels, the tone is removed to these vowels e. g. יִסְבֵּב, יִסְבֵּב etc. (excepting before the always accented ending הִם and הֵן in the Perfect). This removal

of the tone naturally causes the shortening of the merely tone-long vowels *ē* and *ō* into *ī* and *ū* (*ō* v. Rem. 2), therefore *הַסְבִּירָה* from *הַסֵּב*, *הַסְבִּירָה* from *הַסֵּב* (on the dropping of the vowel of the preformative v. above No. 5).¹

8. In numerous verbs of this class, instead of *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.* there is found with the same sense the less usual conjugation *Pō'ēl* (§ 55, 1), with its passive (*Pō'āl*) and reflexive (*Hithpō'ēl*), e. g. *עוֹלֵל* to treat ill, pass. *עוֹלֵל*, reflex. *הִתְעוֹלֵל* (from *עָלַל*); in some is found also *Pilpēl* (§ 55, 4), as *גָּלַל* to roll, *הִתְגָּלַל* to roll one's self (from *גָּלַל*), *Pilp.* *שָׁנַשׁ* to caress, with its pass. (*Pōlpāl*) *שָׁנַשׁ* to be caressed, and reflex. (*Hithpāl*) *הִשְׁתָּנַשׁ* to delight oneself Ps. 119, 16 (from *שָׁנַשׁ*). These forms do not suffer contraction any more than *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithpāl*.

REMARKS.

I. On *Qāl*.

1. In the Perf. are found some examples with *Chōlēṃ*, orig. *u* (comp. *יָלַל*, § 43, 1), as *רָמוּ* they are high (from *רָמַם*) Job 24, 24, *רָבוּ* (from *רָבַב*) Gen. 49, 23; probably also *אָרוּ* Is. 1, 6 from *אָרַר*.

2. The *Chōlēṃ* of the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* (*סֵב*, *יָסַב*) is a changeable vowel and written defectively, with a few exceptions, which are found especially in the later orthography; e. g. *לָבוּז* for *לָבוּז* to plunder Est. 3, 13, 8, 11. It is shortened into *Qāmēṣ-chātūph* or *Qībḇūṣ*, whenever it loses the tone, as *Inf.* *רָנָה* (*rōn*) to rejoice Job 38, 7; with suff. *Imp.* 2d sing. fem. *רָנִי*, *רָנִי* (comp. Rem. 12); *הִנֵּנִי* pity me, *Impf.* with *Wāw* consec. *יָסַב* Judg. 9, 18, with suff. *רָשָׁם* he lays them waste Prov. 11, 3 in *Q'eri*. In *יָרַחָה* Gen. 43, 29. Is. 30, 19 (for *יָרַחָה*) this *ō* is put back under the preformative. In *קָבַחָהּ* Num. 22, 11, 17 and *אָרַחָהּ* 22, 6, 23, 7 the suffix of the *ה*—paragogic takes place without any other change of the form; one would expect *קָבַחָהּ*, *אָרַחָהּ*. Still more striking is *קָבַחָהּ* curse him Num. 23, 13 (for *קָבַחָהּ* or *קָבַחָהּ*). We have also *קָב* for *קָבַח* Num. 23, 25 and *שָׁל* as *inf. abs.* instead of *שָׁלוּל* in Ruth 2, 16.

3. Examples with final *Pāthāch* in the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf.* (*קָשַׁל*, *קָשַׁל*), are the following: *Inf.* *שָׁךְ* to stoop Jer. 5, 26, *Imp.* *גָּל* roll thou Ps. 119, 22, *Impf.* *יָמַר* he is bitter Is. 24, 9, *יָרַךְ* he is soft Is. 7, 4; *יָחַל*

¹ The terminations for gender and number in the *Participles* take the tone, as these are not a part of the verbal inflection, as *מְסַבֵּה*, *מְסַבֵּה*.

she was despised Gen. 16, 4 (but also with the accent on the preceding syllable, e. g. יָרַע Gen. 21, 11). In regard to these intransitive imperfections comp. No. 6 above. Of imperfects with original *u* in the 2d syllable there are also found examples of lengthening the *ũ* into *û* (instead of *ô*) e. g. יָרַיָה Prov. 29, 6; יָשַׁד Ps. 91, 6; יָרַיָה (from יָרַץ) Is. 42, 4 (even defectively יָרַיָה Eccl. 12, 6). An analogy with the verbs ע"י is also seen in the infinitive לְבַיֵּר (for בָּרַ) Eccl. 9, 1; בָּהֶקֶן Prov. 8, 27 (comp. בָּהֶקֶן 8, 29) for בָּהֶקֶן. Examples of the *Aramaicising Impf.* are יָסַב (though יָסַב is also in use), יָשַׁם *he is astonished* 1 K. 9, 8, יָדְמוּ *they are silent* Job 29, 21; with *ā* e. g. יָהֵל, יָשַׁח, etc.

4. In the Participle occurs the Aramaean form שָׂאֵם (for שָׂסֵם) Jer. 30, 16 in K^{ethibh} (the Q^{ri} regards it as a *Part.* from שָׂסָה).

II. On Nîphāl.

5. Besides the usual form of the Perf. (נָסַב) with *Pāthäch* and of the *Part.* (m. נָסַב, f. נָסְבָה) with *Qāmeš* in 2d syllable, there is still another with *Šērē*, and another with *Chōlēm* (analogous to קָשַׁל, נָכַל, § 43, 1), extending through the whole conjugation; e. g. Perf. נָכַל (also נָכַל) *it is a light thing* Is. 49, 6, נָסְבָה (for נָסְבָה) Ez. 26, 2; *Part.* נָסַב *wasted away* Nah. 2, 11: with *Chōlēm*, נָכְלוּ *they are rolled together* Is. 34, 4, comp. 63, 19, 64, 2, Am. 3, 11, Nah. 1, 12; in *Impf.* יָמַיִל *he is circumcised* Gen. 17, 12; יָהֲדָמְרִי *thou shalt be laid waste* Jer. 48, 2. *Inf.* forms with the *Pāthäch* do not even exist, but those with *Šērē* and *Chōlēm*, as *Inf.* יָהֲמַם *to melt* Ps. 68, 3, *Inf. absol.* יָהֲבִיז *to be plundered* Is. 24, 3; in the *Imp.* only יָהֲבִירוּ *cleanse yourselves* Is. 52, 11 and יָהֲרִמוּ *raise yourselves up* Num. 17, 10, יָהֲמִלוּ Jer. 4, 4 follows the analogy of ע"י verbs (as the *imperf.* יָהֲמִלוּ Gen. 34, 24).—Peculiar forms of Nîphāl (with a sharpening of the 1st syllable) occur in נָחַל *it was profaned* Ez. 25, 3 (from נָחַל), נָחַר (from נָחַר) Ps. 69, 4, 102, 4 (also נָחַר Jer. 6, 29), נָחַח *fractus est* (from נָחַח) Mal. 2, 5.—In Micah 2, 4 the Perf. נָשְׁדָנוּ, *û* instead of *ô* as the separating vowel appears to be abnormal.

III. On Hîph'îl and Hōph'âl.

6. Besides *Šērē* the final syllable has also *Pāthäch*, especially with ר and the gutturals, as יָהֲמַר *he made bitter*; יָהֲשַׁח *to depress*; *Inf.* יָהֲבַר *to cleanse* Jer. 4, 11. But also without a guttural, as יָהֲרַק *he pounded small* 2 K. 23, 15; plur. יָהֲסַבּוּ 1 Sam. 5, 10; *Part.* יָהֲצַל *shadowing* Ez. 31, 3. The *ē* of the 2d syllable may become *ě* outside the tone e. g. יָהֲלָבִי Gen. 31, 7. Instead of *Châteph Pāthäch* there appears before ה also *Pāthäch* (with the virtual doubling of the ה) in forms like יָהֲהֹתָ Is. 9, 3.

7. In the *imperf.* the retraction of the tone and the consequent shortening of *ē* into *ě* occurs not only in the *jussive* and with *Wāw consecutive* (e. g. יָהֲגִל Gen. 29, 10; with final guttural יָהֲרַע 1 K. 6, 11) but also elsewhere e. g. יָהֲסֵךְ *he protects* Ps. 91, 4. Quite peculiar is יָהֲרַץ Judges 9, 53 with *ě* for *ě*.

8. *Aramaicising* forms of *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*: יִצְחָב Ex. 13, 18, יִצְחָב and they smote Deut. 1, 44, אֶחָל I will profane Ez. 39, 7, in *Perf.* הִזְיָהּ they despised her Lam. 1, 8.—In *Hoph.* הִמָּכּוּ they perish Job 24, 24, יָכַח it is smitten Is. 24, 12 (plur. יִכָּחוּ Jer. 46, 5), יִחָקוּ in pause (Job 19, 23) for יִחָקוּ, also יִכָּחוּ Job 4, 20.

IV. In General.

9. Verbs ע"י are very nearly related to verbs ע"י (§ 72), as the great similarity in their inflection throughout has already shown. In form the verbs ע"י are generally the shorter (comp. הִסָּב and יָקִים, הִסָּב and הָקִים). In some cases they have precisely the same form, e. g. in the *Impf. consec.* of *Qāl* and *Hiph.*, in *Hoph.*, and in the rare conjugations. On account of this relation, they have sometimes borrowed forms from each other, e. g. רָרַן for רָרַן *he rejoices* Prov. 29, 6.

10. Along with the contracted forms there are found especially in certain conjugations and tenses, others which are wholly regular; e. g. *Perf. Qāl* סָבַב 1 Sam. 7, 16, סָבְבוּ Josh. 6, 15, סָבְבוּ Ps. 18, 6, וַיִּשְׁתַּחוּ and they bow down, בָּזַז to phunder Ez. 29, 19, plur. בָּזְזוּ Josh. 8, 27, Deut. 2, 35 (also בָּזְזוּ in 3, 7); *Inf.* סָבַב and סָב; *Infin.* after לֵ: לְיִנְיָנָם Jer. 47, 4, לָגַז Gen. 31, 19 (also לָגַז 38, 13); with suffix לְיִנְיָנָם Is. 30, 18 and of the same form חָנַן with the vowel shifted back and at the same time inflected לְחַנֵּנִי Ps. 102, 14; *Imper.* שָׁדְרוּ Jer. 49, 28; *Imperf.* נָדַד Nahum. 3, 7 (Ps. 68, 13, Gen. 31, 40) from נָדַד: the strong form was after the assimilation of the *Nūn* quite necessary. On the other hand שָׁדְרוּ Jer. 5, 6 for שָׁדְרוּ is anomalous; the contracted consonants have been afterwards dissevered by the insertion of a vocal *Shewā*. Compare also יִחָנַן *he is gracious* Amos 5, 15, else יָחַן, In *Niph.* יָכַבּ Job 11, 12. *Hiph.* הִרְבֵּן, *Impf.* יִרְבֵּן *he will rejoice* (which in *Hiph.* is never contracted); *Part.* מִשְׁתָּמִים astonished Ez. 3, 15. That the full form has a certain emphasis is seen from its frequent use in pause, as in סָבְבוּ גַם-סָבְבוּ in Ps. 118, 11) (compare לְחַמֵּם Is. 47, 14 (perh. for לְחַמֵּם) *for their warming*.)

11. We have seen above (No. 5 Rem.), that in the *Impf.* of forms resembling the Aramaic form, the *Dāghēsh* of the third radical, together with the preceding vowel, is omitted before affirmatives, which however take the tone, as יִרְמֵי. The same omission occurs also in other forms at times, as in *Perf. Qāl* הָמַי for הַמַּיִי Num. 17, 28 (Jer. 44, 18); *Imperf.* בָּזָה 1 Sam. 14, 36 (הַ— *paragog.* without influence on the form, comp. Rem. 2); sometimes even the strong vowel becomes *Shewā*: נָבָה Gen. 11, 7 for נָבָה *we will confound* (Cohortative from נָבַל); יִזְמֵי for יִזְמֵי Gen. 11, 6 *they will devise*; *Perf. Niph.* נָסְבָה for נָסְבָה Ez. 41, 7, נָמְלָה for נָמְלָה Gen. 17, 11 (from נָמַל=מָל to *circumcise*); comp. Is. 19, 3, Jer. 8, 14. Without *Dāghēsh*, but with the accented full vowel: הִחָלָה for הִחָלָה Judg. 16, 10, הִחָלָה for הִחָלָה Prov. 7, 13, בָּזָה 1 Sam. 14, 36, comp. נָחַמִּים Is. 57, 5 for נָחַמִּים.

12. Though the tone is here less attracted to the endings (comp. No. 7 above, p. 163), yet this exceptionally happens at times—*a*) in the *Perf.*, specially if it stands in the sense of a present tense (§ 126, 3), as in רַבִּי (they are many) Ps. 3, 2, 104, 24, Jer. 5, 6, 1 Sam. 25, 10 (with הַיּוֹם to-day), רַבִּי (they are soft) Ps. 55, 22, קָצִי (they are swift) Jer. 4, 13, Hab. 1, 8, זָכוּ (they are pure) Job 15, 15, 25, 5;—*b*) in the *Imper.* (demanding in excited tone), as in רָדִי (rejoice aloud!) Is. 54, 1, Zeph. 3, 14, Zech. 2, 14, רָדִי Is. 44, 23, 49, 13, Jer. 31, 7 (but יָדִי wail! Lam. 2, 19), חָדִי celebrate (thy festivals) Nah. 2, 1, Jer. 7, 29;—*c*) in forms with pronominal suffix (this accords with the general law about the *tone*, § 29, 1, 2), as in סָבִינִי, סָבִינִי Ps. 118, 11, and here the vowels before the *Dāghē'sh* suffer the changes pointed out in § 27, 1, viz., *Chōlēm* in the *Impf.* becomes *Qibbûṣ*, more seldom *Qāmēṣ-chāṭûph* (so too רָדִי above under letter *b*), *Ṣērê* in *Hiph.* becomes *Chîrēq* (after the analogy of הַסְבִּירָה, הַסְבִּירָה; the preformatives then, in place of the full vowel, take *Shēwâ*, e. g. רָסִינִי Ps. 49, 6, רָסִינִי Job 40, 22, רָסִינִי Ps. 67, 2; *Hiph.* רָסִינִי Ez. 47, 2.

C. WEAKEST VERBS (VERBA QUIESCENTIA).

§ 68.

VERBS א"פ.

E. g. אָכַל to eat. *Paradigm I.*

So far as the א is treated as a consonant and a guttural, these verbs have all the properties of verbs *Pê Guttural*, exhibited in § 63. But here we regard them only in so far as the א *quiesces*, i. e. loses its consonant sound, and is blended with the foregoing originally short vowel, into a long one, which chiefly happens in the *Impf.* *Qāl* of only a few very common verbs and forms, much modified by constant use. The following are the particulars:—

1. In the *Impf. Qāl* of five verbs (viz. אָבַד to perish, אָבָה to be willing, אָכַל to eat, אָמַר to say, אָפָה to bake) the א always quiesces in a long *ô* (*Chōlēm*), as יֹאבֵד: In some others, the other form in which it retains its power as a consonant is also in use, as יֹאחֶזֶק and יֹאחֶזֶק he takes hold; יֹסֵף (v. Rem. 2), also יֹאכֵס. (So now in the vulgar Arabic of Palestine *yâkul* (he eats) becomes *yôkul*.) The *ô* in this case is but a corruption of the vowel *â* (§ 9, 10, 2), which is itself derived

by contraction from —. The last syllable of these verbs receives an *ē* (or *ǎ*) instead of the stronger vowel *ō* (orig. *ū*) e. g. יֵאָחֵז Job 17, 9, mostly *ē* with distinctive accents and before the accented affirmative וְ; but with conjunctive accents, which mark continuous discourse, it takes *ǎ* (*Päthäch*), e. g. תֵּאָבֵד Ps. 9, 19, on the contrary תֵּאָבֵד (compare a similar exchange of *ē* and *ǎ* in § 65, 1, *c*) in Ps. 1, 6. When the tone moves back, the last stem-syllable has sometimes *Päthäch*, as יֵאָבֵד יוֹם *perish the day* Job 3, 3, וַיֵּאָכֵל *and he ate*, and sometimes *S'ghôl*, as in וַיֵּאָמֶר (*Mil'él*) with a conjunctive accent; but וַיֵּאָמֶר וַיֵּאָכֵל (*Milrǎ'*) with a distinctive and in pause (only in Job mostly וַיֵּאָמֶר *Mil'él*). Of אָחַז the weak imperf. is always יֵאָחֵז and וַיֵּאָחֵז (however וַיֵּאָחֵז Judges 20, 6; comp. וַיֵּאָבֵל Gen. 3, 12 in *pause*).—אָבָה and אָפָה are at the same time verbs ל"ה; hence Impf. יֵאָבָה (§ 75, 1).

It is but very seldom that *S'êrê* stands before א in Impf. Qāl, as תֵּאָחֵב *it shall come* (Mic. 4, 8) contracted from תֵּאָחֵבָה (from תֵּאָחֵב, אָחֵב (in 1st sing. only for אָחֵב) *I love* (Prov. 8, 17) as well as אָחֵב (from אָחֵב, אָחֵב); but always in the Inf. with ל, as in לֵאמֹר *for to say* (i. e. *saying*) for לֵאמֹר.

2. In the 1st pers. sing. Impf. the second (the radical) א (to avoid the repetition of this feeble letter) is regularly dropped (§ 23, 3), as אֶמַר for אֶאמַר *I will say*, וַאֲמַר *and I said*. In the other cases, where the א is generally conceived of as quiescent with *ô* or *ê*, it is retained merely orthographically and for the sake of etymology. Hence the possibility of its being dropped in the following examples:

Continually in the contracted forms of אָסַף, thus תִּסָּף for תֵּאָסַף *thou takest away* Ps. 104, 29, וַיִּסָּף *and he gathered* 2 Sam. 6, 1. Compare also in the 1st pers. Micah 4, 6 and אֶסָּף 1 Sam. 15, 6 (with *ǐ* according to § 60, Rem. 4); further more תִּמָּר 2 Sam. 19, 14, וַתִּמָּר 2 Sam. 20, 9, וַתִּמָּר Deut. 33, 21 (for וַתִּמָּר), according to another reading וַתִּמָּר or וַתִּמָּר, etc.; וַתִּמָּר *thou goest away* (from אָזַל) Jer. 2, 36, v. Rem. 1.

The Parad. I shows the weak forms in which א is treated as a quiescent (viz., Impf. Qāl), and merely indicates the more regular ones.

Rem. 1. In forms of the derived conjugations the א but very seldom quiesces, as in Perf. Niph. נִאָּחַז Josh. 22, 9, Hiph. וַיֵּאָחֵז *and he took away* Num. 11, 25, וַיֵּאָרֵב (for וַיֵּאָרֵב) *and he set an ambush* 1 Sam. 15, 5,

אָזִין *I hearken* Job 32, 11, אָכִיל (*ô* from *â*) *I cause to eat* Hos. 11, 4, אֶבְיָרָה (*ô* from *â*) *I will destroy* Jer. 46, 8, מְזִין *giving ear* Prov. 17, 4; Imp. הָבִיאוּ *bring ye* (from אָבִיחָה) Is. 21, 14.

2. In *Pi.* the א is sometimes dropped by contraction (like ה in יִהְיֶה, יִהְיֶה, e. g. מִלֵּה (as in Aram., and Samar.) for מִלֵּה *teaching* Job 35, 11, יָהֵל for יִצְהֵל *he shall pitch tent* Is. 13, 20, יִתְּנֶנִּי *thou girdest me* 2 Sam. 22, 40 for יִתְּנֶנִּי (Ps. 18, 40).

§ 69.

VERBS פ"י. FIRST CLASS, OR VERBS ORIGINALLY פ"י.

E. g. יָשַׁב *to dwell. Paradigm K.*

Verbs פ"י fall principally into *two classes*, which are different from each other in their origin and inflection. The *first* embraces those verbs which have properly a ו for their first stem-letter. In Arabic and Ethiopic they are written with ו (e. g. וָלַד, Arab. and Ethiop. *wāḷāḍā*), but in Hebrew (and Aramæan) by a change of sound which shows itself also, with few exceptions in the noun, they take י instead of it, wherever the first stem-letter begins the form, whereas after preformative the ו either appears again, or is likewise changed into י, or finally is completely elided. The *second* class embraces those which are properly פ"י, and which have *Fôdh* also in Arabic (the so-called *Verba cum Jod originario* § 70). A few of these verbs פ"י, of both classes form, in some respects, a *third* class which is inflected like verbs פ"י (§ 71).

In the verb יָצַר the forms are distinguished according to the signification, viz.,—1) יָצַר (1st class, for יָצַר) *to be in a strait*, Impf. יִצַּר, יִצַּר;—2) יָצַר (2d class) *to form*, Impf. יִצַּר, יִצַּר.

The peculiar inflection of the *first class*, which is analogous to the Arabic פ"י, consists in the following particulars:

1. In the *Impf.*, *Imp.* and *Inf. constr.* of *Qāl* there is a twofold inflection according as the *Wāw* is wholly rejected or only changed into *Fôdh*. The entire rejection (elision) takes place regularly in eight verbs (v. Rem.) after the following analogy:

Impf. יָשַׁב, with tone-long \bar{e} in both syllables. The vowel of the preformative had \check{i} (attenuated from \check{a}); after the elision of *Wāw*, this \check{i} standing in an open syllable had to be changed into a tone-long \bar{e} (the fully written form, as יָשַׁב is extremely rare and incorrect). In the second syllable, five of these forms have an original \check{i} which in the tone-syllable becomes likewise \bar{e} ; three verbs however (under the influence of a guttural), take \check{a} : יָחַד, יָקַע, יָדַע.

The tone-long \bar{e} of the 2d syllable may naturally become *Seghōl* or *Shewā*, e. g. יָשַׁב, יָשְׁבוּ etc.; in the same way the \check{a} become *Shewā* in cases like יָדַעַי etc., but in *pause* it is retained and lengthened into *Qā'mēṣ* (יָדַעַי) and before suffixes (יָדַעַם). As the last example shows the tone-long \bar{e} of the 1st syllable is retained, not only before the tone (יָשַׁב etc.) but also with the secondary tone.

Imp. שָׁב, shortened from יָשַׁב by omission of the feeble \check{i} ; and—

Inf. שָׁבַת, shortened in like manner, but taking the feminine-ending ת, which again lengthens and strengthens the form; comp. § 66, 1.

The greater part of these verbs are inflected with *stronger* forms, have the *Impf. A*, and retain the *Yôdh* at the beginning, viz. in—

Imp. יָרַשׁ and *Inf.* יָרַס, as a *consonant*, but in

Impf. יִרְשׁ, as a *quiescent*, resolved into the vowel \hat{i} (§ 24, 2).

In the 2d syllable the *Impf.* regularly has \check{a} .

That the latter mode of inflection belongs to verbs actually פ"י (which has often been overlooked and falsely denied), is shown, partly by the numerous verbs which take these forms in Qāl, and at the same time have י in *Niph.*, *Hiph.*, and *Hoph.*, partly by the Arabic, where the verbs פ"י have likewise a double inflection, comp. *wāldā*, *Impf. jālidu* (with the elision of the *Wāw*) and *wā'gīlā*, *jaūgalu* (with the retention of the *Wāw* v. Rem. 3).

Even in the same verb are found both the weaker and the stronger forms, the latter with the *Yôdh*, the former without it, as יָצַק 2 K. 4, 41, and יָצַק *pour thou* Ez. 24, 3, (comp. *Inf.* יָצַח Exod. 38, 27); יָרַשׁ 1 K. 21, 15, יָרַשׁ *possess thou*, lengthened יָרַשָׁה Deut.

33, 23; *Impf.* יִקְרֶה *he will kindle* Deut. 32, 22, and יִקְרֶה Is. 10, 16; יִקְרָה *it became dear* 1 Sam. 18, 30 and יִקְרֶה Ps. 49, 9 (comp. יִקְרֶה Ps. 72, 14).

NB. To the first mode of inflection belong, e. g. יָלַד *to bear* (offspring), יָצָא *to go forth*, יָשָׁב *to sit*, יָרַד *to descend*, יָדַע *to know* (*Impf.* יִדַּע with *Päthäch* in the last syllable so also, יָחַד, יָחַד); to the second belong יָגַע *to weary*, יָצַע *to counsel*, יָשָׁן *to sleep*.

2. The original *Wāw* appears always a consonant, wherever it must be doubled, as in the *Inf.*, *Imp.* and *Impf. Niph.* הִישָׁב, הִישָׁב (just like הִקְטַל, הִקְטַל); and also in the *Hithp.* of some verbs, e. g. הִתְנַדַּע from יָדַע, הִתְנַבַּח from יָבַח, הִתְנַדַּח from יָדַח, and in some noun-forms, e. g. יָלָד *offspring* from יָלַד *to bear*. The ו at the end of the syllable becomes ū (ו) as in all *Hōph'āl*, e. g. הִישָׁב for הִישָׁב; and in combination with a preceding *a*, as a diphthongal ô (ו) in *Perf.* and *Part.* of *Niph'āl*, and in all *Hiph'il*, e. g. הִישָׁב for הִישָׁב, הִישָׁב for הִישָׁב.—The *Yōdh* stands as a consonant in the *Perf.* and *Part.* *Qāl* (יָשָׁב etc., יָשָׁב, יָשָׁב) even when ו precedes, as יָשָׁב (yet we have יִשְׁבָּתָם according to § 24, 1, *a*), in all *Pi.* and *Pu.*, as יָחַל *to wait for*, יָלַד *to be born*, also in the *Impf.* and *Part.*, as יָחַל מִיָּדָע *known* (from יָדַע), also at times in *Hithp.*, as יָחַל, יָחַל, יָחַל (as well as הִתְנַדַּע with *Wāw* as above).

NB. In those forms in which *Yōdh* does not appear, these verbs may be distinguished, in the *Impf.* of *Qāl* by the *Sērê* under the preformatives, in *Niph.*, *Hiph.*, and *Hoph.* by the *Wāw* (ו, ו, ו) before the second radical. (The defective orthography, as in הִלִּיד, is not frequent.) Forms like יָשָׁב are common to these and verbs פ"ן. *Hoph'āl* has the same form as in verbs ע"ו and ע"ע.

Rem. 1. The *Inf. Qāl* of the weaker form (שָׁבַת *Gdf.* שָׁבַת) takes suff. like שָׁבַת; and it very seldom has the masculine form like יָדַע *to know* Job 32, 6, 10, or the feminine ending יָדָה, like יָדָה Ex. 2, 4. יָדָה Is. 37, 3, יָדָה *to descend* Gen. 46, 3. Instead of יָדָה stands יָדַע under the influence of the guttural יָדָה, with Suff. יָדָה etc. (on the other hand יָדָה : יָדָה from יָדָה). From יָדָה is found, Ps. 30, 4, in *Qeri* quite notably the strong form מִיָּדָה (for מִיָּדָה).—יָדָה *to bear* in 1 Sam. 4, 19 is contracted to יָדָה (§ 19, 2).—Examples of the regular or strong form are יָרָא *to fear* Josh. 22, 25, with prep. לִיָּסֵר Is. 51, 16; with suffix מִיָּסֵר Job 38, 4, מִיָּסֵר Ezra 3, 12. The strong form seldom has the feminine-ending, as in יָדָה *to be able*, יָדָה *to dry up* Gen. 8, 7 (also יָדָה Is. 27, 11).

2. The *Impf. Qāl* often has the lengthening הַ—, as שִׁבָּה *sīt thou, descend thou*. From יָבֵב *to give*, Arab. *wāhābā*, there is found in Hebrew *only* the *Imper.* which is יָבֵב *give*, lengthened הִבָּה, mostly with the signification *L. age, go on!* (before א e. g. Gen. 29, 21 הִבָּה, to avoid a hiatus); fem. הִבֵּי Ruth 3, 15, probably *Mil'ra* after the analogy of the plur. הִבֵּי (but Job 6, 22, before the tone syllable אֲבִי; comp. however Deut. 32, 3).

3. The *Impf.* with ו elided takes *ā* in 2d syll., besides cases in No. 1, also in הָרַר Jer. 13, 17 and in the pausal form הָרָה Job 27, 21 (from הָלַךְ v. Rem. 8). The *ā* returns regularly before the *aff.* נָה (הַנְּהִי etc.). Forms with *ē* in 2d syll. are shortened to *ē* by the drawing back of the tone (before a tone syllable and after ו *consec.*); e. g. יָשַׁב-נָא Gen. 44, 33; יָשַׁב, יָשַׁב but in pause יָשַׁב and יָשַׁב (but 1. p. s. יָשַׁב). The *Impf.* יָרַשׁ, when lengthened, can also lose its radical י, even when the preformative is י, whose vowel (a long *i*) has then *Mèthegh* (see § 16, 2, b), as in יָרַשׁוּ Is. 40, 30, יָרַשׁוּ Is. 65, 23.—From כָּלַל (*to be able*) we get exceptionally יָכַל as the *Impf. Qāl*; comp. the Arab. form *yaurūu* (*yôruū*) from *warua*, and *yaugālu* (*yôgālu*) from *wāgila*; or even the vulgar Arab. *yūṣālu* from *waṣāla*. Others regard יָכַל as *Impf. Hoph.* (of כָּלַל) *he is enabled=he can*, which may have got into use instead of the *Impf. Qāl*.

4. The section 44, Rem. 2 (comp. § 64, Rem. 1) refers to the attenuation of the *ā* into *i* in the *Perf.* (in a toneless closed syllable) which is found in some forms of קָלַר (Num. 11, 12, Ps. 2, 7 etc. always after a preceding י) as well as of קָרַשׁ, e. g. יָרַשׁוּ etc. Deut. 4, 1, 8, 1, 19, 1, 26, 1 (however only after י for י). In both cases one can explain the attenuation by the tendency to the assimilation of the vowel, at least if we pronounce י as *i* (§ 47, 2). From the restoration of the *i* are explained also in the simplest manner the forms יָרַשׁוּ Ez. 36, 12 and יָרַשׁוּ Ps. 69, 36.

5. As an exception, the *Impf. Niph.* sometimes has י instead of the ו; e. g. נִיָּחַל and *he waited* Gen. 8, 12; comp. Ex. 19, 13, 1 Sam. 13, 8 *Kethibh*.—The first pers. sing. has always the form אָשַׁב not אָשַׁב; comp. § 51, Rem. 4.

6. In *Pī'el*, the radical *Yôdh* is sometimes dropped after י preformative, which takes its pointing (like א in § 68, Rem. 2); e. g. יָנַח for יָנַח and *he grieved* Lam. 3, 33, יָנַח for יָנַח and *they cast*, also in verse 53. And so also from a verb פָּי of the second class, יָבֵשׁוּ for יָבֵשׁוּ and *he dried it up* Nah. 1, 4; comp. יָבֵשׁוּ 2 Chr. 32, 30 *Qerî*.

7. In the *Imper. Hiph.*, instead of the usual form הוֹשִׁיב, *i* is also found in the 2d syllable: הוֹצִיא Is. 43, 8; הוֹצִיֵּי Ps. 94, 1 (before ה, perhaps a mere misspelling for הוֹצִיֵּה); הוֹצִיֵּי Prov. 19, 25. With a closing guttural the 2d syllable has generally *ā*, e. g. הוֹרֵעַ, הוֹשִׁעַ, comp. also הוֹרֵעַ Prov. 25, 17. On the other hand *i* appears again everywhere in open syllables, thus הוֹשִׁיבֵי, הוֹשִׁיבֵי and so always before suffixes (§ 61, 2).—The *Impf. Hiph.*, like *Impf. Qāl*, takes *S'ghôl* when the tone

is drawn back, as הוֹסֵף *let him add* Prov. 1, 5, הוֹסֵף *and he added* (הוֹסֵף Prov. 30, 6 is anomalous); in *pause* however also הוֹסֵף as *Jussive*, Job 40, 32 (usually, *Jussive* in *pause*: הוֹסֵף etc.; the latter form also outside of the *pause* after *Wāw consecutive* Gen. 47, 11, 2 Sam. 8, 4). With final guttural הוֹסֵף (*Jussive*) and הוֹסֵף etc. On forms like הוֹשִׁיעַ, see § 53, Rem. 7.—In *Hoph.* are some cases of ה for ו, as הוֹדֵעַ for הוֹדֵעַ Lev. 4, 23, 38, and הוֹדֵעַ for הוֹדֵעַ Prov. 11, 25. However comp. *Delitzsch*.

8. The verb הֵלֵךְ *to go* is connected in part with verbs פ"י of the first class, for it forms (as if from הֵלֵךְ) *Impf.* הֵלֵךְ, with *Wāw cons.* הוֹלֵךְ, in *pause* הוֹלֵךְ (§ 29, 4. Rem.), *Inf. constr.* הֹלֵךְ, w. suf. הֹלֵךְ, לְהֵלֵךְ, לְהֵלֵךְ, *Imp.* הֵלֵךְ, w. ה cohort. הֵלֵךְ, and also הֵלֵךְ Num. 23, 13, and so *Hiph.* הוֹלֵךְ. Rarely and almost exclusively in later books and in poetry, we find also the regular inflections from הֵלֵךְ, as *Impf.* הֵלֵךְ, *Inf.* הֹלֵךְ (Num. 22, 14, 16, Eccl. 6, 8, 9), *Imp. pl.* הֵלְכוּ (Jer. 51, 50); on the contrary *Perf.* Qāl is always הָלַךְ, *Part.* הוֹלֵךְ, *Inf. abs.* הוֹלֵךְ, *Niph.* הוֹלֵךְ, *Pi'el* הוֹלֵךְ, *Hithp.* הוֹלֵךְ, so that in this verb a ה nowhere distinctly appears as first radical. An obsolete stem הֵלֵךְ may however be assumed, although in a word so much used as הָלַךְ, the feeble letter ה may itself be treated like ה, and so the inflection resemble פ"י. Comp. also the feeble פ"י, e. g. הוֹלֵךְ from הוֹלֵךְ (§ 68 2), and הוֹלֵךְ from הוֹלֵךְ, *Impf. Hiph.* אֲבִירָה from אֲבִירָה like אֲבִירָה 2 K. 6, 19 from אֲבִירָה.

§ 70.

* VERBS פ"י. SECOND CLASS, OR VERBS PROPERLY פ"י.

E. g. הָיָה *to be good. Paradigm L.*

The most essential points of difference between verbs properly פ"י and verbs פ"י are the following:—

1. Qāl has only the stronger of the two forms described in § 69, 1, viz. that in which the radical ה remains, *Inf.* הָיָה, with the *Impf.* א, as הָיָה, הָיָה, also written הָיָה etc.; and so always with accented ā in the 2d syllable, even after *Wāw consec.* הָיָה the *Päthäch* of which becomes *Sēghôl* when the tone shifts back, as הָיָה *and he awoke* Gen. 9, 24, הָיָה (from הָיָה) *and he formed* Gen. 2, 7.

2. In *Hiph'il* the ה is regularly retained in writing, and is pronounced as a diphthongal ê (*Séré*), e. g. הָיָה (from הָיָה), *Impf.* הָיָה, הָיָה; uncontracted with the diphthong ai, as in הָיָה *they make straight* Prov. 4, 25; הָיָה (*Imper.*), Ps. 5, 9 in Q^{ri}, comp. Gen. 8, 17 in Q^{ri}.

NB. The following are the only verbs of this kind: *רָצַב* to be good, *רָצַק* to suck, *רָצַץ* to awake, *רָצַר* to form, *רָלַל* (only in Hiph. *הִרְלִיל*) to bewail, *רָשַׁר* to be straight, *רָבַשׁ* (Arab. *yābīsā*) to be dry (yet like the פ"י, Hiph. *הוֹרִישׁ*) and the Hiph. *הִרְמִין* (denom. of *רָמִין*) to go to the right.

Rem. Of the *Impf. Hiph.* there is an anomalous form with preformatives put before the already contracted form: *יִרְטִיב* Job. 24, 21; *יִרְלִיל* he wails, *אֶרְלִיל* I wail, *יִרְלִיל* ye wail, Is. 15, 2, 65, 14, Jer. 48, 31, Hos. 7, 14; also *יִרְטִיב* Job 24, 21; and once even in *Impf. Qāl* in *יִרְרַע* Ps. 138, 6, from *רָרַע*. *Kimchi* and others explain the above forms from an exchange of sound between *Yôdh* and *Hê*, assuming as a base the non-syncopated form *יִרְלִיל* (comp. Is. 52, 5) etc. But then also *יִרְרַע* should be explained, with *Kimchi* as *Hiphil*. It might be more correct to suppose that originally the regular forms (*יִרְטִיב*, *יִרְלִיל*) were intended, but were separated in the later pronunciation in order to reestablish artificially the preformative which had been blended with the 1st stem consonant. Other anomalies also are: *Perf. Hiph. יִרְטִיב־אֵי* Ez. 36, 11 (with separating vowel for *הִרְטִיב־אֵי*) after the analogy of ע"י; *הִרְטִיב־י* (*Impf. Qāl* for *הִרְטִיב־י*) Nah. 3, 8; *וְהִרְטִיב־וּ* *Impf. Hiph.*, after the analogy of ע"י, Exod. 2, 9. In the same way *הִרְקִיץ* from *רָקַץ* is always used instead of the *Hiph. הִקִּיץ* (from *קִיץ*). On *וְהִרְטִיב־וּ* Nah. 1, 4, see § 69, Rem. 6.

§ 71.

VERBS פ"י. THIRD CLASS, OR CONTRACTED VERBS פ"י.

This class embraces those verbs פ"י, of the first and second class, whose י does not quiesce in long *i* or *e*, but is assimilated like נ. Some verbs are exclusively of this class, e. g. *רָצַע* to spread under, *Hiph. הִרְצִיעַ*, *Hoph. הִרְצִיעַ*; *רָצַת* to burn up, *Imp. רִצַּת*, *Niph. רִצַּת*, *Hiph. הִרְצִית*; others have two forms, the one *sharp* with the י assimilated, the other weaker with the י quiescent, as *רָצַק* to pour, *Impf. רִצַּק* and *רָצַק* (1 K. 22, 35); *רָצַר* to form, *Impf. וְהִרְצַר* and *רָצַר* (Is. 44, 12, Jer. 1, 5); *רָשַׁר* to be straight, *Impf. וְהִרְשַׁר* and *רָשַׁר* (for *רָשַׁר* acc. to § 47, Rem. 3) comp. *אֶרְשַׁר* Hos. 10, 10 (1 Sam. 6, 12).—It is worthy of notice that the verbs which are thus inflected have an *s* sound as the second radical, with the exception of *רָקַץ* (1 K. 3, 15) and *הִלְרִית* (Gen. 40, 20, Ez. 16, 5) *Inf. Hoph.* from *רָלַל*.

NB. Verbs of this class (which seldom occur) are inflected like verbs פ"ן, for which they may easily be mistaken by the learner. When, therefore, a form has not a root פ"ן in the lexicon, he should look for one of this class under *Yôdh*.

The first two classes are exhibited in their distinctive forms in Paradigms K and L, § 69. The third follows exactly verbs ע"י, and is besides very rare.

§ 72.

VERBS ע"י.

E. g. קום *to rise up. Paradigm M.*

1. In these verbs (with a few exceptions, Rem. 10 below) the middle stem-letter ע always gives up its consonant sound and *quiesces*; not merely in the usual cases (according to § 24, 1) when a Sh^ewâ precedes or follows, as בוש *bôsh* for בוש *b^ewôsh*, but also when it is both preceded and followed by a full vowel, as קום *Part. Pass.* for קום; קום *Inf. absol.* for קום. Hence the stem or root appears always as a monosyllable.

2. The vowel in which the ע quiesces is essentially the vowel of the second syllable, which, in the verb, almost universally characterises the form (§ 43, Rem. 1, § 67, 2). However we must here remark *a*) that the vowel, short in itself, becomes of necessity long in an open syllable as well as in an accented closed *ultima* (except in *Hoph.*, v. No. 3) e. g. 3d pers. *Perf.* קם from קום, *fem.* קמה, *Pl.* קמו, but in the closed penult קמה etc.¹ *b*) that in the present forms the lengthening of the original short vowel is sometimes performed anomalously, e. g. *Impf. Qāl* יקום from יקום (the normal lengthening of *ū* appears again in the *jussive* יקם, *Impf. constr.* יקום); *Imper.* קום (from original קום lengthened normally in 2. *fem. pl.* into

¹ In the Aramæan, and also in Heb. Grammars before Kimchi, the long *ā* is found, as קמה, קמו etc., but in our editions of the Bible, it is so only in *pause*, e. g. קמה Mic. 7, 8, קמו 2 K. 7, 3, 4. If we explained (with Olsh. et al.) the *ā* of the *Perf. Qāl* קם as a combination of two *āā* which have remained after the elision of the ו in קום, then we ought to suppose that the language (or the Massôrâ) was mistaken later in respect to the origin of this *a*; for an *ā* contracted from *āā* could hardly be shortened, as it is in קמה etc. Nor could *ô* in קמה etc. (v. Rem. 1) be kept in a closed penult, if it had arisen by contraction from *bāüschtî* and not rather by lengthening from *büschtî*.

קָמְנָה because long *û* could not be retained in a closed penult. Comp. with this No. 4.

The intransitive verbs *middle E* take in *Perf.* (and *Part.*) *Qāl* the form of מָת (from מָוֹת) *he is dead*; the verbs *middle O* take the form of אָזַר (from אָזַר) *it shone*, בִּיֵּשׁ (from בָּוֵשׁ) *he was ashamed*. Comp. Rem. 1, below.

3. The preformatives in the *Impf.* *Qāl* and *Perf. Niph.*, and throughout *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, which before the monosyllabic stem form a simple syllable, take instead of the short vowel of the regular form the corresponding long one. In *Qāl* and *Niph.* the original *û* is the vowel which is lengthened and not *î*, attenuated from *ǣ* (§ 67, 6), e. g. יָקִים for יִקְוֶם, הָקִים for הִקְוֶם, הָקִים for הִקְוֶם.

This vowel is changeable, and becomes *Sh'wâ* when the tone is thrown forward, e. g. before *suff.* יִמְיָהוּנִי *he will kill him*, and in the full plural form of the *Impf.* יִמְיָהוּנִי *they will die*.

The *י* in *Hoph.* forms an exception; for it has become a quite firm and unchangeable vowel, as if it had been transposed, and so הָקִים had become הִקְוֶם, hence הָקִים.

4. The above (No. 2) mentioned cases of unusual vowel lengthening are: *Impf. Qāl* יָקִים (also Arab. *jāqūmu*); on the other hand *Jussive* יָקִם with retraction of tone יָקֶם (*jāqōm*), וַיָּקֶם (in *pause* וַיָּקֶם); *Imper.* קִים (in the 2d fem. pl. קִמְיָה, v. No. 2 above, *û* is normally lengthened); *Infin. constr.* קִים. In *Hiph.* the lengthening of the original *î* into *î* (הָקִים *Impf.* יָקִים, *Jussive* יָקִם with retraction of tone יָקֶם, וַיָּקֶם) corresponds entirely with the analogy of the strong verb (comp. § 53, 1). The following forms require a particular explanation: the *Part. Qāl* קָם may be traced to the groundform with *â* uninflected (Arab. *qātīl*, § 9, 10, 2, § 50, 2); after the rejection of the *י* there was *qāim*¹ and this became קָם,—the *î* being absorbed by the predominating *â*. The immutability of the *â* (pl. קָמִים, *constr.* קָמִי etc.) favors this explanation.—In the *Impf. Qāl* again there are found, besides the forms with original *û* (now *û*), forms with original *ǣ*. This *ǣ* became *â* after the elision of *י* and was again inflected into *ō*; so especially

¹ Arab. *qāim* (really *qā'im* in which the two vowels are united by the insertion of *ʾ*, comp. Aram. קָאִי) rarely contracted, as *sās* for *sāis*, *hār* for *hāir*. Others think that קָם is for קָיָם, like the verbal adjective קָיָם, comp. § 84, 1.

רָבוּא (רָבָא) etc. from the *Perf.* בָּא (*he has come*). In the *Impf.* רָבוּשׁ from בּוּשׁ *to be ashamed*, the \bar{e} of the preformative has been lengthened from \dot{i} (attenuation of original \check{a}) and thus $y\dot{i}$ -bāsch became $y\bar{i}$ -bāsch and finally $y\bar{e}$ -bōsch. The *Niph.* נָקוּם (נָקַם) *Impf.* יָקוּם (יָקַם) have arisen in the same way ($y\dot{i}q$ -q[aw]ām = $yiqqām$) by the obscuration of \bar{a} which was lengthened from \check{a} .

5. In the *Perf. Niph.* and *Hiph.* (in order to keep the long vowel of the stem), an \dot{i} is regularly inserted before the affirmatives (1st and 2nd person) that begin with a consonant, and \dot{i} — is inserted in *Impf. Qāl* before the affirmative נָה (comp. § 67, 4). As in verbs ע"ע, these separating vowels are an artificial opening of the preceding syllable in order that the latter may retain its long vowel; however there is also frequently found in the *Perf. Hiph.* before \dot{i} the reduction of \hat{i} into \bar{e} (as a normal lengthening of the original \dot{i}) especially after the *Wāv. consec.* as well as before the affirmatives תָּם and תָּן or before suffixes. For in all these cases the accent is removed from the \dot{i} to the following syllable, and this removal of tone produces, at the same time, a great weakening of the \hat{i} ; thus הַקִּימוֹת, הַקִּימוֹת (or 'הַק') but הַהִקְמֹת etc. (however comp. הַהִקְמֹנִי Micah 5, 4). In the same way in the 1st pers. sing. of the *Perf. Niph.*, the \hat{o} before the separating vowel is always modified into \hat{u} (נִקְיֹמֹתִי). In the *Impf. Qāl* the separating \dot{i} — is always accented (הַקִּימִינָה).

Without the separating vowel and consequently with tone-long \bar{o} and \bar{e} instead of \hat{u} and \hat{i} are found in *Impf. Qāl*, הַשְׁבִּיחַ Ez. 16, 55 (also הַשְׁבִּיחָה in the same verse), in *Hiph.* as הַנְּפִיחָה Ex. 20, 25, but also הַנְּפִיחִי in Job 31, 21, הַשְׁבִּיחָה Job 20, 10. Wholly abnormal is הַקִּימִנָה Jer. 44, 25 probably a transposition of יָמ (for הַקִּימִינָה) or an incorrect vowel writing (for הַקִּימִנָה or הַקִּימִנָה).

6. The *tone*, as in verbs ע"ע, is not thrown forward upon the affirmatives הִ—, הִ—, e. g. קָמָה (however after *Wāv. consec.* also וְקָמָה), קָמִי (however also קָמִי, וְקָמִי, תִּקְמִי, וְקָמִי; on the other hand before suffixes and with *Nūn paragoric* וְקָמִי 2 Chr. 28, 15; וְקָמִי Deut. 33, 11. For the accent on the \dot{i} and \dot{i} —, see No. 5. In those forms which do not take either of these endings, the accentuation is quite regular, e. g. קָמָה; so always in *Hoph.*, e. g. הוֹקְמָה.

7. The conjugations *Pi.*, *Pu.* and *Hithp.*, are very seldom found in the *weak* verbs ע"ר (comp. Rem. 10). The only instance of *Pi.* with the ו as a doubled consonant is עיר to surround from עיר. In a few others ו has taken the place of ר, as in קים Inf. קים Esth. 9, 31, 32 from קים; Dan. 1, 10 from חרב to be guilty, which forms belong to the la'er Hebrew, and were borrowed from the Aramæan. On the contrary, the elsewhere rarer conjugation *Pi'lel* (§ 55, 2), with its passive and reflexive, is the common form employed in the sense of *Pi'el*, and as its substitute; e. g. קים from קים or (after the elision of ו) from *qâmēm* with obscuring of *â* to *ô* (comp. § 67, 8) to set up (from קים), רים to raise, pass. רים (from רים), reflex. התיעורר to rouse one's self (from עיר). More rare is the conjugation *Pilpël* (see § 55, 4), e. g. כלכל to sustain, to nourish; pass. כלכל (from כל).

REMARKS.

I. On Qāl.

1. Of verbs *middle E* and *O*, which in the strong verb also have their *Perf.* and *Part.* the same (§ 50, 2), the following are examples; viz. *Perf.* מַח (for מַיַח) he is dead, fem. מָחָה. 2. masc. מָחָה, 1 sing. מָחִי, even in *Pause* Gen. 19, 19, 1 pl. מָחֵנו, 3 pl. מָחוּ; בּוֹשׁ (for בּוֹשָׁה) he is ashamed, בּוֹשָׁה, בּוֹשָׁה, בּוֹשָׁה, בּוֹשָׁה it has shined, Plur. אֲרוּרֵי, טָבוֹ, טָבוֹ. *Part.* מֵחָה dead; בּוֹשָׁה ashamed ones Ez. 32, 30. See the Paradigm M.

Isolated anomalies are also in the *Perf.* וְשָׁבַת (with the original ending of the fem. for וְשָׁבָה) Ez. 46, 17 (v. § 44, Rem. 4); צָקִין Is. 26, 16 (*Nûn. parag.* with *Perf.* only Deut. 8, 3, 16).—In בָּנִי 1 Sam. 25, 8 (for בָּנִי from בּוֹא) the א has been dropped contrary to custom. In בָּאִי Jer. 27, 18 (instead of בָּאִי) the Massora seems to point towards the *Imperf.* רָבָאִי, which might be expected there; as *Yôdh* precedes we may suppose that it is simply a mistake in writing. In the *Perf.* and *Part.*, the usual form קָם is only very seldom written with א (after the Arab. mode, § 9, 1), as in קָאם he rises Hos. 10, 14, לָאט being secret Judg. 4, 21, שְׂאֵפִים despisers Ez. 28, 24, 26, fem. 16, 57. The *Part.* in verbs med. *ô* takes at times also the form of קָם for קָם 2 K. 16, 7; even with a transitive sense, as לֹוט covering Is. 25, 7, בָּסִים for בּוֹסִים Zech. 10, 5.

2. Verbs whose imperfects have *û* take also *û* in the *Imperf.* and *Inf. constr.*, thus רָקַם, Imperf. and Inf. רָקַם; however for רָדַשׁ he thrashes (*Impf.* רָדַשׁ) the Imperf. has רָדַשׁ (fem.) Micah 4, 13; for רָמַיַט he staggers the Inf. is מוֹיַט; comp. נוֹיַט (also נוֹיַט) and נוֹיַט Is. 7, 2 (elsewhere נוֹיַט) with

the *Impf.* וְיָנִיחַ and יָנִיחַ. The *Inf. absol.* has always י in the final syllable (like וְיָנִיחַ, as וְיָנִיחַ קוֹם *surgendo surgent* Jer. 44, 29.—Those verbs which have י in the *Inf. constr.* mostly retain it in the *Impf.*, as וְיָבוֹא *he will come* = בּוֹא, בּוֹשׁ = בּוֹשׁ etc.

3. In the *Imp.* with affirmatives (וְיָנִיחַ, וְיָנִיחַ) the tone is on the stem syllable, with a few exceptions, as וְיָנִיחַ in Judg. 5, 12, an intended variation with וְיָנִיחַ and וְיָנִיחַ Is. 21, 2 likewise for rhythmical reasons. So too the lengthened form, as וְיָנִיחַ Jer. 3, 12, Ps. 7, 8, וְיָנִיחַ Ps. 7, 7; but often also with the tone at the end, specially if an א begins the next word, Ps. 82, 8, Judg. 4, 18, and so too before וְיָנִיחַ, because this was read as וְיָנִיחַ (§ 17), see Ps. 3, 8, 7, 7, even without א following 74, 22 (וְיָנִיחַ).

4. The shortened *Impf.* as *Jussive* (§ 48, 4), has the form יָנִיחַ (see above No. 4) also וְיָנִיחַ incorrectly written fully and even וְיָנִיחַ which however differs only orthographically from וְיָנִיחַ. In the form with *Wāw consec.* (וְיָנִיחַ, in *pause* וְיָנִיחַ) with a guttural or a *Resh*, the final syllable usually takes *Päthäch*, e. g. וְיָנִיחַ and he turned aside Ruth 4, 1 (but also וְיָנִיחַ from וְיָנִיחַ), וְיָנִיחַ and he rested Gen. 20, 11, וְיָנִיחַ and he wearied Judg. 4, 21, 1 Sam. 14, 28, 31 (on the other hand in open syll. always וְיָנִיחַ etc.).

The full plural-ending וְיָנִיחַ has the tone (according to No. 6 on p. 177), e. g. וְיָנִיחַ Gen. 3, 3, 4, וְיָנִיחַ Ps. 104, 7, וְיָנִיחַ Joel 2, 4, 7, 9.

II. On Nîphāl.

5. In the Paradigm M. the form of the 1 *pers. sing. Perf.* וְיָנִיחַ, which occurs repeatedly, as in וְיָנִיחַ, וְיָנִיחַ, is taken as the model also for the 2 *pers. sing.* וְיָנִיחַ, וְיָנִיחַ and for the 1 *pers. plur.* וְיָנִיחַ, although no examples of them occur; so too the 2 *pers. plur.*, of which we find only forms with *ô* (not *û*), viz. וְיָנִיחַ *ye have been scattered* Ez. 11, 17, 20, 34, 41, and וְיָנִיחַ *ye loathe yourselves* Ez. 20, 43.—To the *î* (instead of *ä*) of the Preformative may be traced the *Perf.* וְיָנִיחַ Zech. 2, 17 (*Impf.* וְיָנִיחַ for וְיָנִיחַ). The *Inf. constr.* occurs once in the anomalous form וְיָנִיחַ Is. 25, 10; in וְיָנִיחַ Job. 33, 30 the Massora supposes the syncopé of וְיָנִיחַ (for וְיָנִיחַ); but perhaps וְיָנִיחַ (*Qāl*) is meant. Comp. also Rem. 9.

III. On Hîphāl.

6. Examples of the *Perf.* without the inserted י are: וְיָנִיחַ *thou liftest* Ex. 20, 25, וְיָנִיחַ *thou killest* (from וְיָנִיחַ, comp. § 20, 1, a), וְיָנִיחַ 3d *fem. Perf. Hiph.* of וְיָנִיחַ or וְיָנִיחַ 1 K. 21, 25; וְיָנִיחַ 1 *plur. Perf. Hiph.* of וְיָנִיחַ 2 Chron. 29, 19, and even וְיָנִיחַ (§ 27, Rem. 3) Num. 17, 6; with *Wāw consec.* וְיָנִיחַ Is. 14, 30; comp. וְיָנִיחַ Jer. 16, 13 and וְיָנִיחַ Ex. 29, 24.—In these cases the *ē* in the first syllable is retained in the secondary tone; elsewhere in the antepenult it becomes —; more fre-

quently however --- , and in the syllable before the antepenult it is necessarily --- (e.g. יְהִי־מִיָּמִי Gen. 6, 18, and so always before the suffix).—As in verbs עָנַע (§ 67, Rem. 6) these verbs take before gutturals also *Päthäch* instead of --- ; thus in all the forms of עָנַע Ex. 19, 23 and עָנַע Is. 41, 25, 45, 13.

7. In the *Impf.*, besides the shortened form הָבֵם , the lengthened הָבִימָה also occurs. With *suff.* הָבִימָה Jer. 17, 18 is anomalous (for הָבֵה Gen. 43, 16); perhaps הָבִימָה was meant (as in 1 Sam. 20, 40) or it was originally הָבִימָה . In the *Inf.* the ה is syncopated in הָבִימָה Jer. 39, 7. 2 Chron. 31, 10 (for הָבִימָה). The participles have ê as vowel of the preformative like the עָנַע ; for מְבִי (1 K. 21, 21 in *Kethibh*) the *Qerî* is everywhere מְבִי .

The shortened *Impf.* has the form הָבֵם , הָבִימָה , but always הָבִימָה comp. No. 4 above. The final syllable, when it has a guttural or *Resh*, takes *Päthäch*, as in Qäl , e. g. הָבֵה 1 Sam. 26, 19; הָבִימָה Gen. 8, 21; הָבִימָה and he took away Gen. 8, 13. Still the 1. *sing.* is usually like הָבִימָה Neh. 2, 20, more rarely הָבִימָה Josh. 14, 7.

IV. In General.

8. On account of the intimate relation between verbs עָנַע and עָנַע (§ 67), it is necessary, in analysing forms, to note particularly the points in which these classes differ. Several forms are exactly the same in both, e. g. *Impf.* Qäl with *Wāw consecutive*; Pī'el of עָנַע and Pō'el of עָנַע . Hence it is that verbs עָנַע borrow forms from verbs עָנַע , as in *Perf.* Qäl בִּזָּה he despised (from בִּזָּה , as if from בִּזָּה) Zech. 4, 10, טָח (for טָח) he besmeared Is. 44, 18. *Perf. Niph.* נָקַר Jer. 48, 11 (for נָמִיר from מִיר , as if from מִיר).

9. In common with verbs עָנַע (§ 67, 5), these verbs have also in *Niph.* and *Hiph.* the Aramaic and Rabbinic formation, which substitutes, for the long vowel under the preformatives, a short one followed by *Dāghēsh fortè*. This form and the common one are often both in use; e. g. הָסִיתָ to incite, *Impf.* הָסִיתָ (also הָסִיתָ , הָסִיתָ) and he shows the way 2 Sam. 22, 33 (also הָסִיתָ Prov. 12, 26), הָסִיתָ to remove, *Impf.* הָסִיתָ (from הָסִיתָ), also *Hoph.* הָסִיתָ Is. 59, 14; sometimes with a difference of meaning, as הָסִיתָ to cause to rest, הָסִיתָ to set down, *Impf.* הָסִיתָ , *Imp.* הָסִיתָ , plur. הָסִיתָ to spend the night, הָסִיתָ to abide, הָסִיתָ to be headstrong or rebellious. Other examples: *Niph.* מָוִל (from מָוִל , not מָוִל) to be circumcised Gen. 17, 26, 27, Part. 34, 22, with a guttural עָנַע Zech. 2, 17; *Hiph.* הָסִיתָ to despise Lam. 1, 8, הָסִיתָ they depart. Prov. 4, 21.

To this class are perhaps to be referred some forms of verbs *Pē Gut-tural* with *Dāghēsh fortè implicitum*, which others derive from another root, or wish to amend, viz. הָסִיתָ and she hastens (from הָסִיתָ) Job. 31, 5, הָסִיתָ (others read הָסִיתָ) 1 Sam. 15, 19, 25, 14 from עָנַע , עָנַע .

to rush upon. Both forms would be correct *imperf. apoc.* of קָשָׁה and עָנָה (ל"ה); both are found however with quite a different signification from that required in this case.

10. Verbs, in which the middle stem-letter *Wāw* is sounded as a consonant, are, in respect to this letter, perfectly regular; e. g. חָוֵר *to be white*, *Impf.* יִחְוֶה; גָּוַע *to expire*, *Impf.* יִגְוַע; רָוַח *to be wide*; *Pi.* יִרְוַח, *Impf.* יִרְוֶחַל *to act wickedly*; עָנָה *to bend*, *Hithp.* יִתְעַנֶּה *to bend one's self*, especially in those which are also at the same time verbs ל"ה, as צִוָּה *Pi.* יִצְוֶה *to command*, קָוָה *to wait*, רָוַח *to drink*, *Pi.* and *Hiph.* יִרְוֶה, יִרְוֶחַח *to cause to drink*.

§ 73.

VERBS ע"י.

E. g. בִּין *to discern*. Paradigm N.

1. These verbs have the same inflection as verbs ע"י, and the י is here treated in the same manner as the ר of that class; e. g. *Perf. Qāl* שָׁת (for שִׁית) *he has set*, *Inf.* שִׁית, *Inf. absol.* שִׁית (for שִׁית), *Imp.* שִׁית, *Impf.* יִשִּׁית, *Jussive* יִשֵּׁת, with *Wāw consec.* יִשִּׁשֵּׁת.—But the *Perf. Qāl* has, in several verbs, still a second set of forms, which resemble a *Hiph'il* with the characteristic ה elided, e. g. בִּין Dan. 10, 1; בִּינוּתִי (similar to הַבִּינוּתִי) Dan. 9, 2, also בָּנִיתָ Ps. 139, 2; רִיבֹתָ Job. 33, 13, also רָבָתָ Lam. 3, 58. The above perfects (בִּין, רִיב, and the like) might be taken as forms *med. e* (really *ī*) whose *ī* has been lengthened into *ī* (as *ū* into *ū* instead of *ō* in the *Impf. Qāl* of קום). It is more probable however that they actually are a shortened *Hiphil* form; especially as often complete *Hiph.* forms occur, e. g. *Perf.* הִבִּינוּתָם, *Inf.* הִבִּין (also בִּין), *Imp.* הִבֵּן (also בִּין), *Part.* מִבִּין. Elsewhere *Hiphil* forms are in use along with actual *Qāl*-forms with the same signification, so too מִרְיב (also רִיב), מִשִּׁים *putting* (also שָׁם), מִצִּיץ *glittering* (also in *Perf.* צָצַץ). Moreover, as *passive*, we find a few times *Hoph. Impf.* יִשָּׁר from שָׁר *to sing*, יִשָּׁת from שִׁית *to set*.

2. The above *Hiph.* forms may easily be traced to verbs ע"י, and possibly they in part belong to that class. The same may be said of *Niph.* נָבוֹן, *Pi lēl* בּוֹנֵן, and *Hithpāl lēl* הִתְבּוֹנֵן (as

if from *בין*). These verbs are in every respect closely related to verbs *ע"י*. Hence it is that we find several verbs used in the *Qāl*, as *ע"י* and *ע"י*, and with the same meaning in both forms, as *לִין* (*denom.* from *לַיַל* *night* but see Davies' Heb. Lex. under v. *לִין*, I.) *to spend the night*, *Inf.* *לִין* oftener than *לִין*; *שִׁים* *to put*, *Inf.* *שִׁים* (rarely *שִׁים* Job 20, 4), *Impf.* *רָשִׁים*, once *רָשִׁים* (Ex. 4, 11), *Part. pass.* *שִׁים* and *שִׁים*. In other verbs, one of the two is the predominant form, as *גִּיל* *to exult* (*גִּיל* only in Prov. 23, 24 *K^cthibh*). The following are mostly found as verbs *ע"י*;—*רִיב* *to contend*, *שִׁית* *to set*, *דִּין* *to judge*, *שִׂישׁ* *to rejoice*; so too *Perf.* *כָּל* (for in Arab. it is a verb *mid.* *Yôdh*) *to comprehend*, *to measure* Is. 40, 12, *עִיט* (as in Arab. and Syr.) *to rush upon*; and the *Perf.* *קָץ* (*denom.* from *קָרָץ*) *to pass the summer* Is. 18, 6, and *דָּג* (from *דָּג*) *to fish* Jer. 16, 16.

The older grammarians did not recognise such verbs, but referred all the forms to verbs *ע"י*. Indeed in many cases a decision is impossible, as imperfects like *רָשִׁים* may be just as well referred to the *Hiph.* of *שִׁים* and as participles, like *שִׁים* and other forms, agree already with the form of the *ע"י*. In modern Arabic we find an exactly corresponding abbreviation (comp. *בִּין* above No. 1) of the *Hîph'il* (Conj. IV.) of verbs *ע"י*. However forms still remain which can only be traced to verbs *ע"י* comp. Rem. 3. The Arabic, as also Ethiopic, has actual verbs *ע"י*, and *ע"י*, and the Hebrew has some with a *Yôdh* as a consonant, like *אַרַב* *to hate*, and *עָרַב* *to tire*, *הָרַב* *to be*, *חָרַב* *to live*.

The paradigm N is placed in connection with that of verbs *ע"י* (Parad. M), in order to exhibit the parallel between the two classes. The conjugations which Parad. N omits have the same form as in Parad. M.

Rem. 1. In the *Perf. Qāl*, 3d fem. sing. there is found once *יָלְנָה* Zech. 5, 4 instead of *יָלְנָה* with the weakening of the toneless *ā* into *ē* (like fem. participles *זֹלְנָה* Is. 59, 5); 1st pers. plur. *יָלְנִי* Judges 19, 13 for *lan-nû*. The lengthened imperative has before *א* the tone on the ultima (as by the verbs *ע"י* § 72, Rem. 3); *רִיבָה יְחוּדָה* Ps. 35, 1, the same also elsewhere (Ps. 43, 1, 74, 22, 119, 154) for rhythmical reasons. Examples of the *Inf. absol.* are *רַב* *litigando* Judg. 11, 25, *שָׂה* *ponendo* Is. 22, 7, but also *רִיב רִיב* Jer. 50, 34, *בִּין תִּבִּין* Prov. 23, 1.

2. The *Impf. apoc.* is *רָבַן*; with shifted tone it takes the form with *S^eghôl*, as *רָבַן* Judg. 6, 31. So with *Wāw consec.* *וַיָּשִׁים* and *he placed*, *וַיִּבֶן* and *he perceived*; with guttural *וַיִּעָט בָּהֶם* and *he flew at them* 1 Sam. 25, 14 (vide § 72, Rem. 9). As Jussive of *לִין* stands *תִּלֵּן* Judges 19, 20 (in pause) and Job. 17, 2 for *תִּלֵּן*.

3. As *Part. act. Qāl* we find once לָן *spending the night* Neh. 13, 21; *Part. pass.* שָׁרִים or שָׁרִים (according to a different reading) 2 Sam. 13, 32.

* * * *

4. Verbs ל"ה scarcely ever suffer their א to quiesce, and hence are to be regarded as verbs *'Ayin Guttural*, as in § 64. An exception where the א has lost its force as a consonant is: נָאִיר *they are fair* (from נֶאֱאִיר *Pi' lēl* to נֶאֱאִיר really נֶאֱאִיר) Is. 52, 7, Cant. 1, 10. Very doubtful on the other hand is נֶאֱאִיר *it blooms* (Ec. 12, 5) *Impf. Hiph.* of נֶאֱאִיר, for נֶאֱאִיר; if the form has been correctly preserved, it could better be traced back to נֶאֱאִיר (with incorrect writing for נֶאֱאִיר) comp. *Delitzsch in loc.*

§ 74.

VERBS ל"ה.

E. g. מֵצֵא *to find. Paradigm O.*

The א is here, as in verbs ל"ה, treated partly as a consonant with a soft guttural sound (scarcely audible at the end of a syllable), partly as a quite inaudible (quiescent) letter, according to the following rules:—

1. In those forms which end with the third radical, the final syllable has always the regular vowels, e. g. מֵצֵא, מֵצֵא, מֵצֵא, מֵצֵא. In all these cases the א is simply absorbed into the long vowel without the latter being subject to any variations; at the utmost there might have been preserved originally a certain sound of the א after the quite heterogeneous û. Therefore in the *Perf.*, *Impf.* and *Imp. Qāl*, in the *Perf. Niph.*, and *Pū'āl* and *Hoph.*, the *Pū'thäch* is lengthened before the feeble א into *Qā'měš* (§ 23, 1), as מֵצֵא, מֵצֵא, etc., which (—) however is movable (§ 25, 2), hence we have in the plural מֵצֵא.

The *Impf.* and *Imp. Qāl* have *A* after the analogy of verbs *Lā'mědh Guttural*.

2. Also before affirmatives beginning with a consonant (ה, נ) the א is not heard, but is quiescent in the *Perf. Qāl*, in *Qā'měš*, as מֵצֵא (for מֵצֵא); in the *Perf.* of all the other active and reflexive conjugations, in *Sērē*, as נֶמֶצֵא; in the *Imp.* and *Impf.* of all the conjugations, in *Sēghôl*, as מֵצֵא, מֵצֵא.

The *Sēghôl* of these forms of the *Impf.* and *Imp.* may be considered throughout as an inflection and at the same time a lengthening of an original *ā* (v. § 8, 1). In the same way the *ē* of the *Perf.* forms in *Piel*, *Hiphil*, *Hithpael* may be traced to an original *ī* (as the usual 3d pers. sing. of this conjugation) although this *ī* may have been attenuated from an original *ā*. Regarding the *Niphal*, we might refer to traces of a weakening of the *ā* to *ī* with the verbs ע"צ (§ 67, Rem. 5); the supposition however lies nearer that the *Niphal* has yielded to the pervading analogy of the other conjugations. The use of *Sē'rê* and *Sēghôl* is otherwise explained from the great resemblance between verbs א"ל and ל"ה (comp. § 75, 2), and an approximation of the former to the latter. No form of this kind in *Pu'al*; in *Perf. Hoph.* only 2d masc. הִבְּאֵתָה Ez. 40, 4, lengthened in accordance with the rule.

Before the suffixes הָ, כֶּם, כֶּן, the א retains its character as a guttural, and takes (—); as הִבְּאֵתָה Cant. 8, 1, הִבְּרַאָה Ez. 28, 13; comp. § 65, 2, Rem. The reason (as in verbs *Lā'mēdh Guttural*) is, that those suffixes require before them a *Shewā mobile*.

3. At the beginning of a syllable or before affirmatives beginning with a vowel, as well as before suffixes; the א is a consonant, and the form regular, as מִבְּאֵר *mā-š'û'*, מִבְּאֵה etc. (in *pause* מִבְּאֵר, מִבְּאֵה).

REMARKS.

1. Verbs *middle E*, like מִלֵּא *to be full*, retain *Sē'rê* in the other persons of the *Perf.* as in מִלֵּאתִי; yet 2 pl. הִרְבֵּאתָ in Josh. 4, 24; מִלֵּאתָ Esth. 7, 5. Instead of מִבְּאֵה is sometimes found the form הִרְבֵּאתָ for הִרְבֵּאתָ (after the form הִרְבֵּאתָ, § 44, Rem. 4) *she names* Is. 7, 14, *it happens to* Jer. 44, 23, Deut. 31, 29, in *Niphal* הִרְבֵּאתָ Ps. 118, 23, in *Hoph.* הִרְבֵּאתָ Gen. 33, 11.

2. In the *Inf.* *Qāl* occurs the *fem.* form מִלֵּאת *to fill* Lev. 12, 4 (comp. מִלֵּאת from מִלֵּא); also מִלֵּאתָ Job 20, 22 and Esth. 1, 5 written מִלֵּאתָ. Compare similar forms Judges 8, 1, Prov. 8, 13; before suffixes Ez. 33, 12 and likewise in *Niphal*. Zech. 13, 4.

3. The *Part. fem.* is commonly (by contraction) מִבְּאֵה, seldom מִבְּאֵה Cant. 8, 10, and without the א (see Rem. 4) מִבְּאֵה (from מִבְּאֵה) Deut. 28, 57. So too in *Niphal* מִבְּאֵה Zech. 5, 7 (cf. also 2 Sam. 19, 43, where it stands as a substantive, like L. *oblatus*=*oblatio, donum*) and 1 Ch. 14, 2; מִבְּאֵה Deut. 30, 11.—The *Plur.* of *Part. Niphal* makes מִבְּאֵה dropping the *Qameṣ* (1 Sam. 13, 15, 2 K. 14, 14), which however remains in *pause* (Ezr. 8, 25); so from מִבְּאֵה the plur. מִבְּאֵה (but in p. מִבְּאֵה Ez. 13, 2); the *Qameṣ* remains also before suff. as מִבְּאֵה Is. 22, 3, and before *fem.* ending מִבְּאֵה 2 K. 19, 4, plur. מִבְּאֵה Gen. 19, 15. In the forms מִבְּאֵה *sinning* 1 Sam. 14, 33, and מִבְּאֵה *feigning them* Neh.

C, 8, the vowel is drawn back (§ 23, 2) and the א orthographically retained.

4. The א is sometimes dropped: a) in the middle of the word as in *יִצְחָק* Num. 11, 11, *יִצְחָק* Job 32, 18, comp. 1, 21, *יִצְחָק* Judges 4, 19. In *impf.* *יִצְחָק* Jer. 9, 17, Zech. 5, 9, Ruth 1, 14 (on the other hand the same form with pleonastic *Yôdh* analogous with ל"ה Ez. 23, 49 comp. Jer. 50, 20); *Niph.* *יִצְחָקוּ* ye are defiled Lev. 11, 43; b) at the end of the word: *יִצְחָק* 1 K. 12, 12 *Kethîbh*; *Hiph.* *יִצְחָק* 2 K. 13, 6. *Hiph.* *יִצְחָק* to cause to sin Jer. 32, 35.

Upon the transformation of verbs ל"ה into forms ל"ה v. § 75. Rem. VI.

§ 75.

VERBS ל"ה.

E. g. *פָּלַח* to reveal. Paradigm P.

These verbs, like the verbs פ"ח (§§ 69, 70), embrace two different classes of the irregular verb, viz. ל"י and ל"י, which in Arabic, and especially in Ethiopic, are still more clearly distinguished. But in Hebrew the original י and י have passed over into a feeble ה, as a substitute for a final vowel (§ 23, 4), in all those forms which end with the third radical, and hence these verbs are called verbs ל"ה; e. g. *פָּלַח* for *פָּלַי* he has revealed, *שָׁכַח* for *שָׁכַי* he has rested. By far the greater number, however, of these verbs are treated as originally ל"י; and only a few forms occur of verbs ל"י. The separation of these classes is therefore not so distinct as in verbs פ"י and פ"י.

A true verb ל"י is *שָׁכַח* to be at rest, whence (with a י conson.) 1 pers. sing. *Perf.* *Qāl* *שָׁכַחְתִּי* Job. 3, 23, *Part.* *שָׁכַחְתִּי*, and the derivative *שָׁכַחְתִּי* rest; yet in the *Impf.* it has *שָׁכַחְתִּי* (with *Yôdh*). In *פָּתַח* I (Arab. *فَتَحَ*) to answer, and *פָּתַח* II (Arab. *فَتَحَ*) to suffer, to be oppressed, are two verbs originally distinct, but with the same form in Hebrew (see Davies' Heb. Lex.).—In Syriac the intermingling of these forms is carried still farther, verbs ל"י being confounded with verbs ל"י, i. e. with the two classes ל"י and ל"י of the Arabic.

Of quite another class are those verbs whose third stem-letter is a consonantal ה (distinguished by *Mappîq*, § 14, 1), e. g. *יָבֵהּ* to be high. They are inflected throughout like verbs *Lamedh Guttural*.

The grammatical structure of these verbs (which Paradigm P exhibits) is as follows:—

1. In all forms in which the original *Yôdh* or *Wāw* would have to stand at the end of the word, it is dropped and ה is placed in its stead, as an orthographical compensation, indicating that a long vowel precedes. Such an indication was necessary already for practical reasons in the still unvocalized consonant text. But even after the addition of vowel signs, the orthographic rule still remained with very insignificant exceptions (v. § 8, No. 4 and *ā* in קָטָה etc.), that a final vowel must be pointed out by a so-called vowel-letter.—In the verb לִהְיוֹת, the ה which here is employed as a vowel letter, is preceded in each particular form by the same vowel through all the conjugations. Thus appears the ending:

ה— in all the Perfects, גָּלָה, נָגַלָה, גִּלָּה, etc.

ה— in all the Imperfects and Participles active, יִגְלֶה, גִּלֶּה, etc.

ה— in all the Imperatives, גַּלְה, גִּלְה, etc.

ה— in the Inf. absol. (except in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, also *Pi.*, see Rem. 10 and 15 below), גְּלֹה, etc.

The *Part. pass.* *Qāl* forms an exception, in which the original י appears, at the end, גְּלוּי, as also in some derivatives (§ 85, V).

The *Inf. constr.* has, as a rule, the feminine form in ת; thus in *Qāl* גְּלוֹת (from גְּלוֹיָה), in *Pī'el* גְּלוֹת, etc.

In explanation of these forms we observe:—

That in the *Perf.* *Qāl* גָּלָה stands for גָּלִי (according to § 24, 2, c), so too in *Niph.*, *Pū'āl* and *Hōph'āl*. The *Pi.* and *Hithp.* are based on the forms הִתְקַטַּל, הִתְקַטְּלָה (§ 52, Rem. 1), *Hiph.* on the form הִתְקַטַּל, after the manner of the Arabic 'āqtālā (§ 53, 1).

The final accented ה— of the imperfect is variously explained. The least plausible is a contraction of the original *Yôdh* (or rather the *i* into which it is dissolved) with preceding *ā*. For the language generally only has *ê* as contraction of the diphthong *ai*, which at the most may be weakened into *î* (v. No. 2). According to *Rödiger* the obscure ה— is in place of the distincter characteristic vowels of the corresponding forms of the strong verb, which have maintained themselves in Arab. and Ethiop. with greater purity also in these verbs, e. g. *Impf.* *Qāl* יִגְלֶה, (Arab. *yaġlû*) (vulgar *yaġlû*), Eth. *yëglû*; יִבְכֶּה (from בָּכָה to weep), Arab. *yabkî*, Eth. *yëbkî*; יִחְיֶה (r. חָיָה to live), Arab. *yachyà*, Eth. *yechyaw*; יִרְעֶה (r. רָעָה to feed), Arab. *yar'ā*, Eth. *yer'ay*. So too in the other conjugations, e. g. *Pi.* יִגְלֶה, cf. Arab. *yuṣāllî*, Eth. *yëṣallî* (he

prays); Hiph. יִרְאֶה (ר. רָאָה *to see*), Arab. *yur'î*, Eth. *yâr'î*, etc. According to these examples in Arab. and Ethiop. the characteristic vowel has maintained itself everywhere, and from this we might conclude that also in Hebrew in the imperfects of the different conjugations of the ל"ה different vowels were originally employed, but in an endeavour after a complete analogy they all have become equally ׀. That such an effort has taken place, remains without doubt, if we also consider the uniformity of the forms, in *perf.*, *impf.* and *participle*. The only question now is, whether in regard to the imperfects, the uniformity of formation did not originally exist in an *ā* as a vowel to the final syllable. By the *Pual* and *Hophal* this would be a matter of course; but also elsewhere (especially in the *Qāl*, v. Rem. 4) the *ā* shows itself occasionally as the original vowel. Accordingly the accented ׀ would be an inflection and lengthening of *ā* in an open syllable (as מִלֵּךְ for מִלְכָּה) instead of the full lengthening into *ā*. In the same way may be also explained the ׀ of the participles, whilst the *constr. state* of the same (מִלְכָּה) is based upon a contraction of the original *ay*; comp. also the noun שָׂדֵי and שָׂדֶה (from שָׂדֵי) *field*; construct שְׂדֵה. The same as in these *constr. forms*, also in the *Imper.* (ending הִ—, contraction of *ay*) *Yôdh* must everywhere be supposed to be the final letter, the original ל"י having also followed the analogy of ל"י.

2. Before the affirmatives beginning with a consonant (ר, נ), the original י remains, and there arises *a* in the *Perf.* the diphthong *ay* (י—); this diphthong should be contracted into *é* (י—), but this *é* is constantly found only in passive conjugations, whilst regularly in *Qāl* and other active and reflexive conjugations it appears to be further attenuated into *i* (comp. Rem. 7, 9, 14 and § 27, Rem. 1); but in the *Impf.* and *Imp.* before נָה it is changed into the obtuse and accented *é* (י—). Here again we have the disputed question (v. above) whether this י— must be considered the equivalent of י— (i. e. *é* as contraction from *ay*) or whether after the dropping of the *Yôdh* (as in the 3d sing.) *ā* was inflected into *Sêghôl*. In the latter case the *Yôdh* which is still written everywhere in these forms, must be simply considered an orthographical remainder of the original form. Accordingly before affirmatives beginning with a consonant, there appears as chief vowel—

Perfect *Qāl i*, as נִגְלִית;

Perfects of the other active conjugations, and also in the reflexive, partly *é*, partly *i*, as in נִגְלִיתָ and נִגְלִיתָ and נִגְלִיתָ;

Perfects of the passives only עָלֶיךָ , as נָלִיךְ ;

Imperfects and Imperatives always יִעָלֶיךָ , as תִּעָלֶיךָ , נִעָלֶיךָ .

The diphthongal forms have been throughout retained in Arabic and Ethiopic, and the diphthong is contracted only by way of exception and in the popular idiom. In Aram. and Syriac, the contracted forms predominate, yet the Syr. also has in *Qäl* 2 p. sing. עָלֶיךָ (but 1 p. sing. עָלִיךְ), and so too the West. Aram. has עָלֶיךָ along with עָלִיךְ .

3. Before the vowel affirmatives (וְ , יִ , הִ), the *Yôdh* with the vowel before it is usually dropped, e. g. עָלִי (for עָלֶיךָ), תִּעָלִי (for תִּעָלֶיךָ), *Part. fem.* עָלָה , *plur. mas.* עָלִים ; yet it is retained in ancient full forms, particularly in *pause*, as יִעָלֶיךָ (see Rem. 4 and 13). Before *suffixes* also it is dropped, as in עָלֶיךָ (Rem. 19).

4. In 3 *Perf. sing. fem.*, the old *fem.* ending תִּ returns, and, with the elision of the *Yôdh* arises the form עָלָה (before suffixes) and tone-lengthened עָלָה . But this ancient form is become very rare (see Rems. 1 and 19); and, as if this mark of the gender were not sufficiently distinct, a second feminine-ending הִ is appended, before which the *Pä'thäch* of the ending תִּ becomes *Sh'wâ* so as to form עָלָהּ , נִעָלָהּ (*pause עָלָהּ*).

See similar cases in § 70, Rem. and in § 91, 3.

5. The formation of the *shortened Imperfect* both as *jussive* and w. וְ consec. § 48 and 49), which occurs in this class of verbs in all the conjugations, is strongly marked, consisting in the rejection of the הִ , by which some other changes are occasioned in the form (see Rems. 3, 8, 11, 16). The *shortened Imperative* is also formed by *apocope* of the הִ (Rems. 12, 16).

6. Of the *Imperfect lengthened* by הִ (§ 48, 3), only the following examples are found in verbs ל' —in *Qäl*, אֶשְׁעָה Ps. 119, 117, אֶהְמִיָּה (retaining י , see Rem. 4) Ps. 77, 4, and in *Hithp.* נִשְׁתַּעַרְעָה Is. 41, 23 (toneless הִ after long vowel).

REMARKS.

I. On *Qäl*.

1. For the 3 *Pers. fem.*, the older and simpler form עָלָה , from עָלִיךָ (comp. the verb ל' , § 74, Rem. 1), is almost entirely banished from common use (see No. 4 above). One instance is נִשְׁתַּעַרְעָה it yields Lev. 25,

21 (comp. 2 K. 9, 37 *Keth.*). So in *Hiph.* and *Hoph.*, e. g. הִרְצָה *it enjoys* Lev. 26, 34, הִקְלָה *it is taken captive* Jer. 13, 19. But with *suffixes* this form is always used; see Rem. 19 below. In the 3d pers. plur. is found instead of the usual accent (גִּלָּה etc.) Ps. 37, 20, גִּלָּה in *pause* and also in *rhythmical antithesis* to the preceding גִּלָּה. Regarding the accent of the *consec. perf.* v. § 49, 3 Rem.

2. The *Inf. absol.* has also the form רָאוּ *videndo* Gen. 26, 28. The form שָׁרָה Is. 22, 13 (also שָׁרָה in the same verse) has been chosen, because it represents a similarity of sounds with שָׁחַט; the same in 42, 20 in *Qeri* and Hos. 10, 4. As *Inf. constr.* גָּלוּ (once גָּלָה or גָּלוּ) comp. רָאוּ Gen. 48, 11, שָׁחַט 50, 20, or עָשָׂה 31, 28, and the feminine form רָאָהָה *to see* Ez. 28, 17, like קָשָׁלָה (§ 45, 1, b).

3. The *shortening* of the *Impf.* (see above in No. 5) occasions in *Qāl* the following changes:—

- a) The first stem-letter most commonly receives a helping *S^ghōl*, or, when the middle radical is a guttural, a helping *Pä'thäch* (§ 28, 4), e. g. אָגַל for רָגַל; נִבְנֶה and *he built*; יִשֶׁע *let him look* (for יִשְׁע).
- b) The *Chir'eq* of the preformative is also sometimes lengthened into *S^gerê* (because it now stands in an open syllable), as יִרְאֶה *let him see* (from רָאָה). This however occurs mostly only after the preformative ה, whilst after the ו the *š* being homogeneous remains, e. g. וְיִבְלֶה (also וְיִבְלֶה), וְיִחַשֶׁן (also וְיִחַשֶׁן); and by verbs middle guttural וְיִחַשֶׁה (from יָחַשָׁה). The strange accentuation יִחַשֶׁה Zech. 9, 5, יִחַשֶׁה Micah. 7, 10 and יִחַשֶׁה (mid. ē) Gen. 41, 33 can be explained only to some degree from *rhythmical* reasons.
- c) The helping vowel is not used elsewhere, and especially not in the cases mentioned in § 28, 4; e. g. וַיִּשָּׁבֶה and *he took captive* Num. 21, 1; and with *š* lengthened to *ē*, וַיִּשְׁתֶּה and *he drank*, וַיִּבְכֶּה and *he wept*. The verb רָאָה has the forms יִרְאֶה *let him see*, and יִרְאֶה and *he saw*, the latter with *Pä'thäch* on account of the following ר.
- d) Examples of verbs which are *Pē Guttural* (§ 63) as well as *Lā'mēdh Hē*:—וַיַּעַשׂ and *he made* (from עָשָׂה), וַיַּעֲנֶה and *he answered* (from עָנָה), וַיַּעֲלֵנוּ and *we ascended* (from עָלָה). On a few forms of פ"א v. § 76, 2, c. Sometimes the pointing of the first syllable is not affected by the guttural, as in וַיִּחַר and *he was wroth*, וַיִּחַר and *he encamped*, וַיִּחַר (with *Dag. lenè*, according to § 28, 4) *let it rejoice* Job. 3, 6. On וַיִּחַר, וַיִּחַר, וַיִּחַר (both ל"ה and פ"ן) v. § 76, 2, b.
- e) The verbs הָיָה *to be* and חָיָה *to live*, where analogy would require the *Impf. apoc.* to be יִהְיֶה, יִחְיֶה, change these forms to יִהְיֶה and יִחְיֶה, because the second *Yōdh* draws to itself the vowel *i*, and makes with it a long *i*; in *pause*: יִהְיֶה, יִחְיֶה, the original *ā* having been modified into *S^ghōl*. (Comp. the derivatives בָּכִי for בָּכָה, עָנִי for עָנָה, etc., § 85, No. V).—From חָיָה *to be* occurs once the form יִהְיֶה for יִהְיֶה *he will be* Ec. 11, 3, (on the א v. § 23, 3, Rem. 3).

The full forms, without the *apocope* of ה־, occur sometimes even after *Waw consec.*, especially in the 1st person and in the later books, e. g. וַיֵּרְאֵהּ and *I saw* (20 times) and Josh. 7, 21 in *Kethib* but never in the Pentateuch (וַיֵּרְאֵהּ, 15 times, 3 times in *Pent.*); וַיַּעֲשֶׂה and *he made* 4 times (but יַעֲשֶׂה over 200 times). At times also for the *jussive*, as in יַעֲשֶׂה Gen. 41, 34, Jer. 28, 6.

4. The original ו is sometimes retained before the affirmatives beginning with a vowel (comp. Nos. 3 and 6 above), especially in and before the *pause*, and before the full plural ending וְ—, or where for any reason an emphasis rests upon the word. *Perf.* תִּסְתַּחֵר she trusts Ps. 57, 2, תִּסְתַּחֵר they trust Deut. 32, 37 (comp. Ps. 73, 2 *Qerî*). *Imp.* בְּשִׁירֵי ask ye Is. 21, 12, *Impf.* יִשְׁלֹוּ they are quiet Ps. 122, 6, יִרְבּוּן they increase Deut. 8, 13, Ps. 36, 9, more frequently like יִשְׁתַּיִן they drink Ps. 78, 44, Is. 21, 12; 26, 11, Ps. 36, 8 (comp. Rems. 5, 7, 13 and 16).

5. The *Part. act.* has also a *fem.* retaining the 3d radical ו, as in בֹּכֶה (= בָּכָה) weeping Lam. 1, 16, צוֹפֶה spying Prov. 31, 27, פְּרִיָּה fruitful Ps. 128, 3; in the *plur.* like אֹתִיּוֹת coming Is. 41, 23. The *Part. pass.* is still sometimes found with the ו as 3d radical, as עָשָׂה made Job. 41, 25, צָפָה Job 15, 22, contracted from עָשׂוּי, and the ו has still its consonant sound before a formative ending, as in עֲשׂוּתָה (read it as *ʿasûwôth*) 1 Sam. 25, 18 in *Kethibh*, נִשְׁוּתָה (read *nešûwôth* Is. 3, 16 *Kethibh*).

6. The forms are at times written defectively, as in וְהִירָה 2 Sam. 15, 33, הִנְשָׁנָה Job. 5, 12, and (according to the *Massora*) הִרְאִיָּה Mic. 7, 10, comp. הִנְעִנָּה Judges 5, 29 (according to others in *sing.* with *suff.* of the 3d *fem. sing.*). Both cases must probably be considered in the sense of § 20, 2, c.

II. On *Niph'āl*.

7. Here the forms with ו־ in 1 and 2 p. *sing.* of the *Perf.* are the usual, the ו־ being found only in יָקִירָה Gen. 24, 8; but in 1 p. *pl.* the ו־ is always used, as in נִבְּלִינוּ 1 Sam. 14, 8. No examples of the 2 p. *pl.* occur in *Niph.* of these verbs.—The ו is retained in *pause*, as in נִבְּלִינוּ Num. 24, 6.

8. The *apocope* of the *Impf.* occasions here simply the rejection of ה־, הִגַּל from הִגְלָה; yet in one verb *Ā'yîn Guttural*, we find a form with (ו־) shortened to (וּ), viz. רִבְּמָה (for רִבְּמָה) Ps. 109, 14 (but in *pause* רִבְּמָה Ps. 109, 13). Similar also in *Pi.* is הָעָר (from הִתְעָרָה) Ps. 141, 8, and in *Hithp.* הִתְרַעַע (from הִתְרַעָה) Prov. 22, 24.

III. On *Pī'ēl*, *Pū'āl*, and *Hithpā'ēl*.

9. In the *Perf. Pi.*, the second syllable has *î* (*Chîreq*) instead of the diphthongal ו־ in the greater number of examples, as in רִבְּמָה, רִבְּמָה, always in 1 p. *pl.* and before *suffixes*, e. g. כְּפִינוּ Gen. 37, 26, הִקְרַחְנוּ Ps. 44, 20. But in the *Paradigm* the form with ו־ stands first,

as being older, though examples occur in the O. Test. only in 1st sing. as Joel 4, 21. In *Hithp.* not only לִי (Jer. 17, 16), but also לִי is sometimes found (Prov. 24, 10, 1 K. 2, 26, Jer. 50, 24). Yet *Pū'āl* has always שֶׁרֶל (לִי), as in עֲשִׂיתִי Ps. 139, 15.

10. The usual form of the *Inf. absol. Pi.* is like כָּהַן, כָּהֵן (according to כָּהֵן, the more frequent form also in the strong verb, see § 52, Rem. 3), rarely like כָּהֵן Ps. 40, 2.

11. The *Impf.* loses, after the *apocope*, the *Dāghē'sh fortè* of the second stem-letter (comp. § 20, 3, a); hence *Pi.* וְרָצָה and he commanded, *Hithp.* וְהִתְחַלַּף and he uncovered himself, Gen. 9, 21. Less frequently is *Pā'thāch*, in this case, lengthened into *Qāmēš*, as וְהִתְחַלַּף and he marked 1 Sam. 21, 14, וְהִתְחַלַּף he craves, *Hithp.* וְהִתְחַלַּף Is. 41, 10. Ps. 45, 12; according to the best texts however this should read וְהִתְחַלַּף.

12. In *Pi.* and *Hithp.* are found also *apocopated* forms of the *Impf.*, as וְצִוָּה for וְצִוָּה command thou, נִסָּה for נִסָּה prove thou Dan. 1, 12; וְהִתְחַלַּף feign thyself sick 2 Sam. 13, 5, Deut. 2, 24. Anomalous is Judges 9, 29 וְהִתְחַלַּף for וְהִתְחַלַּף increase; on וְהִתְחַלַּף Prov. 26, 7 (according to some *Imperf. Pi.* for וְהִתְחַלַּף) comp. *Delitzsch in loc.* In Ps. 137, 7 is found twice עָרִי naked instead of עָרִי (for עָרִי), but comp. 2 Chr. 24, 11.

13. The *Yôdh* is retained in some cases where it is more commonly omitted, e. g. *Impf.* וְהִתְחַלַּף will ye liken Is. 40, 18, comp. vs. 25; וְהִתְחַלַּף they cover them Ex. 15, 5.

IV. On *Hiph'îl* and *Hôph'âl*.

14. In the *Perf. Hiph.* 3 sing וְהִתְחַלַּף, as also found besides וְהִתְחַלַּף, especially וְהִתְחַלַּף, וְהִתְחַלַּף. The forms with *ê* are found throughout in the 1st sing. (except Prov. 5, 13), rarely in the 2d sing. masc. never in 1. pl. In the other pers. they are about equally common with *î*; before suffixes the latter is used as somewhat shorter than the other. The Paradigm P puts first the older form with *î*. In *Hoph.* only *î* occurs.

15. The *Şē'rê* of the *Inf. absol. Hiph.* is the regular vowel (as in וְהִתְחַלַּף); *Hoph.* conforms to this *Inf. absol.*, as in וְהִתְחַלַּף Lev. 19, 20. The verb וְהִתְחַלַּף to be much has three forms of the *Inf.*; viz. וְהִתְחַלַּף used as adverb (§ 131, 2) much, וְהִתְחַלַּף as *Inf. absol.* with a finite verb (§ 131, 3), וְהִתְחַלַּף as *Inf. constr.* Comp. Gen. 41, 49, 22, 17, Deut. 28, 63. On וְהִתְחַלַּף Job. 17, 2 (with *Tag. f. dirimens*) v. § 20, 2, b.

16. The *Impf. apoc. Hiph.* is found either without a helping-vowel, as וְהִתְחַלַּף let him subdue Is. 41, 2, וְהִתְחַלַּף let him spread Gen. 9, 27, וְהִתְחַלַּף and he watered (see § 28, 4); or with it, as וְהִתְחַלַּף (for וְהִתְחַלַּף, see § 27, Rem. 2, c), as וְהִתְחַלַּף and he led captive 2 K. 18, 11, וְהִתְחַלַּף and he made fruitful Ps. 105, 24. Examples with gutturals: וְהִתְחַלַּף Num. 23, 2, וְהִתְחַלַּף etc., which can be distinguished from the like forms in *Qāl* only by the sense (comp. 28, 4).—The *Impf. apoc. Hiph.* has always the helping-vowel *Sēghôl* or *Pā'thāch*, as וְהִתְחַלַּף increase thou (for וְהִתְחַלַּף, וְהִתְחַלַּף) Ps. 51, 4, וְהִתְחַלַּף let alone (for

הָרַקְהָ, הָרַקְהָ Deut. 9, 14, הָעֵל (for הָעֵלָה) Ex. 33, 12.—The *Impf. Hiph.* with *Yôdh* retained occurs only in הָגִירָה Job 19, 2, from הָגָה Comp. Rem. 4 on p. 190.

V. In General.

17. In the Aramæan, where as before remarked, the verbs ל"א and ל"ה run into one another, both classes terminate in the *Impf.* and *Part.* of all the conjugations, without distinction, in א־ or ה־. As imitations of this mode of formation, we are to regard those forms of the *Inf.*, *Imp.*, and *Impf.* in ה־, more seldom א־ or ה־, which are found in Hebrew also, especially in the later writers and the poets. *Inf. Pi.* תִּבֵּי Hos. 6, 9. *Imp. Qāl* הִנָּא be thou Job. 37, 6, *Impf. Hif.* תִּבֵּי let him see Gen. 41, 33; רַעַשָׁה he will do Is. 64, 3; אֶל-תַּעֲשֶׂה Jer. 17, 17, אֶל-תִּבֵּי consent thou not Prov. 1, 10, אֶל-תַּעֲשֶׂה do thou not 2 Sam. 13, 12 (the same for Gen. 26, 29, Josh. 7, 9, Jer. 40, 16, *Qeri*); יַעֲשֶׂה Josh. 9, 24; הִרְאָה Dan. 1, 13. Comp. also in *Niph.* Lev. 5, 9; in *Pi.* Lev. 18, 7, 8, 12—17, 20, 19 (everywhere הִנָּלָה and also הִנָּלָה with small distinctions); יִנָּלָה Nah. 1, 3; אֶזְרָה Ez. 5, 12 (with *Zaqeph*). The circumstance that many of these forms stand in *pause* and that at the same time they represent a *Jussive* or *Voluntative* (Josh. 7, 9), leads us to suppose that the long vowel has been chosen principally in order to heighten the emphasis of the pausal form, and at the same time to distinguish, by sound, the *Jussive* from the usual *Imperf.* Elsewhere (Gen. 26, 29, Lev. 5, 9, Jer. 40, 16, Dan. 1, 13) the long vowel serves probably to avoid the hiatus which is produced by a following א or ע. We are not sure whether in the choice of the א־ we may not have a return to the original diphthongal final sound (in a manner that תַּעֲשֶׂה be directly contracted from תַּעֲשִׂי).

The ending ה־ is found for ה־ in the *Impf. Qāl* וְהִזְוִי and she committed fornication Jer. 3, 6 (before *Mäqqēph*) instead of ה־ in the *Perf. Hiph.* הִחֲלִי he made sick Is. 53, 10 (perhaps for הִחֲלִי from חֲלָה as secondary form to חָלָה v. Rem. 21). Wholly Aramaic is the plur. הִמְסִירֵי they intimidated (Josh. 14, 8).

18. In three verbs is found the rare conjugation *Pi'el*, or its reflexive (§ 55, 2), where the third radical, which that conjugation requires to be doubled, appears repeated under the form וּה (see § 24, 2, c), viz. in נִאֲוֶה (contracted נִאוֹה) to be beautiful, from נָאָה; מִשְׁתַּחֲוִים archers Gen. 21, 16; but especially in שָׁוֶה to bow, *Pi'el* שָׁוֶה, hence *Hithpāl'el* הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה to bow one's self, to prostrate one's self, 2d pers. in וּה־ and 1st pers. וּה־, *Impf.* וּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, apoc. וּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה for וּשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (analogous to segholate forms like שְׁתַּחֲוֶה for שְׁתַּחֲוֶה).

19. Before suffixes, the ה final and the preceding vowel, are displaced by the so-called union-vowel (§ 58, 3, b), as עֲנִי in pause עֲנִי he answered me, עֲנִי, in pause עֲנִי Is. 30, 19 (and even outside of pause Jer. 23, 37) or like עֲנִי Deut. 32, 6, עֲנִי, *Impf.* יִעֲנֶה. *Hiph.* הִעֲנֶה, הִעֲנֶה. Very seldom ה־ takes the place of the

final ה— or ה—, as in אֶפְסְדוּהֶם Deut. 32, 26, יִכְסֶימֶהּ he will cover them Ps. 140, 10 *Qerî*, הִכֵּינִי smite me 1 K. 20, 35. By these examples we might suppose a return to the original ending *ay*; but perhaps they are based on a less correct full writing. The 3. *Perf. fem.* always takes before *suff.* the older form בָּלַח (see No. 4), e. g. בָּלַחוּ for בָּלְחוּ, Zech. 5, 4, in *pause* עָשָׂתִי Job 33, 4.

VI. Affinity of Verbs ל"ה and ל"א.

20. The verbs of each of these classes, in consequence of their intimate relation (being quite confounded in Aramæan), often borrow forms from one another, especially in the later writers and the poets.

21. Thus there are forms of verbs ל"א—

- a) Which have adopted the vowels of verbs ל"ה, e. g. *Perf.* כָּבַחְתִּי I restrain Ps. 119, 101; *Part.* חָטָא sinning Ec. 8, 12, 9, 18; *Pi. Perf.* מָלֵא he has filled Jer. 51, 34; comp. 1 K. 9, 11, Am. 4, 2, Ps. 143, 3; רָפְאֵתִי I heal 2 K. 2, 21; comp. Jer. 51, 9; *Niph. Perf.* פִּלְאָהָה (like הִנְדָּהָה;) it was wonderful 2 Sam. 1, 26; *Hiph. Perf.* הִצְלָה Deut. 28, 59, הִצְבֵּתָה she hid Josh. 6, 17. On the other hand forms like הִשָּׂאֵה Jer. 10, 5, הִרְבֵּאתִי (correct reading) Job 19, 2, are based upon syncope of א, v. § 74, Rem. 3.
- b) Which retain their own pointing, but have adopted the ה, e. g. *Imp.* רָפָה heal thou Ps. 60, 4; *Niph.* נָחַבָה Jer. 49, 10 and הִחַבָה to hide one's self 1 K. 22, 25; comp. Jer. 19, 11; *Pi. Impf.* רָמַלָה he will fill Job 8, 21.
- c) Which in all respects have the appearance of verbs ל"ה, e. g. *Perf.* קָלָהְתָּ thou thirstest Ruth 2, 9, comp. 2 Sam. 3, 8; קָלָה they kept back, 1 Sam. 6, 10; מָלָה they are full Ez. 28, 16, comp. 39, 26; *Inf.* חָטָה (v. Rem. 2) to sin Gen. 20, 6; *Impf.* רָבַחָה (for רָבָחָה) he will keep back, Gen. 23, 6; רָפְּיָה they heal Job 5, 18; *Part. fem.* יָצָה Ec. 10, 5; *Part. pass.* נָשִׂיחַ Ps. 32, 1; *Niph.* נִרְפָּחָה Jer. 51, 9; בָּיַח Jer. 26, 9, *Impf.* יִרְפָּח 2 K. 2, 22; *Pi. Impf.* יִרְפֵּי Jer. 8, 11, comp. Gen. 31, 39; *Hithp.* הִתְנַבֵּחַ thou prophesiest 1 Sam. 10, 6, *Inf.* הִתְנַבֵּחַ 1 Sam. 10, 13. For the *Kethîbh* לְהַשִּׁיחַ 2 K. 19, 25 the *Qerî* gives the usual form לְהַשְׂאִיחַ; the *Kethîbh* would read לְהַשְׂיִיחַ (with syn. of א).

22. On the contrary, there are forms of verbs ל"ה which, wholly or in part, follow the analogy of verbs ל"א; e. g. in their consonants אָחַז he comes Is. 21, 12; יִרְצָחֵר Ez. 43, 27, יִשְׁנָה Lam. 4, 1, מָרַפָּא Jer. 38, 4, יִשְׁנָה Eccl. 8, 1, יִשְׁנָה it is changed Lam. 4, 1, שָׁנָה 2 K. 25, 29, וַיִּתְּלָה and he became sick 2 Ch. 16, 12; in their vowels, אָחַז Jer. 3, 22, יָחַז Dan. 10, 14, הִתְבַּחַח 1 K. 17, 14; in both, הִתְלַחַח 2 Sam. 21, 12 *Qerî*.

§ 76.

VERBS DOUBLY WEAK OR ANOMALOUS.

1. There are a number of verbs that have two stem-consonants which as weak letters are affected by the anomalies already described. In cases where two anomalies might occur, usage must teach whether the verb is actually subject to both, or but one of them, or, as sometimes happens, to neither.

Thus e. g. from נָדַד *to flee* are formed *Impf.* נָדַד Nah. 3, 7, and יָדַד Gen. 31, 40 (after the analogy of verbs פִּיץ), *Hiph.* הִדְדָּה (as a verb עִצַּע), but in *Impf. Hoph.* יִדְדָּה (as פִּיץ).

2. The following are examples of doubly anomalous verbs, and of difficult forms derived from them:—

- a) Verbs פִּיץ and לִ"א (comp. §§ 66 and 74); e. g. נָשָׂא *to bear*, *Impf.* נָשָׂא, *Inf. constr.* שָׂאָה (for שָׂאָה), also נָשָׂא; after the prefix ל always לְשָׂאָה (but once מִשְׁתִּי Job 41, 17 with *Syn.* of א); *Impf.* הִשְׁנָה for הִשְׁנָה Ruth 1, 14.
- b) Verbs פִּיץ and לִ"ה (comp. §§ 66 and 75), as נָטָה *to bend* נָכָה *to smite*. Hence *Impf.* Qāl נָטָה, *apoc.* נָטָה and he bowed נָטָה and נָטָה and he sprinkled (from נָטָה); *Perf. Hiph.* הִנָּח he smote, *Impf.* הִנָּח, *apoc.* הִנָּח, so also נָטָה; *Impf.* הִנָּח, *apoc.* הִנָּח; *Inf.* הִנָּח; *Part.* מִנָּח.
- c) Verbs פִּיץ and לִ"ה (comp. §§ 68 and 75), as אָבַח *to be willing*, אָבַח *to come*, אָבַח *to bake*. So *Impf. Qāl* יָאבַח, *plur.* יָאבַחוּ, *Deut.* 33, 21 (for יָאבַחוּ), *Impf. apoc.* יָאבַח Is. 41, 25 (for יָאבַחוּ), *Impf.* אָבַח Is. 21, 12, 56, 9, 12 (comp. אָבַח Exod. 16, 23) for אָבַחוּ (§ 23, 3, Rem. 2, § 75, Rem. 4), *Hiph. Impf.* הִאָּבַח for הִאָּבַחוּ (הִאָּבַחוּ), Is. 21, 14; *Impf. apoc.* וָאָל and he swore 1 Sam. 14, 24 (from אָלָה), really וָאָלָה, hence וָאָלָה and, with the obscuring to *ô*, וָאָלָה; instead of the simple *apocope*, which would give וָאָל, the א which had already disappeared, becomes again audible by the auxiliary *S^eghôl*.
- d) Verbs פִּיץ and לִ"א (comp. §§ 69, 70 and 74), as הִצָּא *to go forth*, *Impf.* הִצָּא, *Inf.* הִצָּא, *Hiph.* הוֹצִיא *to bring out*.
- e) Verbs פִּיץ and לִ"ה (comp. §§ 69, 70 and 75), e. g. יָדָה *to throw*, in *Hiph.* *to confess*, *to praise*, and יָדָה *to cast* which are properly verbs פִּיץ, also יָדָה *to be beautiful* (which is really פִּיץ). *Inf.* יָדָה, *Impf.* יָדָה (cf. *Impf.* יָדָה Ez. 31, 7), with *suff.* יָדָה we shot them (from יָדָה) Num. 21, 30; *Pl.* יָדָה for יָדָה (§ 69, Rem. 6); *Hiph.* הוֹדָה, *Inf.* הוֹדָה *Impf.* הוֹדָה, *apoc.* הוֹדָה 2 K. 13, 17.
- f) Verbs עִ"ו and לִ"א, particularly בֹּא *to come*, *Perf.* בָּא, once בָּאוּ for בָּאוּ 1 Sam. 25, 8; *Hiph.* הִבִּיאַת, הִבִּיאַת and הִבִּיאַת. *Impf.* אָבִי, for אָבִי Mic. 1, 15. So יָנִי he refuses (*Impf. Hiph.*, from נִיא) Ps. 141, 5.

g) Moreover the verb *חָיָה* *to live* deserves to be noticed, which, besides its usual form *חָיָה* *fem.* *חָיָה*, is also treated as a verb *ע"ע*, and hence has *חָי* (*pause* *חָי*, w. *ו* cons. *ו* *חָי*) in the 3 *Perf.* *Qāl* in Gen. 3, 22 and other cases; In Lev. 3, 22 is found even the contraction to *חָי*. The form *חָיָה* stands Ex. 1, 16 in *pause* for *חָיָה* (3. *fem.*) with *Dāgh.* omitted on acc. of the pausal lengthening of *ā* to *ā̄*.

§ 77.

RELATION OF THE WEAK VERBS TO ONE ANOTHER.

Several classes of weak verbs, e. g. those *פ"י* and *פ"י*, *ל"א* and *ל"ה*, *ע"ע* and *ע"ע*, stand in a very close relationship, as appears from the similarity in their meaning and inflection, from their mutual interchange of forms and especially from the fact that often the same biliteral root occurs in several weak verbs having the same meaning. These two root-consonants, to which the common signification attaches (*biliteral root*, § 30, 2), are constant, and the third feebler radical is not taken into account. Thus, *דָּבַק*, *דָּבַק*, *דָּבַק* and *דָּבַק*¹ are all developements of the crude-form (or ultimate root) *דָּבַק*, and mean *to strike, to beat in pieces*; *נָדָה*, *נָדָה*, *נָדָה* (from the root *נָדָה*) *to flee*.

In this manner are related in form and signification—

1. Verbs *ע"ע* and *ע"ע* (in which the essential stem-letters are the first and last), e. g. *מָהַר* and *מָהַר* *to become poor*, *מָשַׁח* and *מָשַׁח* *to feel or touch*, *נָדָה* and *נָדָה* *to flee*.

2. Verbs *פ"י* and *פ"י* (in which the two last are the essential stem-letters), are related both to each other and to the former class. They are related to each other in the verbs *נָצַב* and *נָצַב* *to place*, *נָקַשׁ* and *נָקַשׁ* (*yāqōsh*) *to fowl*; to the former class, especially to verbs *ע"י*, in *נָוֶה* and *נָוֶה* *to fear*, *נָטַב* and *נָטַב* *to be good*, *נָפַח* and *נָפַח* [= E. *puff*] *to blow*; *נָפַץ* and *נָפַץ* *to smash*. Verbs *פ"א* are only seldom found connected with these classes, as *נָשַׁח* and *נָשַׁח* *to be destroyed*, *נָשַׁח* and *נָשַׁח* *to thresh*, etc.

3. Verbs *ל"א* and *ל"ה* (in which the first two consonants properly form the stem) are related both to each other and to the former classes; to each other in *נָקַח* and *נָקַח* *to break in pieces*, *נָקַח* and *נָקַח* *to meet* (comp. § 75, Rem. 20 ff.); to verbs of the former classes, in *נָשַׁח* and *נָשַׁח* *to suck*, *נָשַׁח* and *נָשַׁח* *to thrust*, etc.

¹ These verbs are *mimetic* or *onomatopoetic*, mimicking the sound intended, and so are akin to our *dash* and *thwack* (see § 30, 3).—Tr.

§ 78.

DEFECTIVE VERBS.

It often happens, when two kindred weak verbs are in use in the same signification, that both are *defective*, i. e. do not occur in all the forms. As, however, the missing forms or tenses are not generally the same in both, the two are combined to make out a complete verb, as in Greek ἔρχομαι, 2 aor. ἦλθον, fut. ἐλεύσομαι, and in Latin *fero, tuli, latum, ferre*; but with this difference, that in Hebrew these verbs are almost universally related in root as well as signification, like the Greek βαίνω, 2 aor. ἔβην, from the stem βά-ω.

A list of the most common verbs of this class:—

בּוֹשׁ *to be ashamed*, *Hiph.* הִבִּישׁ, but also הוֹבִישׁ (from רָבַשׁ).

טוֹב *to be good*, *Perf.*, טָוֵב; *Impf.* יִרְטֹב (from רָטַב); *Hiph.* הִיטִיב (from יָטַב).

יָרֵא *to fear*, *Impf.* יִגִּיד (from גִּיר).

קָץ *to awake* only in *Impf.* יִקָּץ; for *Perf.* the *Hiph.* הִקָּץ is used (fr. קוּץ).

נָפַץ *to break in pieces*, *Impf.* יִפְּצֵן (from פּוּץ), *Imp.* פִּיץ; *Niph.* נִפְּצֵן; *Pi.* נָפַץ (from נִפְּצֵן); *Pi'lel* פּוֹצֵץ (from פּוּץ); *Reflex.* הִתְפּוּצֵץ; *Hiph.* הִפְּצֵן. Also *Pilpel* פִּצְּצֵן Job 16, 12.

שָׁתָה *to drink*, used in *Qāl*; but in *Hiph.* הִשְׁתָּה *to give to drink*, from שָׁתָה, which is not used in Hebrew.

חָלַק (חָלַקָה) *to go*, see above in § 69, Rem. 8.

Rem. 1. The case is similar when different conjugations of the same verb, having the same signification, borrow *tenses* from each other;—

רָסַף (*to add*) borrows its missing *Inf.* and *Impf.* *Qāl* from *Hiph.* הוֹסִיף, הוֹסִיפָה.

נָגַשׁ (*to approach*) takes *Perf.* *Niph.* נִגַּשׁ for the *Perf.* *Qāl*, which is not in use; only the *Impf.* יִגַּשׁ, *Imp.* נָגַשׁ, and *Inf.* תִּגַּשׁ of *Qāl* are in use.

נָהַג (*to lead*) has *Perf.* usually in *Qāl*, also the *Imp.* נִיַּהַג; but the *Impf.* always in *Hiph.* יִנְהִיג.

נָחַךְ (*to pour out*) has *Perf.* *Niph.* נִחַךְ, along with *Impf.* *Qāl* יִנְחַךְ, but the *Impf.* *Niph.* and *Perf.* *Qāl* are not in use.

Rem. 2. The early grammarians often speak of *mixed forms* (*formæ mixte*) in which, as they maintain, are united the character and signification of two different tenses, moods or conjugations. On correct grammatical principles most of the examples they adduce are

set aside; in others, the form seems to have originated in misapprehension and inaccuracy, especially through misunderstanding of an unusual full writing. Others again are nothing but false readings, or the erroneous combination of two originally different readings.

CHAPTER III.

O F T H E N O U N .

(*Substantive and Adjective.*)

§ 79.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. As according to § 30, 1 most word stems are developed into verbal stems as well as into noun stems; it has become customary, especially lexically, to trace back also the noun to the most simple ground form of the verbal formation viz: the 3d sing. perf. Qāl, and, as it were, to derive it thence. This is done not only with those noun stems which may be classified directly with the corresponding verbal stem (the so-called verbal nouns § 83) but also with the so-called primitive nouns i. e.: those whose verbal stem can no more be found in Hebrew (§ 82), as well as finally with Denominatives which have evidently been derived from other nouns (§ 86).

NB. The *adjective* quite coincides with the *substantive* in form. On the process by which words with an abstract sense come to be treated as concretes or adjectives, see § 83, Rem. 1.

2. A regular *inflection* of the noun by *cases* does not exist in Hebrew, although some ancient and almost wholly extinct traces of case-endings perhaps remain (§ 90). The relation of case in a noun is, therefore, either learned simply from its position in the clause, or indicated by prepositions. In either case the *form* of the noun undergoes no change (except for the construct state); and hence the matter belongs not to this division of grammar, but to the Syntax (§ 117). On the contrary, the connection of the noun with the feminine,

with the dual and the plural terminations, with suffixes, and with another noun following in the genitive, produces numerous changes in its form (see §§ 80, 87—89, 91—96), which is all that is meant by the *inflection*¹ of nouns in Hebrew. Even for the *comparative* and *superlative*, the Hebrew has no appropriate forms, and these relations must be expressed by circumlocution, as taught in the Syntax (§ 119).

§ 80.

FORMS WHICH MARK THE GENDER OF NOUNS.

1. The Hebrew, like all the Semitic languages, has but two genders, a *masculine* and a *feminine*. Even inanimate objects or things and abstract ideas, which other languages generally express by the *neuter*, are regarded in Hebrew as either masculine or feminine, chiefly the latter (see the Syntax, § 107, 3).

2. The *masculine*, as being the prevalent and more important gender, has no peculiar indication.

The *feminine* had originally the ending ת־, as in the 3 *sing. Perf.* of verbs (§ 44, 1). The original ת־ however has been retained (provided the principal form was not already created by the annexation of a simple ת, v. below lit. b) only in close connection with a following genitive or suffix (comp. § 89, 2, b and § 91, 4). Apart from these cases the feminine ending of the independent form (the so-called absolute state) is:

- a) Most commonly an accented ת־, as סוס *horse*, סוסה *mare*; as in the 3d *sing. fem. perf.* (קָטְלָה etc.) this ת־ has been produced by rejecting the closing ת and lengthening the *ā* in an open syllable; whereupon the ה has been added as an orthographical compensation for ת, as well as to point out the final long vowel (comp. the quite analogous creation in forms like גָּלָה for גָּלִי § 75, 1).
- b) Simple ת to nouns terminating with a vowel e. g. יהודי *Jew.*, יהודית *Jewess*. The same termination ת is added very frequently to stems terminating with a consonant,

¹ This has been inexactly called the *declension* of the Hebrew noun.

however only (except before suffixes) with the aid of an auxiliary vowel, which as a rule is *Sēghôl* but after gutturals *Pāthäch*, e. g. קָטַל *fem.* קָטַלְתִּי *killing* (ground-form קָטַלְתָּ, therefore before suffixes קָטַלְתִּי etc.); מוֹדַע, *fem.* מוֹדַעַת *acquaintance*. The forms created in that way follow in every regard the analogy of the so-called Segholate forms (§ 94). The forms which have been developed by the aid of an auxiliary vowel maintain themselves also in the *status constructus*; except יוֹלְדֶת for the elsewhere used יוֹלְדָה Gen. 16, 11, Judges 13, 5, 7 and so regularly before suffixes e. g. יוֹלְדֶתוֹ Prov. 17, 25.

Rem. 1. The feminine form תֹּאֲחִי is, in general, less frequent than the other, and occurs almost exclusively when the other in תֹּאֲחִי is also in use. It is only in Participles and Infinitives that it is found more frequently than the other (e. g. קָטַלְתִּי oftener than קָטַלְתָּ, בָּרַחְתִּי than בָּרַחְתָּ).

2. Rarer feminine endings are:—

- a) תֹּאֲחִי accented, as בִּרְקָתָי *emerald* Ez. 28, 13, (also בִּרְקָתָי Ez. 28, 17); נְגִינָתָי Ps. 61, 1; חֲתִינָתָי 74, 19; שְׂפָצָתָי *crowd* 2 K. 9, 17 (if not a false reading); more often in *proper names* especially of places, among the Canaanites, the Phœnicians (in whose speech תֹּאֲחִי was the usual f. ending, § 2, 2) and other neighbouring tribes, as צָרְפָתָי *Sarepta*, גִּבְעָתָי *Gibeath*, אֵילָנָתָי *Aelana* in Idumea, קִרְיָתָי *Kirjath*, גִּלְיָתָי *Goliath* (Philistine).
- b) תֹּאֲחִי, also in *names* of places, as בְּעֵלְתָי, חֵלְתָי, else mostly poetical, e. g. זִמְרָתָי Ex. 15, 2, Is. 12, 2, Ps. 118, 14 (probably instead of זִמְרָתִי *my song* with suppressed termination before the following י), נַחֲלָתָי *heritage* Ps. 16, 6, either for נַחֲלָתִי *my heritage* or for נַחֲלָתָי, comp. let. f., as probably also עֲזָרָתָי *help* Ps. 60, 13, 108, 13, פְּרִיָתָי *prolific* Gen. 49, 22; שְׁנָתָי *sleep* (for שְׁנָתִי) Ps. 132, 4 and in prose קָאָת *pelican* (which reading is also preferable in Is. 34, 11 to the form קָאָת); in prose also we find מֶחֱרָתָי *morrow* Gen. 19, 34.
- c) תֹּאֲחִי, Aramæan orthography for תֹּאֲחִי, found chiefly in the later writers, e. g. חֲפָזָתָי *fright* Is. 19, 17, שְׁנָתָי *sleep* Ps. 127, 2, קֶרְחָתָי *balldness* Ex. 27, 31, מִצְרָתָי *mark* Lam. 3, 12.
- d) תֹּאֲחִי, a weakened form of תֹּאֲחִי (§ 27, Rem. 4), only in זִמְרָתָי for זִמְרָתִי Is. 59, 5 and לִנְחָתָי for לִנְחָתִי Zech. 5, 4.
- e) תֹּאֲחִי, without accent, as רֶחֱמָתָי Deut. 14, 17, בִּנְיָתָי *burning furnace* Hos. 7, 4; comp. Ez. 40, 19, 2 K. 15, 29, 16, 18. In all these examples there should be the usual accented תֹּאֲחִי, but the Punctists, not comprehending the feminine here, marked the תֹּאֲחִי (by depriving it of the tone) as not feminine, but a kind of *locative*

1 On the feminines not distinguished by their form, see-§ 107, 1, 3, 4.

form (v. § 90, 2). Also לַיְלָה *night* (really *noctu* comp. new Greek ἡ νύκτα) appears by the tone to be such a form, particularly as it is always construed as *masc.*, and we find לַיְלָה, לַיְלָה also occurring. Also מְאֵמָה *something*, might be considered as an old accusative (from מָאֵם, מָאֵם, *spot, point*). In the same way could be explained as accusatives אֶרְצָה Is. 8, 23 and (in *pause*) Job 34, 13; but there are also found forms in which the unaccented ה־ may be considered as a meaningless appendix, serving, at the most, as poetical emphasis, thus: אֶרְצָה (in P.) Job 37, 12; הַחֶרֶסֶה *the sun* Judg. 14, 18 (else חֶרֶס, חֶרֶס, נַחֲלָה *brook* Ps. 124, 4, הַמָּוֶת *death* Ps. 116, 15, and some other words. Much of this however is doubtful.

- f) הֶ־ only in poetry, e. g. עֲזָרָה *terror* (= אִימָה), עֲזָרָה *help* (= עֲזָרָה), יְשׁוּעָה *salvation* (= יְשׁוּעָה), עֲוֹנָה *wickedness* (= עֲוֹנָה), see Ps. 3, 3, 63, 8, 92, 16, 94, 17, 120, 1, 125, 3, Job 5, 16, Ex. 15, 16, and other places. Those cases can hardly be taken for double fem. endings, for if they were, we could not explain why the final syllable has lost the tone; they are rather cases of an old accusative of direction (intention). In examples like עֲזָרָה *help!* (Ps. 44, 27 etc.) this is still quite apparent, but elsewhere it has become meaningless and stands only for poetical emphasis; comp. § 90, 2.

3. It is wholly unsuitable to consider the vowel-ending ה־¹ as the original termination of the feminine, and the consonant-ending ה־ as derived from it. The Ethiopic still has the ה constantly, so too the Assyrian (*at, it*), and in the Phœnician also the feminines end only rarely in א, but mostly in ה, which is sounded *ath* in the words found in Greek and Roman authors (see *Gesenii Monumenta Phœnicia*, pp. 439, 440; *Schröder's Phön. Sprache*, pp. 169—74). The ancient Arabic has the weakened vowel-ending scarcely anywhere but in the pause; the modern Arabic is, in this respect, much like the Hebrew.

§ 81.

DERIVATION OF NOUNS.

Nouns are either *primitive*, i. e. those whose kindred relation to a verb-stem does not so easily appear (§ 82), as אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother* (see Davies' *Hebr. Lex.*); or *derivative*,

¹ In this ending the ה can be considered consonantal (h) only in the sense, that the original ה as aspirated mute was at first changed into a guttural (according to *Socin*, among a part of the modern Bedouins there is still heard an h as fem. ending); at any rate in Hebrew this final consonant sounding has been later entirely abandoned.

as being derived either from the verb (*Verbals*, §§ 83—85) in the sense given above in § 30, 1 and § 79, 1, as צַדִּיק *just*, צִדְקָה, צִדְקָה *righteousness*, from צָדַק *to be just*; רָם *high*, רָמָה *high place*, מְרוֹם *height*, from רָם *to be high*; or (as in very few cases) from another noun (*Denominatives*, § 86), as מְרִגְלוֹת *place at the feet*, from רֶגֶל *foot*.

Rem. 1. Many of the early grammarians, who admitted none but verbs as *stem-words*, classed *all* nouns among the verbals, and divided them into,—a) *Formæ nudæ*, i. e. such as have only the *three* (or *two*) stem-letters, and—b) *Formæ auctæ*, such as have received formative letters or syllables at the beginning or end, as מְמַלְכֶּה, מַלְכּוּת. These formative letters are:

(הַאֲמַחֲרִי), ה, א, מ, נ, ת, י, ו.¹

According to the view of *roots* and *stems* given in § 30, 1, Rem. 2, the relation of the noun to the verb is, strictly speaking, somewhat different, since, according to it, many nouns are formed immediately from the (ideal) root. But we here retain the common view, as being easier for beginners. Comp. § 79, 1.

2. Of *compound* nouns, as *appellatives*, the number in Hebrew is very small, e. g. בְּזִיזָל properly *worthlessness*, *baseness*. As *proper names*, they occur frequently, e. g. גְּבִרְיָאֵל (*man of God*), יְהוֹרֵקִים (*whom יָה raises up*), יְהוֹזָבָב (*whom יָה strengthens*), etc.

§ 82.

PRIMITIVE NOUNS.

1. The number of *primitives*, as explained in § 81, is very small, the nouns which are in most languages primitive being here usually derived from verbal ideas; e. g. most of the names of animals and natural objects, as שְׂעִיר *he-goat* (prop. *shaggy*, from שָׁעַר), שְׂעִירָה *barley* (prop. *bearded*, also from שָׁעַר), חֲסִידָה *stork* (prop. *pia*, sc. *avis*), זָהָב *gold* (from שָׁהַב=צָהָב *to be yellow*). There remain a few nouns, e. g. the names of members of the body in men and beasts, for which a suitable stem-verb can hardly be found, or at most only indirect ones (derived from the kindred Semitic dialects), as קֶרֶן *horn*, עֵין *eye*.

¹ From this *vox memorialis* the *nomina aucta* are called also, by the old grammarians, *nomina heemantica*. Comp. § 5, Note ⁵, § 30 Rem. 1.

2. The *form* of the primitives is that of the simple verbals, as קָטַל, קָטֵל, etc.; and it makes no difference, in the grammatical treatment, to which class the nouns are referred.

E. g. אָדָם *man*, follows the analogy of the verbals No. 1 (§ 84), whether it comes from אָדָם (*to be ruddy*) or not: אָב *father*, אִמָּה *mother*, have the same form as if derived from אָבָה, אִמָּם, and undoubtedly they may be traced back to these stems, although their corresponding signification (אָבָה *to procreate*, אִמָּם *to precede*) has not been preserved in the language.

§ 83.

VERBAL NOUNS IN GENERAL.

1. In Hebrew, as in Greek and Latin, the *verbal nouns* are connected in *form* and *signification* with certain forms of the verb, viz. the Participles and Infinitives, which, even without any change, are often employed as nouns; e. g. יָדַעַת (*to know*)=*knowledge*, אָיַב (*hating*)=*enemy*. Still oftener, however, we find that certain forms of the Infinitive and Participle, which are seldom or never found as such in the strong verb itself, though in use in the weak verb and in other dialects, are the prevalent forms employed for the verbal noun; e. g. the participial form קָטַל, the Infinitives after the (Aram.) form מִקְטֵל (as a noun also מִקְטֵל), farther קִטְלָה, קִטְלָה, קִטְלָה, קִטְלָה (§ 45, *b*) etc. Some (as the Arabic shows) are properly intensive forms of the Participle.

2. As to *signification*, it follows from the nature of the case, that nouns which have the form of Infinitives regularly denote the *action* or *state*, with other closely-related ideas (e. g. the *place* of the action), and are therefore mostly *abstract*; that participial nouns, on the contrary, denote, for the most part, the *subject* of the action, or of the state, and hence are *concrete*. It is to be noticed, however, that a particular sense is found in many isolated examples of derivative nouns, which does not hold good alike in all.

Rem. It must not, therefore, appear strange (for it is found in all languages), that a noun which in form is properly *abstract*, should be employed afterwards as a *concrete*, and *vice versâ*. So, in English,

we say *his acquaintance* for one *with whom he is acquainted*; the *God-head* for *God himself*; in Heb. מִדָּעַת *acquaintance* and *an acquaintance*; פְּתִי *simplicity* and *a simple one*; on the contrary, הַטָּמֵר *that which sinneth* for *sin*, which use is frequent in the *fem.* of *concretes* (§ 84, 5, 6, 11).

For the sake of clearness, we treat first of the *derivatives* from the strong or regular verb (§ 84), and then of those from the different classes of the weak or irregular verb (§ 85).

The general view given in § 84 first classifies the Noun forms, after their significance, into *concretes* (as related to the participle), and *abstracts* (as connected with the infinitive); but next advances under each of these divisions from the simpler and easier forms to the harder and more enlarged. But the whole series of forms may be enumerated also simply with respect to the difference of form, without regard to the difference of meaning, since the forms do not always differ strictly according to the sense. In that case the forms would stand nearly in this order: 1) from simple stems: Nos. 1—5, 10—13; 2) from strengthened stems either by doubling the middle stem consonant (e. g. Nos. 6—9) or by repetition of one or several consonants of the stem (e. g. Nos. 20—23); 3) nouns with other additional letters whether *preformatives* (e. g. all forms derived from Niph. Hiph. and Hitlpael, as well as the numerous forms with מ preformative) or *afformatives* (e. g. Nos. 15, 16). It is of the greatest importance to distinguish everywhere whether the vowels employed by the formation of nouns were originally long and therefore unchangeable, or originally short, but have been lengthened in or before the tone. In the latter case the tone lengthened vowel becomes short by the removal of the accent or *Shewâ* (with the pretonic vowels, but also elsewhere). In what follows, the groundforms have everywhere been added where such changes are liable to occur.

§ 84.

NOUNS DERIVED FROM STRONG STEMS.¹

We distinguish here—

I. *Participial Nouns from Qāl.*

1. קָטָל, *fem.* קָטְלָה, (Groundform *qātāl*, *qātālāt*), one of the most simple forms of this class and analogous to the two following (Nos. 2 and 3), but not in use as a Participle. It is most frequently employed as

¹ Under the strong verb we here include the verb with gutturals (§§ 63—65), and also those forms of weak stems whose weakness does not appear (comp. § 41).

an adjective expressing *quality*, as חָכָם *wise*, חָדָשׁ *new*, יָשָׁר *upright*. It occurs, however, also with an abstract sense (No. 12).

2. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטְלָה, (Grdf. *qātīl, qātīlāt*), Part. of verbs *middle E* (§ 50, 2), mostly with intransitive meaning (§ 43) and therefore frequently as adjectives; e. g. זָקֵן *old*, יָבֵשׁ *dry*, דָּשֵׁן *fat*.

3. a) קָטַל and קָטְלָה, *fem.* קָטְלָה, (Grdf. *qātōl, qātōlāt*), with unchangeable *ō*, which, however, can be shown to have partly arisen from an obscured *ā*. Here belong numerous adjectives, as גָּדוֹל *great*, רָחוֹק *far*, קָדוֹשׁ *holy*. As *abstr.* substantives, כְּבוֹד *honour*, שְׁלֵמִים *peace*. From this is to be distinguished b) nouns of the form *qātōl* from original *qātīl* e. g. אָדָם *red*, עֵגֹל *round*, עֵמֶק *deep*, etc. (not seldom written fully thus: אָדָם, עֵגֹל etc.) The original *ī* of the 2d syllable appears again before affirmatives, because then the following consonant is artificially doubled (as the *ī* can stand only in a closed syllable); thus the plurals עֵמֶקִים, עֵגֹלִים etc.

4. קָטַל, *fem.* קָטְלָה (sometimes like קָטְלָה with the *Sērê* retained) or קָטְלָה, the usual active participial of *transitive* verbs, e. g. אֹיֵב *enemy*, יוֹנֵק *suckling*; hence of the instrument by which the action is performed, as חֶרֶשׁ *a cutting instrument* (also with a personal signification, *plowman*). A feminine with a collective signification is sometimes found, as in אֲרֵהָ *caravan*, properly *a wandering, a wandering crowd*. The groundform of these participles is *qōtīl* (modified from *qātīl*) *qōtīlāt*; but קָטְלָה has for groundform *qōtālt*, comp. § 80, 2, b.

5. קָטַל and קָטְלָה, (*qātīl* and *qātīl*) passive Participles of *Qāl*, the latter (the usual Aramæan participial form) employed rather as a substantive; e. g. אֲסִיר *imprisoned*, מְשֻׁחַח *anointed*, אֲסִיר *prisoner*, מְשֻׁחַח *anointed one*. Both forms occur also with intrans. and even active signification, as חֲזָק *strong* and the examples in § 50, Rem. 2; in the form קָטַל (as secondary form to קָטַל No. 2), חֲזָק *small*, and *act.*: נְבִיא *prophet*, פֶּקֶד *overseer*, etc. Some words of the form קָטַל express the *time* of the action, as חֲזָק *time of cutting, harvest*, חֲרִישׁ *time of ploughing*, like the Greek verbals in τός, e. g. ἄμνητος, ἄροτος, ῥύγχητος, (acc. to the Greek Grammarians, the *cutting, plowing*, etc. is in opposition to ἀμνητός etc. *harvest gathered in*.—v. *Liddell and Scott* s. v. ἄμνητος—; corresponding to this also the forms in the Heb. like חֲזָק are used *actively*; comp. חֲזָק in Jer. 50, 16, 51, 33, Cant. 2, 12). The feminines e. g. בְּחִילָה *virgin (the secluded)*.

6. קָטַל (Arabic كَتَبَ), with unchangeable vowels (see however below). In Arab. it is the usual intensive form of the participle, and hence in Heb. expresses what is *habitual*, e. g. נָפֵחַ *apt to butt*, קָנָא *(also קָנִיא) zealous*, חָטָא *sinner* (diff. from חָטָא *sinning*), גָּנֵב *thief*; so of occupations and trades (the so-called *nomina opificum*), e. g. טָבַח *cook*, חָרַשׁ (for חָרֵשׁ) *artificer*. It is curious that the unchangeable *ā* of the 2d syllable should be dropped in the *constr. state sing.*, as if the groundform were not *qatīl* but *qatīl* e. g. חָרַשׁ *carpenter* Is. 44,

13.—To the same category belongs the form קָטַל (with the attenuation of *ā* of the 1st syll. to *ġ*) e. g. אָקָר (arab. 'akkâr) *husbandman* (prop. *digger*). Here again the feminine (קָטַלָּה or קָטַלְתָּה) often takes the abstract signification, as חַטָּאָה (also חֲטָאָה) *female sinner* and *sin*; בִּרְעָה *burning fever*, with a guttural טַבַּעַת *signet*.

7. קָטַל and קָטַל, intensive forms applied to persons as adjectives of quality, as צַדִּיק *righteous*, אָבִיר *strong*, חַנּוּן *compassionate*. Seldom passive, as אָסִיר *fettered*.

8. קָטַל, as רִסּוֹר *corrector*, שָׁכּוֹר *drunkard*, גָּבִיר *strong one*, *hero*. Seldom passive, as יָלֹד *born*. As, for instance the Arab. *gabbâr* (for גָּבִיר) shows, all these forms are but modifications of the form קָטַל, produced by the attenuation of *ā* into *ġ* in the first syllable, and by inflecting *ā* into *ô* in the second.

9. קָטַל (Grdf. *qūttīl*) indicates everywhere abnormal qualities, especially a bodily fault or a defect, e. g. גִּבּוֹן *hunch-backed*, קָרְחָה *bald-headed*, אִלִּים *dumb*, בֵּינִי *blind*, פֶּסֶחַ *lame*, חֵיִשׁ *deaf*, עָקֵשׁ *perverse*; פֶּקֶחַ *clear-sighted* follows the same analogy. The *abstr.* signification is found in the *fem.*, אִלָּלָה *folly*, (although, before suff. אִלָּלָה).

II. Nouns after the manner of Infinitives in Qāl.¹

10. קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל (really *qetāl*, *qeṭāl*, *qeṭāl*), are with No. 11 the simplest forms of this class, of which the latter is the predominant, and the first a rare form in the verb as Infinitive (§ 45, a). As nounforms they are rare, e. g. אָבִיר *man*, פָּאֵר *ornament*, צַחֵק *laughter*. Instead of these, we much oftener find—

11. קָטַל, קָטַל, קָטַל, their three kindred so-called *sēgholate* forms (sprung from the grnd.-forms *qatl*, *qitl*, *qutl*, as preserved in Arabic); e. g. מַלְכָּה (for מַלְכָּה *mark*, § 27, Rem. 2, c) *king*, סִפְרָה (orig. form סִפְרָה) *book*, קֹדֶשׁ (orig. form *qudsh*) *sanctuary*; these have the characteristic vowel with the accent in the first syllable, and the unaccented helping-vowel *Sēghôl* (§ 28, 4) in the second. Instead of the *Sēghôl*, a *Päthäch* is used with gutturals in the second or third place, as זֶרַע *seed*, נֶצַח *eternity*, עֵצֶל *work*.²—Examples of feminines, מַלְכָּה *queen*, עֲזָרָה *help* (also עֲזָרָה, חֲכָמָה *wisdom*).

In masculines as well as feminines the *abstract* is the proper and prevailing signification, as שֶׁחַר *slaughter*, חֶסֶד *pity*, זֵכֶר *memory*, אָסָה *gathering*; yet the *concrete* often occurs, especially in the form קָטַל, e. g. מַלְכָּה *king*, נָעַר *a youth*, בָּעַר *brutish*, עָבֵד *servant*, בָּעַל *lord*, אָבִיר *man*. In such forms the concrete sense is secondary and derived from

¹ All these forms are found, *mutatis mutandis*, in the Arabic as Infinitives, or as so-called *nomina verbi*.

² Only very few remain without a helping-vowel, as נָחַל *valley*, חַטָּה *sin*, קֶשֶׁת *truth*; the first two of which may be explained by the circumstance that א final has there lost its value as a consonant.

the abstract, as in *נָעַר* prop. *brutishness*, *נָעַר* prop. *season of youth* (comp. Eng. *youth* and *a youth*), or the form of the word is shortened from another with a concrete sense, as *מֶלֶךְ*, *מֶלֶךְ* from participial forms (*mālīk*, *ābīd*), meaning *ruling*, *serving*.¹ But altogether the meaning of these forms is very various, e. g. even for the instrument, as *חֶרֶב* *sword*, *חֶרֶט* *graving-tool*, and passively *אַרְגַּל* *web* (really *weaving*, hence instrumentally *weaver's shuttle*). In the latter sense the form *קָטַל* is more common, as *אָכַל* *food*; this form *קָטַל* is also more used in the abstract meaning, hence *נָעַר* *a youth*, *נָעַר* *youth*.

12. *קָטַל* (*qātāl*, like No. 1), fem. *קָטְלָה* (*qātālāt*), both very often with the *abstr.* sense; e. g. *רָעַב* *hunger*, *אָשַׁם* *guilt*, *שָׂבַע* *satiety* (their concretes being *רָעֵב* *hungry*, *אָשָׁם*, *שָׂבַע*); fem. *צָדִיקָה* *righteousness*, *נָקָמָה* *vengeance*. Less frequent is the form *קָטַל* (Grdf. *qūṭāl*), as *יָכַר* *strong drink*, *עֵנָב* *grape*, *לֵב* *heart*. It would perhaps be more correct to count these forms among the participials in No. 1.

13. *קָטַל*, *קָטַל*, *קָטַל* (where *ō* is orig. *ā*), all with an immovable vowel (§ 25) between the second and third radicals, and a *Sh^wā* (instead of orig. short vowel) under the first, as *קָטַב* *book* (Arab. *kīṭāb*), *חֶמֶר* *ass* (Arab. *hīmār*), *חֶלֶם* *dream*, *בֹּרֶךְ* *fool*, *גְּבוּל* *border*; sometimes with *Aleph prosthetic*, as *אֶזְרוֹעַ*=*זְרוֹעַ* *arm*, *אֶפְרָח* *brood*. The corresponding *feminines* are like *בְּשִׂירָה* (Arab. *bīshāra*), *good news*, *כְּתָבָה* (Arab. *kīṭābāt*) *writing*, *גְּבוּרָה* *might*; the last form coincides with the fem. of the form *קָטַל* in No. 5.

14. *מִקְטַל* (the Aram. has *מִקְטַל* as the form of the infinitive), e. g. *מִשְׁפָּט* *judgment*. This form belongs to the category of the very numerous nominal formations with preformative *מ* which (without doubt connected with *מִי* *who* and *מָה* *what* v. § 37) is employed to express the most varied relations. In all cases where the *מ* stands before a consonant with a toneless firm vowel it receives vocal *Sh^wā* (derived from an original short vowel); in those forms however in which the *מ*, with the first stem consonant makes a closed syllable, it receives at first everywhere the vowel *ā*, which however is frequently weakened into *ī* or *ē*. Corresponding to this, there is found before the accented stem syllable the pretonic lengthening, partly into *ā* and partly into *ē*. In reference to the signification we must distinguish *a*) the *מ* *sub-jective*; thus the preformative *מ* of the participles of Piel, Hiph. and Hithp. and other active conjugations; *b*) the *מ* *objective*; such as the preformative *מ* of the passive (Pual, Hoph. etc.) as well as that of

¹ In Arabic the form *qātīl* always expresses an action or a quality inherent in the subject, as a secondary form to the usual participle *qātīl*, which indicates the casual or passing action or quality; thus, *mālākā* to rule, Part. *mālīk* ruling, *mālīk* rarely *malk*, ruler, king. Such an origin of *מֶלֶךְ* may be shown also from other examples. Comp. *גֶּדֶר*, as the name of a town, with *גֶּדֶר* (gdf. *gāḍīr*) *wall*; and *קָטַל* shortened (in the *constr. state*) from *קָטִיפ* (*kātīp*) *shoulder*.

numerous nouns; comp. מִחְמָד *a desired object*, מִלְקוֹחַ *prey*, מִלְבָּשׁ *dress*, מִזְמוֹר *Psalm*; fem. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, מַשְׁכָּרַת *reward*, מִלְחָמָה *war*, מִרְפָּדָה *chariot*; c) מ *instrumental*, e. g. מִזְלָג *fork*, מִפְתָּח *key*; מִזְמָרָה *pruning knife*, מִזְבֵּלָה *knife*; d) מ *local*, e. g. מִקוֹם (קוֹם) *place*, מִרְבֵּי *pasture*, מִזְבֵּחַ *altar*, מִרְחָב *large space*, מִסְתָּחַר and מִסְתָּחִיר *hiding-place*. The vowels of the 2d syllable are with the exception of *i* and *u* as well as of *ô* (which has been mostly inflected from *â*; v. the last example) originally short vowels and therefore subject to attenuation into a short vowel or *Shewâ*; thus מִשְׁכָּרַת (with *ô* not *ô*) is reduced to the original מִשְׁכָּרַת.

15. קִטְלָן (Grdf. *qitlân*), קִטְלִין *qitlân*, and other similar forms, with the terminations קִטְלִין and קִטְלִין, as פִּתְרוּן *interpretation*, שֻׁלְחָן *table*, קָרְבָּן *offering*; but also זִכְרוֹן *remembrance*, חֲזוֹן *prophetic vision*. In a few old words instead of קִטְלִין and קִטְלִין we find קִטְלִין and קִטְלִין, as אֵיכָל *porch*, פְּרִיזִין and פְּרִיזִין *ransom*.

In some examples the affirmative *Nûn* has been appended without the aid of an accented vowel, as in כְּנָעַן *Canaan* and צִפְרֵן *finger-nail* (in both cases only with an auxiliary vowel before the ending). In אֵז *axe* original *â* has been modified into *Sêghol* instead of being lengthened into *â* (to the same category belong examples with affirmative ל as בְּרֹזֶל *iron*, בְּרִמָּל etc. (v. No. 35). For קִטְלִין there is a modified form קִטְלִין, written also קִטְלִין, which occurs especially in proper names, as מִנְדוֹ and מִנְדוֹן for שְׁלֹמֹן (comp. Πλάτων, *Plato*). In the *patronymic* and *gentilic* forms (§ 86, 5) the *Nûn* still appears, e. g. שִׁילֹנִי from שִׁילֹה the city *Shiloh* (called even now *Seilûn*).

16. Also with the feminine-ending הָ, e. g. רְפָאוֹת *folly*, רְפָאוֹת *healing*. In the Aramæan, this (or הָ without הָ) is a usual termination of the Infinitive in the derived conjugations (comp. No. 28). Its frequent use appears only in the later O. Test. books. As a synonymous ending we find at times הָ— in earlier use, as שְׁאֵרִית *remnant*. Comp. the denominative nouns, § 86, 6.

III. Participials of the derived Conjugations.

17. From *Niph.* נִקְטַל, as נִפְלְאוֹת plur. fem. *wonders*.

18. 19. From *Pi'el* and *Hiph.*, e. g. מְכַסֶּה *a covering*, מְזַמְּרֵת *snuffers*, מְשַׁחֵר *destruction*.

20. From *Po'el*, as עוֹלֵל (probably shortened from מְעוֹלֵל Is. 3, 12) and עוֹלֵל *child*, שׁוֹלֵל *war-prisoner*, אוֹצֵר *store*, הוֹחֵם *seal*, שׁוֹפָר *trumpet*; all with original *â* in the 2d syllable.

21. 22. From *Pi'tel* and *Po'lal*, as קָטְלָל (groundform *qātlāl*), and קָטְלָל (*qūtlāl*), רֵאֵן *green*, שָׁאֵן *quiet*; אֶמֶל *faint*.

23. מְשַׁטֵּט, מְשַׁטֵּט have an intensive and iterative sense, as הִפְסֵף *full of turns* (L. *flexuosus*), פְּתָלָה *full of twists* (L. *perversus*), and form adjectives with a *diminutive* signification (§ 55, 3), as אֶרְמֵם

reddish, שְׁחָהָרַר blackish; hence in a contemptuous sense (like Latin *miser*, *misellus*, Germ. *Gesinde*, *Gesindel*), as אִסְפָּסָה (with the passive form as enlargement of אָסַף) a rabble.

IV. Nouns in the form of infinitives of the derived Conjugations.

24. From *Niph.*, as נִפְחָלִים (plur.) *struggles*.

25. From *Pi'el*, like נִפֵּץ *dispersion*, more frequently in the fem., as בִּקְשָׁה *request*, with Qā'mēš unchangeable in the second syllable.

26. קָטוּל, as שְׁזוּם *requital*, חֲבוּק *folding* (of the hands); also with concrete sense (comp. No. 7), as לְמוּד *learner*, עֲזוּז *strong*.

27. תִּקְטוּל (Infin. of *Pi'el* very common in Arabic), e. g. הַנְּמוּל *benefit*, תִּכְרִיךְ (covering) *mantle*.

28. From *Hiph.*, like אֶזְכְּרָה *remembrance-offering*, הַשְׁמָעוּת *announcing* (with firm Qā'mēš), like Aramæan Infinitives.

29. From *Hithp.* הִתְרַחַשׁ *register* (prop. to register oneself in a genealogical table).

30. From *Pō'el*, like הִלְלוּת (plur) and הוֹלָלוּת *folly*; in 31 the forms are kindred, having a long vowel in both syllables, as קִיטוּר *smoke*, צִינִק *prison*, קִימוּשׁ *nettle*. Perhaps the ה of the 1st syllable serves as a compensation for the omission of the Daghesh.

32. From *Pi'tel*, as סְגִיר *heavy rain*, נֶאֱפִיחַ (only plur.) *adultery*.

33. פִּתְחוּת *opening*, Inf. to No. 23.

34. שִׁקָּט, as שִׁלְהֹבַת *flame* (comp. § 55, 6).

35. Quadriliterals of various forms 'e. g. *a*) with affirmative ל (v. No. 15) בְּרִזְל *iron*, בְּרִמָּל *orchard* (comp. כֶּרֶם *vineyard*) דַּרְכָּל *dark clouds*, חֲרָזַל *locust*, הַשְׁמַל *bright metal*; *b*) with the insertion of ל, so probably בְּלִמּוּד *barren*, חֲלָמִישׁ *flint*, the fem. זֹלְעָה *glowing heat* etc. *c*) other forms: חֲרִישׁ *sickle*, עֲקָרָב *scorpion*, סְמִיר *vine blossom* etc.—

Quinquiliterals (probably compounded) צִפְרֵיָּה *frog*.—See Davies' Heb. Lex. on אֶרְבֵּת *hare*, and on the other words mentioned above.

§ 85.

NOUNS DERIVED FROM WEAK STEMS.

These are formed after the analogy of the strong stem. Accordingly, following the same arrangement, we shall refer these forms to the corresponding ones already described, marking them with the same number (§ 84), but mentioning only such as exhibit some notable effect of the feebleness of the stem.

I. From Stems פ"ן.

Connected with the *Inf.* of *Qāl*, 14. מִתָּן *gift*, מַגֵּל *sickle*, מִנְפָּה *overthrow*; with *Inf.* of *Hiph.* 28. הַצֵּלָה *deliverance*.—

II. From Stems ע"ע.

From the *Part.* *Qāl* (after the form קָטַל) we get:—1. תָּם *upright*; commonly with *Päthäch* (to indicate the *Däg. f. implic.* of the final syllable), תָּל *abject*, רַב *much*, fem. רַבָּה. From the *Inf.* 10, 11: בּוֹ *booty*, חֵן *favour*, חֹק *law*, fem. מִצָּה *word*, חֻקָּה *law*; 14. מִסָּב *that which surrounds anything*, מִסָּךְ *covering*, מִגֵּן *shield*, מִעֵז *fastness*, fem. מִזָּה *roll*. Through the removal of the pretonic vowel have arisen forms after the analogy of No. 10 (קָטַל, קָטַל), which are further developed into proper segholate forms (No. 11); as מִמֵּר (from מָרַר, r. מִרְרָה) *bitterness*, מִיָּד *timidity* (from מָדַד, r. מִדָּה), 27. תְּהִלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer*; also in the segholate form, as מִתְּמַס *a melting away* (from תָּמַס, r. תְּמִסָּה), perh. also מִתְּמַס *mast* (from תָּמַס *to make a tremulous sound*). From *Pilpēl* (§ 55, 4), גִּלְגָּל *wheel* and *whirlwind* (from גָּלַל *to roll*), קָלָקָל *contemned*, קִדְקִיד *crown* (of the head), בִּקְבוּק *flask*, etc.

III. From Stems פ"י and פ"י.

The participial forms are regular. To the Infinitive belong: 10. דָּעָה, fem. דָּעָה *knowledge*, יָצָה *counsel*. 13. סִידָה, for רְסִידָה *divan*. 14. מוֹדָה *fear*, מוֹשֵׁב *seat*, מוֹקֵשׁ *snare*, מוֹלֵדָה *birth*, מוֹסֵר *punishment*; from verbs פ"י of the 2d class (§ 70), מִיֻּטֵּב *the best* and acc. to § 71: מִדָּעָה *knowledge* (comp. Aram. מִדָּעָה) from דָּעָה. 27. תוֹשֵׁב *inhabitant*, תוֹלֵדָה *generation* (only pl. constr. תוֹלֵדוֹת), תִּימָן *the south*.

IV. From Stems ע"י and ע"י.

Participles: 1. זָר *foreign*. 2. גֵּר *stranger*, עֵדָה *a female witness, testimony*. 3. טוֹב *good*, טוֹבָה *what is good*. Infinitives: 11. various segholate forms, as מָוֶת *death* (Arab. *maut*) and בַּיִת *house* (Arab. *bait*); שוּט *whip* (Arab. *saut*), שׁוֹק *leg* (Arab. *sâq*), רוּחַ *spirit*; in feminine עוֹלָה *evil* and עוֹלָה *shame*. 14. מְנוּחָה, fem. מְנוּחָה *rest*, מְקוֹם *place*, also מְשִׁיט *oar* (from שוּט), and מְעִירָה *cave* (from עוּר). 27. תְּהוֹם *the deep*, תְּבוּנָה *intelligence*, תְּעִידָה *testimony*. 28. הַנְּחָה *rest*. 31. נִירָה *satisfaction*.

V. From Stems ל"ה.

Participles: 1. יָפָה *fair*, קָשָׁה *hard*, fem. קָשָׁה. Some lose the ה, as יָד *hand*, תָּו *s' gn* (for תָּוָה). 4. רָצָה *seer*, fem. רָצָה *burnt-offering*. 5. זָקָר *pure*, עָנִי *poor*.—Infinitives: 11. The segholates in various forms; at times like בָּכָה *a weeping*, גָּמָה *end*; sometimes also curtailed, as מְדוּרָה *duration, eternity* (from עָדָה). Sometimes the original ו appears, but then merely as a toneless helping vowel, as in שָׂוָה *a swimming*,

הָרוּג waste; but on the other hand with ך, as in פֶּרִי *fruit* (Grdf. *pārj*) and farther attenuated to *pirj*), חֲלִי (*chūlj*) *sickness*, חֲצִי (Grdf. *chisj*)—*half*; the *fem.* form always with consonant ך or ך, as in חֲצִי *rest*, לִירָה *garland*. 12. (really belonging to 1.): רֵעָה *friend*: with rejection of the ending: עֵץ *tree*. 13. סֵתוּ *winter*. 14. מִקְנָה *possession*, מֵרָא *appearance*, מַעֲשֵׂה *deed*, מַחֲנֶה *camp*; *fem.* מִצְוָה *command*. Apocopated form, מַעַל *height* (for מַעֲלָה). 15. קִנְיָן *wealth*, כְּלָיִין *destruction*. 16. דְּמוּת *resemblance*, פְּדוּת *deliverance* etc. 27. תְּבִלִּית *annihilation*, תְּבִנָּה *structure*, תְּבִינָה *brood*. 28. אֶשְׁכָּה *testicle* for אֶשְׁכָּה (from שְׂכָה), really 'āškāj.

VI. From doubly weak Stems.

We present only some cases of especial difficulty for the beginner to find the trilateral stem:

1. From a verb פָּנָה and לָאָה, שָׂאָה and שָׂת *elevation* (Job 41, 17) for נָשָׂא, שָׂאָה from נָשָׂא.

2. From a verb פָּנָה and לָאָה, הוֹדָה (pl. הוֹדָה) *instruction, law*, הוֹדָה *thanksgiving*.

3. From a verb עָאָה and לָאָה, שָׂת *tumult* Num. 24, 17 (for שָׂאָה = שָׂאָה) from שָׂאָה.

4. From a verb עָאָה and לָאָה, אִי (for אִי) *island*, from אָיָה *to dwell*; אִי *sign* derived from אָיָה which again comes from 'āājāt (with ת *fem.*, comp. Arab. 'āājāt, Aram. אִי), from אָיָה; קוֹ and קוֹ *cord*, from קוֹה; תָּא *chamber* (for תָּו), from תָּוָה *to dwell* (secondary form of אָיָה v. s.); גוֹי *people* (from גוֹה, Arab. *confluxit*); יִי *irrigation* (for יִי, from יִיָה).

To the learner the stem is often obscured also though the loss of נ, ג or ה by contraction, e. g. גֵּת *wine-press* for גֵּת, גֵּת and this for גֵּת (from גֵּת *to press*); אַךְ *anger* for אַךְ ('anp); אֲמִתּוּ *faithfulness* for אֲמִתּוּ (from אֲמִתּוּ, (אֲמִתּוּ, אֲמִתּוּ *time* for אֲמִתּוּ ('idt with *fem.* ת), from אֲמִתּוּ; וְיִי for וְיִי *brightness* (from וְיִיָה).

§ 86.

DENOMINATIVE NOUNS.

1. Such are all nouns which are formed *immediately* from another noun, whether the latter be primitive, or derived from a verb, e. g. קֶדְמוֹן *eastern*, immediately from קָדַם *the east*, which is itself derived from the verb קָדַם.

2. Most of the forms which nouns of this class assume have already been given among the verbal nouns, the denominatives as secondary (though partly very old) forms, being entirely analogous to nouns derived from the verb.

The verbal with מ prefixed, e. g. was employed to express the *place of an action* (§ 84, No. 14); accordingly this מ *local* was prefixed to a noun in order to make it a *designation of place* (see No. 3 below).

The principal forms are the following:—

1. Like the *Part. Qāl* (No. 4 of the Verbals), as שַׁעַר *porter*, from שָׁעַר *gate*; בָּקָר *herdsman*, from בָּקַר *herd*; בָּרַם *vine dresser*, from בָּרַם *vineyard*.

2. Like the verbals of No. 6, קָשָׁת *archer*, from קָשַׁת *bow*; מִזְחָ *seaman*, from מָלַח *salt, sea*. Both these forms (Nos. 1 and 2) indicate occupations inhering in the subject, like Greek nouns in τῆς, τεύς, e. g. πολίτης, γραμματεύς.

3. Nouns with מ prefixed, expressing the place in or near which a thing is found (comp. No. 14 of the Verbals), e. g. מִצְּיָן *place of fountains*, from צִיָּן *fountain*; מִרְגְּלֹת *place about the feet*, מִרְאֲשִׁית *place about the head*, from רָאֵשׁ, רֶגֶל; מִקְשָׁא *cucumber field*, from קָשָׂא *cucumber*. Comp. ἀμπελῶν, from ἄμπελος.

4. Adjectival designations, with add. of הַ, יָ, as קִדְמוֹן *eastern*, from מִזְרָח; אַחֲרֹן *hinder*, from אַחֲרֵי; חִיצוֹן *exterior*, from חוּץ; לִוְיָן *coiled*, hence *coiled animal, serpent*, from לִוְיָה *a winding*; נְחֹשֶׁתִּין *copper image*, from נְחֹשֶׁת *copper*. Also abstracts, as עִוְרָה *blindness*, from עָוַר. Comp. § 84, No. 15.

וֵין forms a *diminutive* (like the Syriac וֵין), in אִישׁוֹן *little man* (in the eye), אִפְסוֹן *little snake*, is really an adjective form, from שָׁפַף *to rub* (perhaps=rubber-like). In the same way יִשְׁוּרִין is really a denominative from יִשְׁוֹר (=יִשְׁרָ) and not a diminutive (*pious little people* and the like), but rather *upright (righteous people)*; finally שְׁחִירוֹן is not *little moon*, but *artificial moon (jewelry)*, and צִוְרִיִּם, not *little neck*, but *necklace* (from צִוְרָא *neck*). Comp. Delitzsch on Cant. 4, 9.

5. Peculiar to this class of nouns is the termination ם־, which converts a substantive into an adjective, and is added especially to numerals and names of persons and countries, in order to form *ordinals, gentilics, and patronymics*; e. g. נִכְרִי *strange*, from נִכְרָא *what is foreign*; שִׁשִּׁי *sixth*, from שֵׁשׁ *six*; מוֹאבִי *Moabite*, from מוֹאָב; יִשְׂרָאֵלִי *Israelite*, from יִשְׂרָאֵל. When the substantive is a *compound*, it is commonly resolved again into two words, e. g. בְּנֵי־מִינִי *Benjaminite*, from בְּנֵי־מִינִין (for the use of the article with such forms, see § 111, 1, Rem.). Rarely instead of ם־ we have א) the ending ם־ (as in Aramæan), as כִּלְיִי *deceitful* and in proper names, as בְּרִזְלִי *(ferreus, from בְּרִזְלָא iron) Barzillai*; and b) its parallel ה־, as אֲשֶׁה *belonging to fire* (אֵשׁ) *fire-food, sacrifice*; לְבָנִי *(prop. milky) white poplar*, arab. lubnaj.

6. Abstract nouns formed from *concretes* by the addition of וּת and ם־ (comp. the Eng. terminations *-dom, -hood, -ness, etc.*); e. g. בְּלִבוּת

kingdom, from מְלָכָה; אֶלְמְנוּה widow-hood, from אֶלְמָן widower, אֶלְמָנָה widow; רֵאשִׁית principium, from ראש = ראש princeps. (See the Verbals No. 16.)

§ 87.

OF THE PLURAL.

1. The plural termination for the masculine gender is יִם, e. g. סוס horse, plur. סוסים horses, often also written defectively ם, especially when in the same word a ו or י has already gone before as a so-called *fulcrum*, as in Gen. 1, 21 תַּנִּינִים. Nouns in י end with יִים in the plural, as עֲבָרִיִּים *Hebrews* (Ex. 3, 18), from עָבַר, but usually a contraction takes place, as עֲבָרִים שָׁנִים *crimson garments*, from שָׁנִי. — Nouns in ה lose this termination when they take the plural-ending, e. g. הָזֶה *seer*, plur. הִזִּים (comp. § 75, 3). — In regard to the removal of the accent from the ם in the two old plurals מַיִם *water* and שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, comp. § 96. The termination יִם is found sometimes also with feminines (comp. נָשִׁים *women*, § 96, under אִשָּׁה; שָׁנִים *years* from שָׁנָה; רְחֵלִים *ewes*, from רָחַל) and is employed elsewhere to represent intensive ideas (§ 108, 2), so that the designation of gender is not necessarily attached to it (comp. also No. 3).

This ending *im* is also prevalent in Phœnician, e. g. צִדְנִים *Sidonians*; in Aramaean it is *in*, in Arabic *ûn* (nominative) and *în* (the other cases), in Ethiopic *ân*. Compare also the ending ין in 3d pers. pl. mas. of verbs.¹

Less frequent terminations of the *plur. masc.* are:

- a) יָ, as in Aramaic (aside from the poetical use in some older and even the oldest portions), almost exclusively in the later books of the O. Test., e. g. מְלָכִין *kings* Prov. 31, 3, צִיָּין 1 K. 11, 33, רָצִין *a guard* 2 K. 11, 13, חֲשִׁין *wheat* Ez. 4, 9; defectively אִיָּן *islands* Ez. 26, 18, יָמִין *days* Dan. 12, 13. Comp. also מַדִּין *carpets* Judges 5, 10 (in the north Palestinian song of *Deborah* which shows also other linguistic peculiarities); עֲרִין *ruins* Micah 3, 12 (apparently caused by the following ר); מִלִּין *words* (from the Aram. מְלָה) Job 4, 2 and in 12 other places (also מַלִּים, 10 times); further Job 24, 22, 31, 10, Lam. 1, 4. — Doubtful is however:

¹ On the connection between all these endings, see *Dietrich's Abhandlungen zur Heb. Grammatik*, Leipzig, 1846, 8vo., p. 51 etc.

- b) —י (with כ cast off, as according to some in *dual יָרִי* for *יָרִים* Ez. 13, 18; comp. the *constr. st.* § 89, 2), e. g. מִזְרִי *chords* Ps. 45, 9, for מִזְרִים (if it is not to be written so); עַמִּי *peoples* Ps. 144, 2 and prob. also Lam. 3, 14, (2 Sam. 22, 44 satisfies the rendering *my people*; comp. in paral. ex. Ps. 18, 44 עָם ; also in Cant. 8, 2 would the י of רַב־מְנִי better be taken as a *suff.*). If according to this nearly all cases of this sort are more or less doubtful (comp. also 2 Sam. 23, 8; 1 Ch. 11, 11, 1 Sam. 20, 38 K^cthibh and Gesenius's *Lehrgebäude der Heb. Sprache*, S. 524 ff.), for the whole question, it has at least its analogy in the other Semitic languages. On the Assyrian plural ending —i compare, *Schrader* in the *Zeitsch. der DMG.* XXVI, p. 218 ff. (e. g. *mal'ki*, princes). In Syr. we have the corresp. plur. *mal'kê* (מַלְכָּא), likewise in the idiom of the Babylonian Talmud גְּבֵרֵי *men*; finally the apocopè of the כ or נ is very common in the pronunciation of the West. Aram. e. g. תַּלְמִי for תַּלְמִים *Psalms*.—More doubtful still is—
- c) —י (like the *constr. state* in Syriac); and here are reckoned, e. g. חֻרְרִי *white cloths* Is. 19, 9, שָׂרִי *princes* Judg. 5, 15, חַלּוּנֵי *windows* Jer. 22, 14. This last is also taken for dual (§ 88, Rem. 1) *two windows*, but it is probably a corrupt reading for חַלּוּנִים ; שָׂרִי may be *my princes* (with *suff.*), and —י in חֻרְרִי is a formative syllable (*white cloth*). Further הַשְׁפִּיעַי in Is. 20, 4 is either *constr. st.*, comp. § 89, Rem., or likewise coll. sing. with the ending —י ; שֹׁרֵי *the Almighty*, from the stem שָׁרַר , is formed with the adjective ending —י , while in the collectively used singular גֹּזְבֵי *locust-swarm* Am. 7, 1, Nah. 3, 17 (from גָּזַב) the —י belongs to the stem (cf. שָׁרִי Ps. 8, 8, f. שָׁרָה); finally, in אֲדוֹנֵי *the Lord* (prop. *my lord*, from the so-called plural of Majesty, אֲדוֹנִים *lord*) the *ay* is originally a suffix; see § 121, Rem. 4.
- d) —ים , as supposed plural ending in $\text{בָּנִים} = \text{בָּנִים}$ *midges*, which however is rather a collective singular (of the stem בָּנָן) with the formative syllable —ים (comp. § 84, No. 15); likewise סֻלָּם *ladder*, prop. *steps* (from סָלַל I), comp. our *stairs*.

2. The *plural* termination for the *feminine gender* is ות (often written defectively ת —), which takes the place of the singular feminine-ending ת —, ה —, ה —, when the noun in the singular ends with one of these; otherwise it is merely appended to the form of the singular, as תְּהִלָּה *song of praise*, plur. תְּהִלוֹת ; אֵפֶת *letter*, plur. אֵפֶתוֹת ; בְּאֵר *a well*, plur. בְּאֵרוֹת . Feminines in —ית form their plural in —יות , and those in —ה , in —יות , e. g. מִצְרַיִת *an Egyptian woman*, plur. מִצְרַיִתוֹת ; מַלְכוּת *kingdom*, plur. מַלְכוּתוֹת . These last plurals have, however, for their basis, the singular endings —ה and —ה before which *Yôdh* to be retained as a consonant must be doubled.

Rem. It is only from mistake or disregard of these feminine-endings וַת and וַתִּר that some words ending with them, form their plural by the addition of וִים, e. g. הַנִּירָה *spear, plur.* הַנִּירָהִים; הַנִּירָהוֹת *whoredom, plur.* הַנִּירָהִים; וְנִירָהִים *widowhood, plur.* וְנִירָהִים; and many other instances. After the manner of the Syriac is the formation of the plural (before suffixes) עֲדוֹת (*ēdh^e-wô'th*) *laws*, with Wāw as a consonant, from the singular עֲדוּת.

This ending וַת (-ôth) stands for -âth (as it sounds in Arab., Ethiop. in the construct state of the West. Aram. in Eastern Syriac also in Assyrian, Schrader 1. 1. p. 222; see on the change of â to ô, in § 9, 10, 2), and -âth is properly only a longer and stronger form of the singular-ending äth (§ 80, 2). The strengthening is intended partly to denote the plural and partly as intensive; and this ending is thus by a further application appended even to such nouns as have not -âth in the singular.

How the changeable vowels of the noun are modified by the addition of the plural endings, is explained in §§ 92—95.

3. Words which are of two genders (§ 107, 3) have often, in the plural, both the masculine and the feminine termination, e. g. עָב *cloud, pl.* עָבִים and עָבוֹת; both forms may be employed as masculine and feminine, but their gender must be determined by observing the usage of the language in respect to each word. But a number also of other words of one invariable gender have both (*masc. and fem.*) plural-endings, e. g. דּוֹר *m. an age, plur.* דּוֹרִים and דּוֹרוֹת; שָׁנָה *f. a year, plur.* שָׁנִים and שָׁנוֹת. The gender of the singular is in such cases retained with both the plural forms, e. g. אַרְי *m. a lion, plur.* אַרְיִים *m.* (Zeph. 3, 3), דּוֹרוֹת *m.* (Job 42, 16).

Sometimes usage makes a distinction between the two plural forms of the same word. Thus, יָמִים *days* and שָׁנִים *years* are the usual, but יָמֹת (only *constr.* Deut. 32, 7, Ps. 90, 15) and שָׁנוֹת are rare poetic forms.

A difference of sense appears in the use of several words for members of the body, the dual (see § 88) being used for the living members themselves, while the plural in וַת denotes something like them but without life; e. g. יָדִים *hands*, יָדוֹת *artificial hands, tenons* Ex. 26, 51, כַּפַּיִם *hands*, כַּפּוֹת *handles* (L. *manubria*); קַרְנִים *horns*, קַרְנוֹת *horns* (of the altar); עֵינַיִם *eyes*, עֵינֹת *fountains*.

4. A considerable number of masculines form their plural in וַת—, while many feminines have a plural in וִים—. The gender of the singular, however, as a rule remains in the plural; e. g. אָב *father, plur.* אָבוֹת; שֵׁם *m. name, plur.* שְׁמוֹת;

on the contrary, מִלָּה *f. word, plur.* מִלִּים; פִּלְגֶנֶשׁ *f. concubine, plur.* פִּלְגָּנִישִׁים.

5. It is only in adjectives and participles that we find the two plural-endings strictly and constantly distinguished according to the gender, e. g. טוֹבִים *boni*, טוֹבוֹת *bonæ*; קְטָלִים *m.*, קְטָלוֹת *f.* So also in substantives of the same stem, when the difference depends on sex, as בָּנִים *filiī*, בָּנוֹת *filiæ*; מַלְכִּים *reges*, מַלְכוֹת *reginæ*.

Rem. 1. In some few words, there is added to the plural form in וְ the other termination of the plural יִם (יִ in construct state, comp. § 89, 2) or that of the dual יִם; e. g. בָּמָה *height, pl.* בָּמוֹת, *construct state* בָּמוֹתֵי; מִמְּאֻשֵׁי שָׂאוּל *from places at the head of Saul* 1 Sam. 26, 12; הוֹמָה *wall, plur.* הוֹמוֹת (*mænia*), whence dual הוֹמוֹתִים *double wall*. This double designation of the plural appears also in the manner of connecting suffixes with the plural forms in וְ (§ 91, 3).

2. Some nouns are used only in the sing. (e. g. אָדָם *man*, collectively *men*) a series of other nouns are used only in the plural, e. g. מְהִים *men* (in Eth. the *sing.* is *mēt man*); and some of these have a singular sense (§ 108, 2), as פָּנִים *face*. Also when the actual plural of the latter is required, there is but the same way of expressing it; hence, פָּנִים means also *faces* in Gen. 40, 7, Ez. 1, 6; אֱלֹהִים *God* and also *gods*.

§ 88.

OF THE DUAL.

1. As a most ancient modification of the plural, we have the *dual*, which however in Hebrew is used only in substantives (v. No. 2) not in adjectives, verbs, and pronouns. It is indicated in both genders by the ending יִם, appended to the singular, as יָדַי *both hands*, יְרֵמִים *two days*; but instead of the feminine-ending הַ, the dual-form always takes the old ending *ath*, with a long *ā* (on account of the open syllable), thus יָדַיִם, as שִׁפָּה *lip*, שִׁפְתַּיִם *both lips*; the ת of the termination תִּ remains, as נְחֹשֶׁת, in dual נְחֹשֶׁתַיִם *double fetters*.

With nouns which stand in sing. without the fem. ending the dual ending is added to the ground form; which however generally undergoes certain changes in consequence of the removal of the tone, e. g. בָּנָה *wing* (ground form *kānāph*), Dual בָּנַיִם (the first *ā* becoming *Shewā*, since it is no longer

pretonic, and the second *ă* being lengthened before the new tone syllable). But in most cases the original form remains before the dual ending, in the segholate forms (§ 84, 11), as *רַגְלִים* *foot* (Grdf. *rāgl*), *דְּוָלִים*; yet *קַרְנִים* is used as well as *קַרְנִים* (from *קָרַן* *horn*), *לְחָיִים* from *לָחַי* *cheek* (as from the plurals *קַרְנוֹת*, *לְחָיִים*).

Rem. 1. Unusual forms of the dual, mostly occurring only in proper names, are;—*a*) *אֵינִי* (as in West. Aram.,—comp. *aini* of the Accusative in Arab.) and *אֵינִי* (—*âni* of the nom. in Arab.), as *אֵינִי* Gen. 37, 17, and *דְּוָלִים* 2 K. 6, 13 (*pr. name* of a city, prop. *two wells*); *קַרְתָּן* (dual of *קָרַת*) name of a town, called also *קַרְתָּיִם* in 1 Ch. 6, 61, Josh. 21, 32 (so too the Moabite cities in Mēsha's Inscription in line 10 *Qiryathân* or *Qiryathên*=*קַרְתָּיִם* in O. Test.; in line 30 *בֵּית דְּבָלָתִים*=*בֵּית דְּבָלָתִים* Jer. 48, 22; in lines 31 and 32 *חִירָתִים*=*חִירָתִים* in O. Test., also line 15 *צָהָרִים*=*צָהָרִים* noon; in line 20 *מֵאתָיִם*=*מֵאתָיִם* *two hundred*);—*b*) *שְׁנֵים*, prob. in the *pr. n.* *הַצִּיָּנִים* the double spring, and *שְׁנֵים* in *שְׁנֵים* *two* in the combination *שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר* *twelve* (besides the usual form *שְׁנֵים*);—*c*) *יָדַיִם* (with *ם* cast off), *יָדַיִם* Ez. 13, 18 (if we do not read *יָדַיִם* here), perhaps also *יָדַיִם* (double windows) Jer. 22, 14 (but see § 87, 1, c).

2. Only seemingly dual are the words *מַיִם* *water*, *שָׁמַיִם* *heaven*, *יְרוּשָׁלַיִם* *Jerusalem*. The former two are plurals from the lost singulars *מַי*, *שָׁמַי* (comp. § 87, 1); the latter is probably a distended form for the older *יְרוּשָׁלַם*¹ and the Massora, with its *Qeri perpet.*, did not mean a dual; comp. the shorter form *שָׁלֵם* Ps. 76, 3, and the Aramaic *יְרוּשָׁלַם*.

2. The use of the *dual* in Hebrew is confined, except in the numerals 2, 12, 200, etc. (§ 97), chiefly to such objects as are by nature or art in *pairs*, as *יָדַיִם* *both hands*, *תְּפָלִים* *both fists*, *אָזְנוֹתִים* *both ears*, *שִׁנָּיִם* *set of teeth* (used of the *two* rows); further *נַעֲלָיִם* *pair of shoes*, *מִזָּנִים* *pair of scales* (Lat. *bilanx*), or at least are thought of as forming a *pair*, as *יוֹמִים* *two* (successive) *days*, Lat. *biduum*, *שְׁנָתַיִם* *two years* (in succession), Lat. *biennium*, *אַמְתָּיִם* *two cubits*.

Rem. In the former case the dual is used also for a plural, either indefinite or defined by a numeral, as *שֵׁשׁ כְּנָפַיִם* *six wings* (i. e.: three pairs) Is. 6, 2, Ez. 1, 6; *שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם* *seven eyes* Zech. 3, 9; *כָּל־יָדַיִם*² *all hands* Ez. 21, 12; *כָּל־בְּרָכָיִם* *all knees* Ezek. 7, 17; *מִצְלָתַיִם* *cymbals* Ezr. 3, 10; *שְׁפָתַיִם* *double-hooks* Ez. 40, 43.—With some emphasis the dual takes also the numeral *two*, as in Amos 3, 12, Judg. 16, 28.

¹ See Gesenii Thesaurus Ling. Hebrææ, p. 629.

² With this use of the *dual* may be compared the Welsh *dwylaw* (two-hands) used for the only *plur.* of *llaw* (hand), and *dwylfron* (two-breasts) for the *chest*, but *bronnau* (the reg. pl. of *bron*) for the *breasts*.—Tr.

See some other remarks on the use of the dual in § 87, Nos. 3 and 5, Rem. 1.

It cannot be doubted that the Hebrew, at an earlier period, made a more extensive and free use of the dual, and that the restrictions and defects above specified belong to a later phase of its development. The ancient Arabic forms the dual in the noun, pronoun and verb, almost co-extensively with the Sanskrit or Greek; but the modern Arabic omits it almost entirely in verbs, pronouns and adjectives. The Syriac has it without living force, only in a couple of words, and that somewhat as in the Latin forms *ambo*, *duo*, *octo*. In like manner, the dual of the Sanskrit is lost in the more modern East-Indian tongues; and its full use in the Old-Slavic has been later, e. g. in the Bohemian, confined as in Heb. to *pairs*, as hands, feet, eyes, ears. On the Germanic dual, see *Grimm's Gramm.* I. p. 814, 2d ed.

§ 89.

THE GENITIVE AND THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

1. The Hebrew has no longer the living use of *case-endings*,¹ but indicates the *relations of case*, either not at all, which is true of the *nominative* and generally also of the *accusative*, or by prepositions (§ 117); but the *genitive* relation is indicated by a close connection between two nouns. The noun, which serves in Latin or Greek as genitive to limit another (*nomen rectum*), in Hebrew remains unchanged, and is only uttered in more close connection with the preceding (*nomen regens*), and the two nouns are sometimes said to be in *regimen*. In consequence of this connection, the tone hastens on the second (the genitive) of the two nouns² and the first (or governing noun) suffers a shortening by changes chiefly in the vowels (when changeable), e. g. דְּבַר דְּבָרִים *word*, דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים *word of God*, literally *word-God* (where we reverse the order, as *God's-word*, like *fruit-tree*); יָד יָד הַמֶּלֶךְ *hand*, יָד הַמֶּלֶךְ *hand of the king*; and partly in both consonants and vowels, e. g. דְּבָרִים

¹ On some traces of obsolete case-endings, see § 90.

² In accordance with the universal tendency of the tone, in the Hebrew, as well as other languages, to hasten towards the end of words (§ 29, 1); observe, for instance, in German the natural accentuation of the last word in "*der Thron des Königs*".

words, *דְּבַר הָעָם* words of the people. Thus in Hebrew,¹ the noun which stands before a genitive suffers a change (when there is any), by which this relation is indicated, and in grammatical language it is said to be in the *construct state*, while a noun which is not thus followed by a genitive is said to be in the *absolute state*. This goes to show that the construct state is not strictly the result of the syntactical relation, but merely an effect of the relations of tone.

Whether such words are (as often happens) connected by Māqqēph (§ 16, 1) or not, does not affect the sense, but depends on the accentuation. On the further use of the *construct state*, see the Syntax, §§ 114, 116.

2. The *vowel-change* which many nouns exhibit in the *construct state* are fully taught in the Paradigms, §§ 92—95. This *construct* form of the noun has, moreover, peculiar *endings* better fitted for union with the following noun. Thus:—

- a) In place of the plural and dual *endings* *—ים* and *—ים*, it has, by throwing off the *m*, simply *—י* (comp. Rem. below); e. g. סוסים horses, סוסי פרעה horses of Pharaoh; עינים eyes, עיני המלך eyes of the king.
- b) In place of the usual feminine-termination *—ה* (in the *absol. state*), it always takes the original ending *—ה*, as מלכה queen, מלכת שבא queen of Sheba. But the feminine-termination *—ה* remains unchanged in the *constr. st.* as well as the plural ending *—ות*.
- c) Nouns in *—ה* (from verbs *ל"ה*, § 85, V.) form their *constr. st.* in *—ה*; as ראה seer, constr. ראה; undoubtedly this *—ה* is contracted from original *—י* (the *ה* being orthographically retained) whilst the *absol. state* has been changed, after the *Fôdh* had been dropped, from רא into ראה (v. § 75, 1); the same contraction is found with די constr. די sufficiency; חי life, constr. חי, and so also גיא (גי) valley, constr. (גי) גיא.

1 What is here said of the Heb. mode of expressing the relation of the genitive, is applicable in almost every particular also to the Keltic. In Welsh, for instance, they express *word of God* by *gair Duw*, i. e. *word-God*, without any change in either noun, their close connection in utterance being all that indicates the genitive case.—Tr.

On the ending ם and ם— in the *constr. st.*, see § 90.

Rem. to *a*). Probably the liquid ם at the end of a word was pronounced obscurely, like the Latin *-m* before a vowel, and hence might be wholly lost in pronunciation, just as the *m*, in the case alluded to (commonly called *ecthlipsis*), was obscured or slurred over in the language of common life and in poetry. (*Quinct. Inst. Orat.* IX. 4, § 40; *Schneider's Lat. Gram.* I. pp. 153, 300). So also the corresponding *n* of the plural-ending in Arabic and Aramaean is slurred over, and that of the plural-ending ם in the verb (§ 44, 1, and § 47, Rem. 4). After the rejection of the *m*, the final vowel *i* of the plural-ending was strengthened by a foregoing *a* (*Guna*, in Sanskrit grammar), so that *ai* arose, which was then contracted to *ê* (§ 7, 1, and § 9, 6). Instead of ם—, the Syriac still has ם—: in Hebrew, too, this form may be clearly traced in the suffixes to the plural noun (§ 91, 2). Of this we have, perhaps, an example in the form שִׁירֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Is. 20, 4.—It is obvious that the ם— of the *dual* has come from ם— (יִרְיָ from יִרְיָם).

§ 90.

TRACES OF ANCIENT CASE-ENDINGS.

ם— *local*, ם— and ם appended to the *construct state*.

1. As the Arabic distinguishes three cases by terminations, so we find also in the Hebrew noun three endings, which correspond in sound to those of the Arabic, but have mostly lost their significance. These endings (the so-called *paragogic letters*) appear only as crumbled remains of a fuller and more vital organic developement, than the language exhibits in the Old Testament, where it no longer ordinarily distinguishes the cases by terminations.

The Arabic case-endings in the fully declined nouns (*Triptota*) are: *-u* for the nominative, *-i* for the genitive, and *-a* for the accusative (corresponding to the three primary vowels); in the so-called *Diptota* the ending *a* represents also the genitive. In modern Arabic, these endings have almost entirely disappeared; and when they are now and then used, as by the Bedawins, it is done without regularity, so that one is used for the other (*Wallin*, in *Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Gesellsch.* Bd. V., 1851, p. 9, Bd. XII., p. 874; *Wetzstein*, *ibid.* Bd. XXII., 1868, p. 113). Already, in the Sinaitic inscription, the regular use is not adhered to (*Beer*, *Studia asiatica*, III., 1840, p. XVIII; *Tuch*, in *Zeitschr. d. morgenl. Ges.* Bd. III., p. 139); and even at present among the Arabs of the peninsula of Sinai, one may hear e.g. *‘ammuk* (thy uncle, in the

nom.) used also for 'ammik (*gen.*) and 'ammak (*acc.*). In central Arabia the three endings are still heard in the mouth of the people of the towns; farther south and east the *-a* stands for the *-i*, and nearer the coast these endings are heard no more (*Palgrave's Narrative of a Year's Journey through central and eastern Arabia*, Vol. I., p. 465, Lond. 1865). The Ethiopic, likewise, has preserved only the *-a* (in pr. names—*hâ*), which is, however, still used for the whole scope of the accusative, and moreover (the distinction of case being dropped) as a termination of the *constr. st.* for connecting it with a following genitive. *Philippi* gives a lucid discussion of the questions belonging here in: "Wesen und Ursprung des Status constr. im Hebrew. — Ein Beitrag zur Nominalflexion im Semitischen überhaupt." Weimar 1871, p. 98 ff. (Compare the criticism on it by *Nöldeke* in the *Götting. gel. Anzeig.* 1871. St. 23.)

2. The *accusative* relation is still most obvious in the ending הַ (usually without accent), which is appended to the substantive—

- a) Mostly to denote *direction* towards an object, or *motion* to a place¹ (answering to our *-ward*), e. g. יָמָה *sea-ward, westward*, צָפוֹנָה *northward*, אֲשׁוּרָה *to Assyria*, בָּבֶלָה *to Babylon*, הָרָה (from הַר) *mountain-ward* Gen. 14, 10, אֶרֶצָה *to the earth*, בֵּיתָה *into a house*, תִּרְצָהָ *to Tirzah* (from תִּרְצָה) 1 K. 14, 17, גִּזְרָה *to Gaza* (from גִּזָּה) Judg. 16, 1; with the article, הַהָרָה *to the mountain*, הַבֵּיתָה *into the house*, הָאֹהֶלָה (Grdf. 'o'hl) *into the tent* (also הָאֹהֶלָה Gen. 18, 6, Exod. 18, 7); even after the *constr. state* with a genitive following, בֵּיתָה יוֹסֵף *into Joseph's house*, אֶרֶצָה הַנֹּגֶב *to the south-land* Gen. 20, 1, אֶרֶצָה מִצְרַיִם *towards Egypt's land* Ex. 4, 20, מִדְבָּרָה דַּמָּשְׁק *towards the wilderness of Damascus*, 1 K. 19, 15, מִזְרָהָה *towards the sun*, eastward, Deut. 4, 41; and even after the plural, בְּשָׂדֵימָה *to the Chaldeans*, Ez. 11, 24, הַשָּׁמַיִמָה *the heavens-ward*.
- b) Sometimes in a weaker sense, as merely pointing to the place *where*² something is; e. g. מַהְנֵימָה *at Mahanaim* 1 K. 4, 14; שָׁמָּה *there* (usually *thither*) Jer. 18, 2 comp.

¹ See on this force of the accusative, § 118, 1: and compare the Lat. local accusative, as *Romam profectus est, domum reverti, rus ire*.

² So also elsewhere the accusative, § 118, 1.

2 K. 23, 8. (On the other hand בְּבֵלָה Jer. 29, 15 and זְבֵלָה Hab. 3, 11, must be taken as the usual accusative of direction: *to Babylon, in the dwelling*; also expressions like: פָּאָה צְפוֹנָה *the side towards the north* Jos. 15, 5, comp. 18, 15, 20, Ex. 26, 18).

- c) The proper sense of the ending ה־ is still more disregarded when a preposition is prefixed to the word, and this not only after ל or עַד (which is easily explicable), e. g. לְמַעַל *upwards*, לְמַטָּה *downwards*, לְשֹׂאֵלָה *into the grave* Ps. 9, 18; עַד־אַפְּקָה *unto Aphek*, Josh 13, 4 but also after ב and even after מִן e. g. בַּגִּבְעָה *in the south* Josh. 15, 21, מִבְּבֵלָה *from Babylon* Jer. 27, 16. Comp. also § 80, Rem. 2, f.

This termination ה־ has usually reference to *place* (hence called *He local*); yet in rare cases it also refers to *time*; so, in עֵתָה (with the tone on the last syllable) *now, at this time* (from עֵת), מִיָּמִים יָמִימָה *from year to year*. Its use is peculiar in הֲלִילָה, prop. *ad profanum!* = μὴ γένοιτο, *absit, or God forbid!*

Also as *accusatives of the object* we may regard not only a few names of places, Num. 32, 35, Josh. 21, 36 (אַחֲזִיחָה), but also אֶרֶצָה זְבֻלֵּן *terram Z.* and אֶרֶצָה נַפְתָּלִי *terram N.* Is. 8, 23; comp. Job. 34, 13 and § 80, Rem. 2, e.

As the ending ה־ is properly unaccented, the vowels of the word, as the above examples show, undergo mostly no change; in מִדְבָּרָה (*const. state*, v. § 26, 3, c) the short vowel *ä* remains even in open tone-syllable. The segholate forms, as אֶרֶצָה, בִּירָה, appear according to their original form, without the helping-vowel (cf. also שְׂמִירָה); so too the feminine ending appears in its older style (§ 80, 2), only that the *ä* of the ending ה־ is lengthened to *ā* in the accented open syllable, as in חֲרָצְהָ. — Moreover, the ה־ itself is in some cases shortened to הֶ־, as נֹבָה *to Nob* 1 Sam. 21, 2, 22, 9; הֶדְדָּה *to Dedan* Ez. 25, 13, אֵיָה *whither* 1 K. 2, 36, 42.

3. Much less frequent, and almost exclusively poetical, is the use of the two other endings, which along with the accusative in ה־, are presumed to correspond to the Arabic case endings viz. the so-called *literæ compaginis* י־ (the obsolete *genitive* ending) and ו־ (also ו־ in proper names) the

obsolete *nominative* ending. The reference to case in these forms is *quite lost*, and they are to be regarded simply as *archaisms*, which occur in poetry or in elevated speech, and are found besides in many compound names handed down from early times. As in these *nāmes*, so also elsewhere, these terminations stand only in the closest connection of noun with noun, viz. in the *constr. state*.¹

- a) The ending *י*— is not quite rare in the *construct state*, and it usually has the tone, e. g. *בְּנֵי אֲחִנֹּנִי* *his ass's colt* Gen. 49, 11, *עֲזָבִי הַצֹּאן* *forsaking the flock* Zech. 11, 17, *שֹׁכֵנִי סִנְה* *dweller in the bush* Deut. 33, 16; appended to the feminine, *גָּנְבָתִי לַיְלָה* *stolen at night* Gen. 31, 39 (in excited speech), *עַל דְּבָרָתִי מִשְׁפָּט* *full of justice* Is. 1, 21, *מִלְכִּירְצָק* *after the manner of Melchizedek* Ps. 110, 4. To the same category belong the apparently numerous cases, in which a preposition is inserted between the construct and the absolute state (comp. § 116, 1) without abolishing the relation of dependence e. g. *רַבָּתִי בְּגוֹיִם* *mistress among the nations* Lam. 1, 1 (the removal of the tone from the *י*— here may have proceeded from the foregoing *רַבָּתִי עִם*, where the drawing back of the tone resulted from the following tone syllable; however comp. also *אֶהְבֵּתִי לְדֹשׁ* Hos. 10, 11); *אֶסְרִי לִנְפֶן* *binding to the vine* Gen. 49, 11, comp. Ex. 15, 6, Obad. 3, Ps. 113, 5—9 (partly in freer constructions; v. 8 even with *Inf.*). Outside of the *constr. st.* is found the *Chîrêq compaginis* e. g. Is. 22, 16, Mic. 7, 14, Ps. 123, 1, and besides these in like manner it is found with some particles which are strictly nouns in the *constr. st.*, as *זֶדְלָתִי* (= *זֶדְלָת*) *besides*, *מִנִּי* (poet. = *מִן*) *from*, *בְּלָתִי* *not*, and in compound proper names, as *מִלְכִּירְצָק* (i. e. king of righteousness), *גְּבִירָאֵל* (man of God), *חַיָּאֵל* (favour of God), and others; comp. the Punic name *Hannibal*, i. e. *חַיִּיבָעַל* (favour of Ba'al).

¹ In ancient combinations of words, other endings are also often retained which have disappeared elsewhere, or are but seldom employed; e. g. the feminine-ending *ִי*— with the noun in the genitive connection (§ 89, 2, *ב*) and with the verb in connection with suffixes (§ 59, 1). In like manner, many peculiarities of the language are retained in proper names, and also by the poets.

- b) The always accented ending ך— is of much rarer occurrence, in prose only in the Pentateuch, and that in more elevated style, Gen. 1, 24 חִירֹתָאֲרֶץ *the beast of the earth* = הָאָרֶץ v. 25 (the same is copied in Ps. 50, 10, 79, 2, 104, 11, 20, Is. 56, 9, Zeph. 2, 14); other cases are בְּנוֹ בְּעוֹר *son of Beor* Num. 24, 3, 15, בְּנוֹ צִפּוֹר *son of Zippor* 23, 18, and מַיִם מֵעֵינֵי *fountain of water* Ps. 114, 8.—On the ending ך—, see the following Rem.

Rem. As these two terminations ך— and ך have wholly lost their significance, they can no longer pass for proper case-endings; yet it is probable that once they, as well as ך— (No. 2), were so used in the living language; for we find that the ancient Arabic had exactly corresponding endings, and like the Hebrew (see above) lost them at a later period. This is the case also in other tongues. In Latin, for instance, we find a trace of the so-called locative case (in names of towns, *ruri, domi*, etc.) with the same ending as in Sanskrit; in modern Persian the plural-endings *ân* and *hâ* are ancient terminations of case, which are no longer so used; not to mention the Germanic and Roman languages.—Even in cases where the ancient Arabic incorporated, with stronger sound, case-endings with the stem, as in אָבִי, אָבִי, אָבִי (constr. st. of אָב *father*), the modern uses all three forms without distinction of case. Hence also probably in the Hebrew constr. state אָבִי, אָבִי, we have properly a genitive-ending; and in West. Aram., אָבִי, in Heb. מִתִּי (in prop. names as מִתִּשְׁבָּעַל and מִתִּשְׁלַח), שְׁמוֹ, (שְׁמוֹנָאֵל) פָּנִי, (פָּנִינָאֵל) a nominative-ending, so that we can better understand how פָּנִינָאֵל occurs along with פָּנִינָאֵל, and אָחוּמִי with אָחוּמִינָאֵל.

§ 91.

THE NOUN WITH PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES.

In connecting the noun with pronominal suffixes, which in this case stand for the genitive of the pronoun and therefore necessarily are appended to the construct state of the noun (§ 33, 2, b), we have, as in the verb (§ 57 etc.), two things to notice, viz. the form of the suffixes themselves and the changes in the form of the noun. Here we take up chiefly the first, as the second will be treated of under the inflection of nouns in § 92. A general view of the suffixes is given also in Paradigm A. We exhibit the suffixes, first, as appended to the singular, and then as appended to the plural and dual of the noun.

2 Sam. 23, 6 (from which is contracted the usual form סִיָּה). Fem. סִיָּהָ 1 K. 7, 37, Ez. 16, 53; סִיָּה Gen. 41, 21, סִיָּה Ruth 1, 19, elsewhere mostly in pause; finally סִיָּה as suff. to a noun, only in Is. 3, 17.

2. In the *plural masc.* and in the *dual* the suffixes must be considered to be appended to the original ending of the *construct state* (י־ comp. § 89, 2, Rem.). This ending, however, has been preserved unchanged only in the 2d *fem.* In most cases we find, what occurs in the construct state without suffixes, viz. the contraction into י־ (so throughout the plur.), whilst in the 2d *masc.* and 3d *masc.* and *fem. sing.* (except in the poetic. suff. יָהוּ) the *Yôdh*, which has been virtually dropped, is retained orthographically. The preceding *ă* is either lengthened into *ā* (3d *masc. sing.*) or inflected into accented *Seghōl* (2d *masc.* and 3d *fem. sing.*). On the 1st *masc. sing.* see below under letter *b*. Thus we have the following:

Suffixes of Plural Nouns:

| <i>Singular.</i> | | <i>Plural.</i> | |
|---|------------------------------|--|-----------------|
| 1. com. י־ | <i>my.</i> | 1. com. יָנִי | <i>our.</i> |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> יָהָ <i>f.</i> יָהָ | } <i>thy.</i> | 2. { <i>m.</i> יָנִים <i>f.</i> יָנִי | } <i>your.</i> |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> יָהוּ , poet. יָהוּ <i>f.</i> יָהָ | } <i>his.</i> <i>her.</i> | 3. { <i>m.</i> יָהִים , poet. יָהִים <i>f.</i> יָהִי | } <i>their.</i> |

In these forms the original י־ is *a*) contracted in the 3d *sing. masc.* יָהוּ and throughout the plural, as סִיָּהוּ , סִיָּהוּ etc.; *b*) retained unchanged in the 1st *masc. sing.* סִיָּה , the real suffix ending י or י־ being blended with the final *Yôdh* into י־ , and in the 2d *fem. sing.* סִיָּהָ (with auxiliary *Chirêq* after the *Yôdh*); on the other hand *c*) the *Yôdh* of י־ is abandoned and α) the *ă* lengthened into *ā* in the 3d *masc. sing.* סִיָּה i. e. *sûsāw*; β) *ă* inflected into accented *Seghōl* in the 2d *masc. sing.* סִיָּהָ from *sûsākhā* and in the 3d *fem. sing.* סִיָּהָ from *sûsāhā*.

Rem. 1. The *Yôdh* of these forms (letter *c* above), being only orthographically retained, is occasionally omitted (which in unpointed MSS creates slight confusion with the sing.), e. g. יָנִי for יָנִי *thy*

ways Ex. 33, 13, רַעֲיוֹהוּ for רַעֲיוֹהוּ *his friends* Job 42, 10, לְמִינֵהֶם *after their kinds* Gen. 1, 21. This omission of the *Yôdh* occurs esp. with the *suff.* 3d pers. *m. sing.*, where we very often find יָ, which is, however, almost invariably changed in the *Q'rî* to יִ, e. g. הִצֵּו *his arrows* Ps. 58, 8 in *Q'rî* הִצִּו.

2. Unusual forms are: *sing.* 2d pers. *fem.* יִי (after the unchanged interjection אֲשֶׁרִי *blessed!* Eccl. 10, 17, comp. *Delitzsch*), יִיִּי (comp. Syr. כִּי) 2 K. 4, 3 and 7 in *Kethibh*; Ps. 103, 3—5; entirely abnormal is מְלָאֲכֵיכֶּה (so acc. to *Kimchi* Lex.) *thy messengers* apparently for מְלָאֲכֵיכֶּי = מְלָאֲכֵיכֶּי Nah. 2, 14.—3d pers. *masc.* וְהִי (quite an Aramaic form) Ps. 116, 12; 3d *fem.* יִרְהָא Ez. 41, 15.—*Plur.* 2d pers. *fem.* יִרְבְּנָה Ez. 13, 20; 3d pers. *masc.* יִרְהֶמָה Ez. 40, 16, *fem.* יִרְהֶנָּה Ez. 1, 11.

3. On יִמְנֵה see § 103, 2, Rem.

3. It is clear and beyond doubt that the *Yôdh* in these suffixes belongs, in reality, to the ending of the *constr. st.* of the masculine plural. Yet this was so far lost sight of by those who spoke the language, that there arose the strange peculiarity (in fact the inaccuracy) of appending these *suffix-forms* (already embodying the plural-ending יִ) to the feminine plural in וְהִי, as סִסְוֹתֵינִי, סִסְוֹתֵינִי, where in reality a double indication of the plural occurs.¹

NB. This is the rule; yet the bare suffix (as in No. 1) is sometimes appended to the ending וְהִי, as עֲדֹתֵי Ps. 132, 12 (if not the *sing.* for עֲדֹתֵי acc. to *Kimchi* in the Lex. תַּחֲנוּתֵי 2 K. 6, 8, for תַּחֲנוּתֵי); מִכְתָּה Deut. 28, 59 (acc. to analogy of inf. לִ"ה). In the 3d *plur.* this is even the more prevalent mode; e. g. אֲבוֹתָם *their fathers*, oftener than אֲבוֹתָם; so also שְׁמוֹתָם *their names*, דּוֹרוֹתָם *their generations*, obviously to avoid the excessively long forms with יִ.

4. We now subjoin, in illustration of the preceding statements, a Table of the *masculine* and the *feminine nouns* with *suffixes*; and choose for the purpose a word whose stem-vowel is unchangeable. It should be remarked however that the *construct-ending* הִ of the *feminine* retains its *Päthäch* before the *grave* suffixes כֶּם, כֵּן, but changes it to *Qā'mēš* before the *light* suffixes.

¹ See an analogous case in § 87, 5. Rem. 1. Comp. the double feminine-ending in the 3 *Sing. Perf.* of verbs לִ"ה § 75, 4.

*Masculine Noun. Feminine Noun.**Singular.*

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|-------------------|------------|--------------|-------------|-------------|
| <i>Absol. st.</i> | סוּס ¹ | a horse | סוּסָה | a mare. | |
| <i>Constr. st.</i> | סוּס | horse-of. | סוּסָת | mare-of. | |
| <i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i> | סוּסִי | my horse. | סוּסָתִי | my mare. | |
| 2. | <i>masc.</i> | סוּסְךָ | thy horse. | סוּסָתְךָ | thy mare. |
| | <i>fem.</i> | סוּסְךָ | thy horse. | סוּסָתְךָ | thy mare. |
| 3. | <i>masc.</i> | סוּסָיו | his horse. | סוּסָתָיו | his mare. |
| | <i>fem.</i> | סוּסָיהָ | her horse. | סוּסָתָיהָ | her mare. |
| <i>plur. I. com.</i> | סוּסֵינוּ | our horse. | סוּסָתֵנוּ | our mare. | |
| 2. | <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֵיכֶם | your horse. | סוּסָתֵיכֶם | your mare. |
| | <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֵיכֶן | your horse. | סוּסָתֵיכֶן | your mare. |
| 3. | <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֵיהֶם | their horse. | סוּסָתֵיהֶם | their mare. |
| | <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֵיהֶן | their horse. | סוּסָתֵיהֶן | their mare. |

Plural.

| | | | | | |
|----------------------------|--------------|-------------|---------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>Absol. st.</i> | סוסים | horses. | סוסות | mares. | |
| <i>Constr. st.</i> | סוּסֵי | horses-of. | סוסות | mares-of. | |
| <i>Suff. sing. 1. com.</i> | סוּסִי | my horses. | סוסותי | my mares. | |
| 2. | <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֵיךָ | thy horses. | סוסותיךָ | thy mares. |
| | <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֵיךָ | thy horses. | סוסותיךָ | thy mares. |
| 3. | <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֵיו | his horses. | סוסותיו | his mares. |
| | <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֵיהָ | her horses. | סוסותיה | her mares. |
| <i>plur. 1. com.</i> | סוּסֵינוּ | our horses. | סוסותינו | our mares. | |
| 2. | <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֵיכֶם | your horses. | סוסותיכם | your mares. |
| | <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֵיכֶן | your horses. | סוסותיכן | your mares. |
| 3. | <i>masc.</i> | סוּסֵיהֶם | their horses. | סוסותיהם | their mares. |
| | <i>fem.</i> | סוּסֵיהֶן | their horses. | סוסותיהן | their mares. |

§ 92.

VOWEL-CHANGES IN THE NOUN.

1. The vowel-changes in a noun (often called its *inflection* comp. § 79, 2), are caused—*a*) by a noun following in the

¹ In learning this Paradigm and the others, let the accent be carefully placed on the last syllable, except when it is marked elsewhere (see § 15, Rem. 3).—*Tr.*

genitive,—*b*) by pronominal suffixes,—*c*) by the plural and dual terminations, of the absolute state, as well as of the construct (before the following genitive of a noun or suffix).

2. The tone, in all these cases, is moved forward one syllable or more, or even (*Stat. cons.*) thrown upon the following word. We here meet with three cases, viz.—

a) When the tone is moved forward only one place, as is the case in appending the plural and dual endings **ים**— and **ים**— as well as all the monosyllabic suffixes, or those which have their accent on the 1st syllable. In dissyllabic nouns the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel of the 1st syllable becomes *Sh^ewâ* (because it no longer stands before the tone); on the other hand the originally short, but tone-lengthened vowel of the 2d syllable is retained (as being now the pretonic vowel), e. g. **דָּבָר** *word* (groundform *dābār*), plur. **דְּבָרִים**, with the light suffix, commencing with a vowel: **דְּבָרִי**, **דְּבָרְךָ**, plur. **דְּבָרַי**, **דְּבָרֶיךָ**, etc.; **כָּנָה** *wing*, dual: **כְּנָפִים**; also with the unchangeable vowel in the 2d syllable: **פָּקִיד** *overseer*, plur. **פְּקִידִים** with the suff. to the sing.: **פְּקִידִי** etc.; to the plur. **פְּקִידֶיךָ** etc.; with the unchangeable vowel in the 1st syllable: **עוֹלָם** *eternity*, plur. **עוֹלָמִים**, with the suff. **עוֹלָמִי** etc. But in participial forms with tone lengthened *ē* (originally *ī*) in the 2d syllable, this *ē* is reduced to *Sh^ewâ mobile* before the accented suffix e. g. **אֵיב** *enemy*, plur. **אֵיבִים**, with suff. **אֵיבִי** etc., likewise in the formations analogous to **קֵטַל** (§ 84, No. 9) e. g. **אֵלֵם** *dumb*, pl. **אֵלְמִים**.

b) When the tone is moved forward two places, as in the dual and plural construct, and when the grave¹ suffixes are appended to the plural (**ים**—, **יהם**—). In this case the tone-lengthened vowel of the 2d syllable becomes *Sh^ewa*, and the vowel of the first syllable which had been

¹ Nearly all the suffixes are *light*, being so called in distinction from the few that always carry a strong accent or tone, and which hence are called *grave*, namely **קָם**, **כָּן**, **הָם**, **הֵן**; **יָקָם**—, **יָכָן**—, **יָהָם**—, **יָהֵן**—.

lengthened, as being pretonic, becomes short again, e.g. **הָעָם** *words of the people*, **דְּבָרֶיְכֶם** *your words*, **דְּבָרֵיהֶם** *their words* (in which cases the *i* of the 1st syllable is everywhere attenuated from *ā*).

Rem. In the so-called S^cghólate forms, in the singular the suffix is appended throughout to the groundform (**מֶלֶכִּי** *my king*, **מֶלֶכְנִי** etc.); on the other hand, before the ending **—ים**, **—וֹת** (partly also bef. **—ים**) a *Qā'mēš* is inserted as pretonic vowel, before which the vowel of the first syllable disappears (**מֶלְכִּים**, **מֶלְכֹּת**). This *Qā'mēš* is retained also before the light suffixes which are attached to the *pl. masc.*, so that (as with **דְּבָרִי** etc. from **דְּבַר**) it has a semblance, as if the suffixes were attached, not to the *constr. state*, but to the *absol. state* (**מֶלְכֵי**, **מֶלְכֹּת** etc.). On the contrary the *construct state* plural and dual form, according to letter *b* **מְלָכֵי**, with grave suffix **מְלָכֵיכֶם** etc.

- c) Before the *Shēwā mobile* which precedes the suff. ה when appended to a consonant, the tone-long vowel of the penult is retained (being now in an open syllable before the tone) e. g. **דְּבָרָה**, **דְּמָה**; but before the grave suffixes **כֶּם** and **כֶּן** in the same position it is shortened, thus **דְּבָרְכֶם** (*d^ebār^ekhēm*) etc. In the same way the tone-lengthened *ā* or *ē* of the 2d syllable in the *constr. sing.* is shortened, the tone going forward to the following word, e. g. **דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים**; **חֵצֵר הַבַּיִת**; **דְּבַר חֵצֵר** (from **חֵצֵר**).

3. The vowel changes in the inflection of *fem. nouns* (§ 95) are not so considerable, the addition of the feminine-ending to the *masc.* having already occasioned similar changes to those produced by appending the light suffix (§ 94).

Besides the above (No. 1 and 2) mentioned vowel changes which take place according to general laws (§§ 25—28) there are other phenomena occasioned by the inflection of nouns, to judge correctly of which, it is necessary to go back to the original forms §§ 84—86. Here belong e. g. the rejection of the ה of the ל"ה stems (comp. § 91, 1, b), the doubling of the final consonant of the contracted ע"ע stems in cases like **חֶקֶר**, **חֹקֶר** etc.

NB. There is this striking difference between the vowel-changes in the verb and the noun, namely, that in the verb the *second* of two movable vowels mostly disappears (**קָטַלְתִּי**, **קָטַלְתָּ**, **קָטַלְתָּ**), in the noun the *first* (**הַדְּבָרִים**, **הַדְּבָרִי**, **הַדְּבָרִי**), comp. § 27, 3.

For greater convenience attention will now be given in the next sections to the Inflections of Nouns, with explanatory remarks (founded on the Paradigms); first the masculines (§ 93), then the feminines (§ 95), the theory as to the vowel-changes in the latter being premised in § 94.

§ 93.

INFLECTIONS OF MASCULINE NOUNS.

Masculine nouns of a simple stem may be most conveniently arranged, with reference to their vowel changes, in four classes, as in the following Table. The necessary explanations are subjoined. We here only remark in general,—

- a) That all feminines without a distinctive termination (§ 107, 1, 3) are inflected like masculine nouns (e. g. *חֶרֶב* *f. sword*, like *מֶלֶךְ* *m. king*), except that in most cases they take the plural ending *וֹת*—; so *חֶרֶב* has *plur. absol. חֲרָבוֹת*, *const. חֲרָבוֹת*, which is also the form before *suffixes*; see § 95.
- b) That in the plural of the first three classes the lengthened pretonic vowel remains unchanged before the so-called light suffixes, whenever it is found already before the plural-ending *ים*—. Comp. § 92, 2, *b*, Rem. and Note ¹; also § 91, 1, Rem. 1, *b*, last clause.

Paradigms of Masculine Nouns.

I.

| | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. | f. |
|---------------------------|-------------|-------------|-------------|------------|--------------|-------------|
| <i>Sing. absol.</i> | מֶלֶךְ | סֵפֶר | קֹדֶשׁ | נַעַר | נֶצַח | פְּעַל |
| | (king) | (book) | (sanctuary) | (a youth) | (perpetuity) | (work) |
| " <i>constr.</i> | מֶלֶךְ | סֵפֶר | קֹדֶשׁ | נַעַר | נֶצַח | פְּעַל |
| " <i>with light suff.</i> | מַלְכִּי | סִפְרִי | קֹדְשִׁי | נַעְרִי | נִצְחִי | פַּעְלִי |
| " <i>with grave suff.</i> | מַלְכֶּכָּם | סִפְרֶכָּם | קֹדְשֵׁכָּם | נַעְרֶכָּם | נִצְחֶכָּם | פַּעְלֶכָּם |
| <i>Plur. absol.</i> | מַלְכִּים | סִפְרִים | קֹדְשִׁים | נַעְרִים | נִצְחִים | פַּעְלִים |
| " <i>constr.</i> | מַלְכִּי | סִפְרִי | קֹדְשִׁי | נַעְרִי | נִצְחִי | פַּעְלִי |
| " <i>with light suff.</i> | מַלְכִּי | סִפְרִי | קֹדְשִׁי | נַעְרִי | נִצְחִי | פַּעְלִי |
| " <i>with grave suff.</i> | מַלְכֵיכֶם | סִפְרֵיכֶם | קֹדְשֵׁיכֶם | נַעְרֵיכֶם | נִצְחֵיכֶם | פַּעְלֵיכֶם |
| <i>Dual absol.</i> | רַגְלַיִם | קַבְצָיִם | מַתְנִיִּם | נַעֲלָיִם | | |
| | (feet) | (two heaps) | (loins) | (sandals) | | |
| " <i>constr.</i> | רַגְלִי | Pr. N.) | מַתְנִי | נַעֲלִי | | |

I.

| | g. | h. | i. | k. | l. | m. | n. |
|---------------------------|------------|-----------|--------------------|-----------|--------------|-----------|-----------|
| <i>Sing. absol.</i> | מָוֶת | זֵית | שׁוֹט | פֶּרִי | יָם | אִם | חֵק |
| | (death) | (olive) | (scourge) | (fruit) | (sea) | (mother) | (law) |
| " <i>constr.</i> | מָוֶת | זֵית | שׁוֹט | פֶּרִי | יָם | אִם | חֵק |
| " <i>with light suff.</i> | מָוְתִי | זֵיתִי | שׁוֹטִי | פֶּרְיִי | יָמִי | אִמִּי | חֻקִּי |
| " <i>with grave suff.</i> | מָוְתֶכָּם | זֵיתֶכָּם | שׁוֹטֶכָּם | פֶּרִיכֶם | יָמֶכָּם | אִמֶּכָּם | חֻקֶּכָּם |
| <i>Plur. absol.</i> | מָוְתִים | זֵיתִים | שׁוֹטִים | פְּרִיִּם | יָמִים | אִמּוֹת | חֻקִּים |
| " <i>constr.</i> | מָוְתִי | זֵיתִי | שׁוֹטִי (gazelles) | יָמִי | אִמּוֹת | חֻקִּי | |
| " <i>with light suff.</i> | מָוְתִי | זֵיתִי | שׁוֹטִי | יָמִי | אִמּוֹתִי | חֻקִּי | |
| " <i>with grave suff.</i> | מָוְתֵיכֶם | זֵיתֵיכֶם | שׁוֹטֵיכֶם | יָמֵיכֶם | אִמּוֹתֵיכֶם | חֻקֵּיכֶם | |
| <i>Dual absol.</i> | | עֵינָיִם | שׁוֹטִים | לְחָיִם | כַּפַּיִם | שִׁנָּיִם | |
| | | (eyes) | (two days) | (cheeks) | (hands) | (teeth) | |
| " <i>constr.</i> | | עֵינִי | | לְחָיִי | כַּפִּי | שִׁנִּי | |

II.

| | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. | f. |
|---------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|------------------|-------------------|
| <i>Sing. absol.</i> | דָּבָר (word) | חָכֶם (wise) | זָקֵן (an old man) | כָּתֹף (shoulder) | חֲצֵר (court) | שָׂדֶה (field) |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | דְּבָר | חָכֶם | זָקֵן | כָּתֹף | חֲצֵר | שָׂדֶה |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | דְּבָרִי | חָכְמִי | זָקֹנִי | כְּתִפִּי | חֲצָרִי | שָׂדֵי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | דְּבָרְכֶם | חָכְמֶכֶם | זָקֹנְכֶם | | חֲצָרְכֶם | שָׂדֵכֶם |
| <i>Plur. absol.</i> | דְּבָרִים | חָכְמִים | זָקֵנִים | | חֲצָרִים | שָׂדִים [שָׂדִים] |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | דְּבָרֵי | חָכְמֵי | זָקֵנֵי | | חֲצָרֵי | שָׂדֵי |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | דְּבָרִי | חָכְמִי | זָקֹנִי | | חֲצָרִי | שָׂדֵי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | דְּבָרֵיכֶם | חָכְמֵיכֶם | זָקֹנֵיכֶם | | חֲצָרֵיכֶם | |
| <i>Dual absol.</i> | כְּנָפַיִם (wings) | חֲלָצִים (loins) | יָרֵכִים (thigh) | | | |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | כְּנָפֵי | | | | | |

III.

IV.

| | a. | b. | c. | a. | b. | c. |
|---------------------------|------------------------|------------------------|--------------------|--------------------------|-----------------|---------------------|
| <i>Sing. absol.</i> | עוֹלָם (perpetuity) | אֹיֵב (enemy) | חֹזֶה (prophet) | פֶּקִיד (overseer) | עָנִי (poor) | כָּתֹב (writing) |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | עוֹלָם | אֹיֵב | חֹזֶה | פֶּקִיד | עָנִי | כָּתֹב |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | עוֹלָמִי | אֹיְבִי | חֹזִי | פֶּקִידִי | עָנִי | כָּתְבִי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | עוֹלָמְכֶם | אֹיְבֶכֶם | חֹזְכֶם | פֶּקִידְכֶם | | כָּתְבְּכֶם |
| <i>Plur. absol.</i> | עוֹלָמִים | אֹיְבִים | חֹזִים | פֶּקִידִים | עָנִיִּים | כָּתְבִים |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | עוֹלָמֵי | אֹיְבֵי | חֹזִי | פֶּקִידֵי | עָנִי | כָּתְבֵי |
| „ <i>with light suff.</i> | עוֹלָמִי | אֹיְבִי | חֹזִי | פֶּקִידִי | | כָּתְבִי |
| „ <i>with grave suff.</i> | עוֹלָמֵיכֶם | אֹיְבֵיכֶם | חֹזֵיכֶם | פֶּקִידֵיכֶם | עָנֵיכֶם | כָּתְבֵיכֶם |
| <i>Dual absol.</i> | מְלָקָחִים (tongs) | מֵאזְנִים (balance) | | שָׁבָעִים (fortnight) | | |
| „ <i>constr.</i> | | מֵאזְנֵי | | | | |

EXPLANATIONS.

1. *Parad. I* comprises the whole circle of the so-called segholate forms (§ 84, 11). In the first three examples with a strong stem, the ground forms, מִלֵּךְ, סֶפֶר, קֶדֶשׁ, have been developed by the adoption of an auxiliary *Sēghôl* into מִלְּךָ (ā inflected into ē) סִפֵּר (ī lengthened into ē) קִדְּשׁ (ū lengthened into ō). The next three examples show, instead of the auxiliary *Sēghôl*, an auxiliary *Pā'thāch*, on account of the middle (*d*, *f*) or closing (*e*) gutturals. In all these cases the *constr. st.* agrees entirely with the *absolute*. The singular suffixes are added to the groundform; but in *c* and *f* the original ū is replaced by ō, and, in *d* and *f* the guttural demands an echo of the ā and ō in the shape of a *Châṭēph* (נִפְעָלִי, נִפְעָרִי); before a following *Shēwā* this *Châṭēph* is changed into a simple auxiliary vowel (ā, ō) according to § 28, 3; thus נִפְעָרָה etc. In the plural there is inserted, before the accented ending ים, a pretonic *Qā'mēš*, according to § 92, *b*, Rem., whilst the short vowel of the first syllable becomes *Shēwā*. This *Qā'mēš* is again evanescent in the *constr. st.* so that now the short vowel comes to stand after the first stem consonant, in an open syllable (מִלְכִי not מִלְכִּי). On the other hand the pretonic *Qā'mēš* of the *absolute state* maintains itself before the light plural suffixes, whilst the grave suffixes are added to the form of the *constr. st.* The ending of the *absolute state* of the dual is added, as a rule, to the ground form (as with *a—d* and *h*; comp. however *k*); the *constr. st.* of the *dual* is always the same as that of the *plural* (except in cases like *k*).

The paradigms *g* and *h* give forms with middle ו and י (§ 85, IV, 11); the ground forms מוֹת and זֵית, with the exception of the *absolute sing.*, have been contracted everywhere into מוֹת and זֵית. *Parad. i* represents one of the numerous forms, in which the contraction of a middle ו or י has been performed already in the *absolute sing.* (ground form *šawt*). *Parad. k* is a form from a stem ל"ה (§ 85, V, 11).

The *paradigms l, m, n* are forms of stems ע"ע, therefore contracted out of רַמִּים, אַמִּים, חֻקִּים with regular lengthening into

הַח, אֵם, הֵן. These forms take *Dāghē'sh* in the last stem letter before suffixes, e. g. רַמִּים, רַמִּי etc. (s. § 85, II, 10, 11).

REMARKS.

1. To I *a* and *d* (Groundf. כָּטַל). In *Pause* there occurs mostly the full lengthening into *ā*, like כָּרֶם *vineyard*, זֶרַע, זֶרַע, *seed*, and so always with אֶרֶץ *earth*, with the article הָאֶרֶץ (comp. also by the LXX the writing Ἀβέλ, Ἰαφῆθ for הַבֵּל, הַפֶּת). However there is sometimes found along with the form with *ā* in *Pause* also the simple inflection of *ā* into *è*, e. g. חֶסֶד, together with חֶסֶד, and very frequently the form with *Sēghol* only, e. g. מִזְּרָח, מִזְּרָח, *east*, עֲזָרָה, עֲזָרָה, *help*, etc.—With two *Sēghols* in spite of the middle guttural is found בָּרֶחֱם *bread* (*Pause* בָּרֶחֱם) and רֶחֱם *womb* (*Pause* רֶחֱם) together with רֶחֱם (*Pause* רֶחֱם); before the closing א stands always auxiliary *Sēghol* as הֶשְׁאָה, פֶּלְאָה, עֶפְרָה etc. (also written פֶּרָה).

The *constr. s̄t.* is almost always like the *absolute*, though there occurs sometimes a removal of the characteristic vowel to the second stem-consonant (v. No. 4) e. g. זֶרַע, חֶרֶד, חֶרֶד, רֶשַׁע, נֶטַע, also אֶרֶץ etc.

The so-called ה— local is added to the groundform, thus אֶרֶץ, in *Pause* אֶרֶץ; however compare also נָגְבָה from נָגַב *south* and קֶדְמָה (perhaps from a secondary form קֶדֶם).

The suffixes of the singular are added likewise to the groundform in middle gutturals with *Châṭēph Pāthäch* instead of the *silent Sh'wā*: נֶצְרִי etc. (however there is also לְחָמִי, לְחָמִי etc.). With rather a large number of כָּטַל forms before suffixes in the singular, as well as in the *constr. pl.* and *dual*, the *ā* of the first syllable is weakened into *ī*, as בִּטְרִי *my body*, חֶרֶד; the same with שְׁמֵשׁ, שְׁמֵשׁ, שְׁמֵשׁ and many others. In a few cases of this kind, besides the form with *ā* there may exist another with original *ī* in the first syllable; it is certainly thus with חֶשֶׁן and חֶשֶׁן, חֶשֶׁן and חֶשֶׁן etc. With the abolishing of the firm close of syllable is found בִּגְדִי etc. from בִּגְדִי and רִבְבִּי Deut. 15, 14 and 16, 13, in both cases plainly through the influence of the palatal in the middle of the stem. With *ě* for *ī*: חֶבְלִי, חֶבְלִי, חֶבְלִי etc.

In the plural there is found sometimes, along with the ending ים— also the ending ית, e. g. נֶפְשׁוֹת, נֶפְשׁוֹת, together with נֶפְשִׁים (Ez. 13, 20) etc.; construct state נֶפְשׁוֹת, נֶפְשׁוֹת. Others have only the ending ית e. g. אֶרְצוֹת const. אֶרְצוֹת from עֶרֶץ. Without *Qā'mēš* before the ending ים— is found רֶחֱמִים *entrails* (comp. however also the numbers חֲשָׁרִים, twenty, שְׁבַעִים 70 and חֲשִׁימִים 90).

In the construct plural there is sometimes found, contrary to the rule, a firm close of the syllable, e. g. כֶּסֶּפִּי Gen. 42, 25, 35 (before suffixes); רִשְׁפִּי Canticles 8, 6, טֶרֶפִּי Ez. 17, 9; צִמְדִּי Is. 5, 10 (on the other hand, according to the best testimony, *not* in חֶסֶד Is. 55, 3 al.). Very frequently there occurs also here the weakening of *ā* into *ī* (v. above) e. g. זֶבְחִי. Even יִלְדִּי Is. 57, 4 besides יִלְדִּי Hosea 1, 2 al.

In the dual absol. are found with the forms like אֲלָפִים *two thousand*, נַעֲלִים *sandals*, בְּרָפִים *knees* (*ā* weakened into *ē*), with suffix בְּרַפִּי etc., also forms with pretonic *Qā'mēš* like קַרְנִים (also קֶרְנִים) *horns*, הַדְבָּיִם *double way*.

2. To the paradigms *b* and *c*. By rejecting a final א (which however is preserved orthographically) there is found חָטָא *sin*.

The first guttural, before suffixes, generally receives *Seḡhōl* instead of the original *ī*, e. g. חֲלָקִי, עֲזָרִי etc.; the same in construct plur. עֲזָרָי etc.; חָטָא forms חָטָאִי 2 Kings 10, 29 etc. by preserving the א of חָטָאִים before weak א.

3. To paradigms *c* and *f*. Without an auxiliary vowel stands קִשְׁט Prov. 22, 21; with middle gutturals פָּעַל etc., with ה however also אָהַל, בָּהֶן; with a closing guttural גָּבַח, רָבַח etc., with א however גָּמַח. Before suffixes reappears sometimes in the singular the original *ū*; e. g. גָּדְלוֹ (Ps. 150, 2) and also גָּדְלִי from גָּדַל *greatness*; סֶבְלִי (with *Dāghē'sh forte dirimens* and the echo of the *ū* in the form of אֶ) Is. 9, 3.—Corresponding to the form פֹּעֲלֵכֶם *pōl'ekhēm* stands הַתְּבַדֵּךְ Hos. 13, 14 even without middle guttural. In the forms פָּעַלְי Is. 1, 31 (instead of פָּעַלְי) and הוֹאֲרִי Is. 52, 14 (for הוֹאֲרִי 1 Sam. 28, 14) the lengthening of the original *ū* into *ō* is retained even before the suffix; comp. § 63, Rem. 4.

In the same way remains the *ō* before the ה- local, e. g. זִרְחָה Gen. 24, 67 (also זִרְחָה 18, 6).

In the *absol. pl.* the original *ū* vanishes generally before *Qā'mēš* e. g. בִּקְרִים from בָּקָר *morning*, פְּעָלִים *works*, רִמָּחִים *lances*; on the other hand with initial gutturals the *ū* remains as *Chateph Qā'mēš*, e. g. חֳדָשִׁים *months*, גַּזְלִים *gazelles*, אֲרָחוֹת *ways*, and the same, without initial gutturals, sanctuaries, and שְׁטָרִים *roots* (*qōdhashīm* etc. with *ō* as the orthographical representative of אֶ); also before light suffixes קָדְשִׁי etc., whereby however the reading frequently wavers between קָ and קֶ (the latter especially after the article הַ); comp. with these forms especially § 9, Rem. 2.

From אָהַל *tent* is found אֲהָלִים and אָהָלִים (after the Syriac; comp. above פָּעַלְי); with light suffixes אֲהָלִי etc.; so from אֶרֶחַ way; אֲרֵחָתִי (also אֲרָחָתִי). It seems that by these different ways of writing, a distinction was to be made between the plural of אֲרֵחָה *Caravan* and that of אֶרֶחַ way; however there is also found with the former signification אֲרֵחוֹת (constr. state Job 6, 19) and with the latter אֲרֵחָתִי (e. g. Job 13, 27 according to the reading of *Ben Naphtali* and *Kimchi*).

In the constr. state plur. with original *ū* there is only רִבְסִי Ps. 31, 21; elsewhere like קָדְשִׁי, אֲהָלִי etc.

4. Besides the forms treated hitherto there belong here also a series of forms which have the characteristic vowel only after the *second* stem-consonant, as is ordinarily the case in the Aramaic. Thus: *a*) after the form קָשַׁל (comp. § 84, No. 10): הֶבֶשׁ *honey*, מְעַט *little*, in pause: דְּבַשׁ, מְעַט; מָנָה Ps. 18, 26 (elsewhere מְנָה and infinitives like שָׁכַח, § 45, 1, *a*);

שָׁכַם, *ā* being modified into *è* (pause however שָׁכַם); *Local* שָׁכְמָה, also שָׁכְמָה Hos. 6, 9; with suffixes in the usual manner שָׁכְמִי Gen. 19, 33, 35 (as *infinitive* with vocal *Sh'wā*, not שָׁכְבָה). On the other hand the *ā* is retained in the *plural absol.* before the artificially doubled final consonant; אֲנָמִים (*constr.* אֲנָמִי) *morasses*, מְעָשִׂים *myrtles*, מְעָשִׂים; *b*) after the form קָטַל בָּאֵר *well*, זָאֵב *wolf* etc. *Local* בָּאֵרָה, with *Suff.* בָּאֵרִי, *Plur.* זֹאֲבִים, זֹאֲבִי, on the other hand בָּאֵרֹת, *construct* בָּאֵרֹת; *c*) after the form קָטַל בָּאֵשׁ *stench* (with *suff.* בָּאֵשׁוֹ) perhaps also לָאֵם *Nation*, *Pl.* לָאֵמִים, and the large number of infinitives, like קָחַב with *suffix* קָחַבוֹ etc.

5. Parad. *g—i* comprise the segholate forms with middle ו or י, *a*) after the form קָטַל with *Wāw* as firm consonant whereby the original *ā* is almost always lengthened into *ā* (Parad. *g*), thus מָוֶת = *death*, אֲנִי *mishap*, עָוֹל *wrong*, תְּמִידָה *midst*; with final א: שָׁיָא *vainness*; comp. however also רֵחַב *width*. In the *constr. state* occurs always a contraction: מֹוֹת etc. (from the original *mawt*), likewise before suffixes מֹוֹתוֹ etc. Exception: עָלַי as *constr. state* Ez. 28, 18 (according to *Kimchi*) and with *suff.* עָלַי. The contraction remains throughout the plur. (*v.* however below letter *c*); *b*) from the form קָטַל with *Yôdh* consonant (Parad. *h*). With א at the end גָּיָא (*גִּי*) *constr.* גָּיָא (*גִּי*). The uncontracted form (in the absolute state with auxiliary *Ch'rêq*) remains also before *local* הָ, e. g. בִּיתָה (on the other hand in the *construct state*, e. g. בִּיתָה יוֹסֵף). In the *plur. absolute* there are found uncontracted forms, like עֵינֹת *springs*, תְּרִשִׁים *bucks* etc.; *c*) with the contraction of ו and י already in absolute state sing. (Parad. *i*). In this manner there rise formations which are throughout unchangeable; thus from the groundform קָטַל יוֹם (from *yawm*), סוֹף, שׂוֹר (in the plur. however with a stronger formation שְׂוָרִים *cattle*) etc.; with middle *Yodh*: חֵיִל (also חֵיִל Is. 21, 11 (elsewhere לֵיִל, in *prose* חֵיִלָּה); from the groundform קָטַל עֵיר, שִׁיר (v. however § 96); from the groundform קָטַל רֵחַב etc.

Strong forms in the plur. are הִדְרִים *pots* and שְׁנוֹקִים *streets*. Finally belong here also forms with א quiescent, like ראש *head* (modified from ראש = ראש v. § 96) and צֹאן *flock*.

6. To paradigm *k*, segholate forms from the ל"ה stems. Besides the strong formations mentioned § 85, V, 11, like בָּקָה etc. as well as שָׁחַ (employing the original ו as auxiliary vowel), there are found *a*) from the groundform קָטַל nearly everywhere forms like פָּרִי, בָּכִי, גָּדִי, לָהִי etc.; in *pause* פָּרִי, בָּכִי, גָּדִי, on the other hand אָרִי Judg. 14, 18; with suffixes פָּרִיו (weakened from *pāryō*) however also פָּרִיָּה etc.; before grave suffix פָּרִיהֶם, but also פָּרִיָּהֶם. Plur. גָּדִיִּים (*constr.* גָּדִי v. above No. 2 חֲטָאִי and אָרִיִּים; with softening of the י into א: חֲטָאִים, אָרִיִּים from פָּרִי, בָּכִי, גָּדִי; *b*) from the groundform קָטַל חֲצִי *half*, in *pause* חֲצִי, with suffix חֲצִיו etc. Probably belongs here also עֵת *time* (properly *idy*, then with rejection of *Yôdh* and ת *fem.* עֵתָה, finally

with assimilation of ו=וּ (עַתָּה), with suff. עֲתֹה, plur. עֲתֹהִים. With stems of middle *Waw* rise formations like אַר (from 'uwy = אֲוִי), plur. אֲוִים etc.; c) from the groundform קָטַל partly forms like בָּהוּ, הָהוּ (from *tūhw*, *būhw*), partly like חָלִי, עָזִי, and also without initial guttural צָרִי (also צָרִי Gen. 37, 25), in *pause* חָלִי etc., with suffix חָלִי, plur. חָלִיִּים.

7. To paradigms *l—n*, Segholate forms from stems ע"ע (v. § 85, II, 11). a) In the *qaṭl* form the *ā* of the contract form is partly lengthened in the *absolute state sing.*, as in רָם (so also in the *constr. state*, except in the combination רָם-סִיחָה *a weedy-sea*; even before *Māqqē'ph*: רָם-הַמֶּלַח *a salt-sea*), partly it remains short before *Dāghē'sh f. implic.* e. g. פֶּת מֶסֶל, *morsel*, עַם *people*, but even these formations have *Qāmēš* in *pause* as well as mostly after the article (e. g. הָעָם). In the *constr. state* חַי *life*, and חֵי *sufficiency* are contracted into חַי, חֵי. הַרְהַר *mountainwards* Gen. 14, 10 (v. § 22, 1) has to be noticed as a *directive* (also הַרְהַר). However forms like חַי may possibly be derived from the groundform חֵרֵר, especially as there is also found חֵרֵרִי Jer. 17, 3 (v. *Parad.* II). Before suffixes and in the *plur.* there occurs sometimes the attenuation of *ā* into *ī*, e. g. עֲתֹהִים, עֲתֹהִים etc.—Some nouns (especially in poetical speech) have besides the contracted forms, also the uncontracted ones e. g. הַרְרִים Gen. 14, 6 *Plur. constr.* הַרְרִי; עֲמָמִים Neh. 9, 22, Judges 5, 14, עֲמָמִי Neh. 9, 24 (elsewhere עֲמָמִים, עֲמָמִי); b) *qīṭl*-forms: אֵשׁ, אֵם *fire*, חֵן *favor* etc.; c) *qūṭl*-forms: כֹּל, חֹק *totality*, before *Māqqē'ph* חֹק־כֹּל, with suff. חֹקֵי etc., the *Dāghē'sh f.* falling out (according to § 20, 3, b) also חֹקֵי, חֹקֵי; with עֹז *strength* even עֹזֵי etc. also עֹזֵי.

The *Segholates* with assimilated middle *Nūn* follow likewise the analogy of *Parad. l—n* e. g. אַף *wrath* (אַפִּי *Dual* אַפִּים *for 'anp*; עֹז *goat* עֹזִים *for 'inz*).

2. *Paradigm II* comprises all formations with original short vowels as well in the first as in the second syllable; comp. § 84, 1, 2, 12 and the general laws of formation § 92, No. 2.

Rem. 1. To paradigms *a* and *b*, groundform *qūṭāl*. The lengthening of *ā* into *ā* is maintained in the *constr. st. sing.* only with א"ל-forms e. g. צֶבֶא *army*, צֶבֶא. For the construct forms חֵלֶב *milk* and לָבָן *white* Gen. 49, 12, we must adopt, instead of the usual absolutes לָבָן, חֵלֶב, a secondary form חֵלֶב, לָבָן. Sometimes an artificial doubling of the final consonant takes place in order to keep the preceding vowel short e. g. חֲמִשִּׁים *camels*, חֲמִשִּׁים *small ones*, חֲמִשִּׁים *brooks*.—The weakening of the *ā* of the first syllable into *ī* does not take place in the *constr. state plur.* nor in some instances with non-gutturals, e. g. זַנְבוֹת *tails*, כְּנָפֹת *wings*, from זָנַב, כָּנַף.—The *Dual* נְהַרִּים from נָהַר *stream*, shows an abnormal remainder of the *ā* before an accented ending.

From ע"י stems rise according to § 72, 4 formations like קָם (*Part.*

Qāl), רם *high* with unchangeable *Qāmēš*.—In the ע"ע the contraction is mostly prevented by the lengthening of the two short vowels, therefore e. g. חָלַל, עָנָן etc. But undoubtedly also contracted adjective forms belong here, like חָל low, קָל light, etc. (for חָלָל, קָלָל). Their inflection follows naturally *Parad. I, l*. Under the influence of a guttural arise forms like רַע רָעִים, רָעִים (for רָעִים etc.). On הָר mountain, comp. above I, Rem. 7.

The few nouns of the groundform *qāṭāl* follow the same analogy, such as לֵב heart, טַבַּח strong drink, גֶּבֶב grape etc. For טֵפֶּר hair is found besides טֵפֶּר also the constr. state טֵפֶּר (טֵפֶּר having been treated as a Segholate form); for צֶלֶב rib is also found צֶלֶב and even צֶלֶב 2 Sam. 16, 13, both probably ancient secondary forms (also in the absolute state) for צֶלֶב; comp. also צֶלֶב and צֶלֶב, as well as the constr. state plur. צֶלֶבִּים; also of נֶכֶד strangeness stands Deut. 31, 16 the constr. state נֶכֶדִּים.

2. To *paradigms c—e*, groundform *qāṭīl*. Here the shortening of the ē of the second syllable into ā in the constr. state, is quite peculiar (except with ל"א, e. g. מָלֵא full, מָלֵא; comp. however also עָקֵב Gen. 25, 26 from עָקֵב heel and אָבֵל Ps. 35, 14 mourning), e. g. חָסֵר, חָסֵר, חָסֵר etc. *Parad. d* represents forms which treat the word פָּתָח as if it were a segholate, accented upon the first syllable (v. *Parad. I Rem. 4*) or in other words they convert it into a real segholate; in the same way are formed חָסֵר, חָסֵר, from חָסֵר wall, חָסֵר thigh.—In the plur. constr. the ē, lengthened from ī, is retained with the verbal adjectives of these forms e. g. חָסֵר, חָסֵר, חָסֵר; comp. also חָסֵר (under the protection of the secondary tone) from חָסֵר nail.—From ע"ע stems come forms like מֵת dead person (from māwīt), פֶּר stranger, עֵד witness with unchangeable *Sērē*, thus מֵתִים, מֵתִים etc.

Related to this are the forms of the groundform *qāṭīl*. The latter is according to the rule, lengthened into *qāṭīl*, e. g. עָמֵק round, עָמֵק deep, אָדָם red; on the other hand before affirmatives the ū comes back again, guarded by the artificial doubling of the following consonant, as עָמֵק etc.

3. To *paradigm f*, groundform *qāṭāl* from ל"ה stems. With טֵרֶה is also found the form טֵרֶה, preserving the final *Yôdh* (comp. § 85, V, 2); in the same way the closing ו is preserved in טֵרֶה sufferers, constr. טֵרֶה. The plural of טֵרֶה is טֵרֶה, constr. טֵרֶה (also טֵרֶה). Also the word פָּנִים face, פָּנִים, פָּנִים etc. belongs undoubtedly to the category of these forms.

In some forms of this kind the vowel of the second syllable has already been abandoned in the *sing. absolute state*; thus in יָד hand (for יָדָה), constr. יָד, with suff. יָדוֹ, but יָדָה, plur. יָדָה, constr. יָדָה, Dual יָדָה, with suff. יָדָה, plur. יָדָה etc.; in the same way דָּם blood (for דָּמָה), constr. דָּם, with suff. דָּמִי, but דָּמָה (ā weakened into ī, plur. דָּמִים, דָּמִי).

3. *Paradigm III* comprises forms with unchangeable vowel in the first syllable, whilst the vowel of the second syllable

has been lengthened from an originally short vowel and is therefore changeable. Here we must distinguish the cases where the originally short vowel has been lengthened, as well in as *before* the tone, but vanishes elsewhere, when standing in an open syllable (*parad. a*, to which also examples like *אֲוָנִים wheels*, for *אֲוָנִים* must be reckoned) also the cases where the vowel becomes Sh^wâ, even *before* the accent (*parad. b*); finally the entire rejection of the ending in the forms *ל"ה* which belong here (*parad. c*).

Rem. 1. In the category of *עֹלָם* (which however has been modified from *‘âlām*) belong in regard to inflection also the following forms of those cited in § 84: No. 14 *מִקְשָׁל* with the only difference that the *ל"א* of this form maintain the *Qāmēṣ* in the inflection, e. g. *מִקְשָׁל plur. constr. מִקְשָׁלִי*; No. 15 *שֻׁלְחָן table (plur. שֻׁלְחָנוֹת constr. שֻׁלְחָנוֹת, קָרְבֵּן, constr. קָרְבָּן*, therefore in *constr. plur.* with suffix *קָרְבָּנִיהֶם Lev. 7, 38*; No. 17 *נִקְשָׁל*; No. 35 *עֲקָרָב plur. עֲקָרָבִים* (with the doubling of the final consonant for *עֲקָרָבִים*, compare also *בָּרָהֶם, בָּרָהֶמוֹ, בָּרָהֶם*); § 85, I, No. 14 *מִתָּן*; II, No. 14 *מִעֹ, מִגֵּן*, where the *ā* of the first syllable maintains itself against the rule, even where it is not pretonic, e. g. *מִגֵּנִי, מִגֵּנִי, מִגֵּנִי*; III, No. 14 *מוֹשָׁב* etc.; No. 27 *הוֹשָׁב*.

2. (*Paradigm b*.) Instead of the shortening of the *ē* into the original *ī* in forms like *אֱלֹהִים* it is more frequently shortened into *ě*, e. g. *רִצְרָךְ thy creator*, and with a closing guttural there are found forms sometimes like *שִׁלְחָךְ* sometimes like *שִׁלְחָךְ*. According to the same analogy are inflected: § 84, I, No. 3; No. 9 *גִּבֹּן* etc. (however there are exceptions, as *רִבְעִים, שְׁלֹשִׁים*, No. 35 *עֲפָרָה*; III, No. 14 *מוֹרָשׁ*; VI, No. 2 *מוֹפֵת*; but also here are found exceptions like *מִקְהָלִים Ps. 26, 12*).

3. (*Paradigm c, Part. Qāl* of verbs *ל"ה*, differing from *Parad. II, f*. by the stability of the vowel in the first syllable.) The *ל"ה* forms of § 85, V, No. 14 and 4 belong here according to their formation.—In some cases, before a suffix commencing with a consonant, the original *āy* of the ending has been contracted into *ē*, and thus are produced forms that have apparently the *plural suffix*; as *מִרְאֵיהֶם their appearance Dan. 1, 15, Gen. 41, 21* (on the other hand the examples mentioned farther back from *Is. 14, 11, 30, 23, Gen. 47, 17, 1 Sam. 19, 4* are real plurals). Before the plural ending the original ending *āy* has come back again in *מִמְצֵיִם Is. 25, 6 (Part. Pu. from מִמְצָה)*.

4. *Paradigm IV* comprises forms with a changeable (*a, b*) or already vanished vowel (*c*) in the first syllable, and an unchangeable vowel in the second one. With *Parad. c* are also connected all the forms, which have in both syllables

unchangeable vowels and can therefore (like בָּרַב) not submit to any flexional changes.

Rem. 1. Analogous with פָּקִיד (Groundform *pāqīd*) are: § 84, I, No. 3 פָּדִיד etc. (with *ô*, not changeable *ō* for *ū*); in substantives like שָׁלוֹם the *ô* has been inflected from *â* (arab. *sālām*); No. 5 אָסִיר, אָסִיר etc.; II, No. 15 זָכָר, constr. זָכָר; IV, No. 35 חָלָמִישׁ, constr. חָלָמִישׁ; § 85, IV, No. 14 מָקוֹם etc.; V, No. 15 בָּלִיָּו, constr. בָּלִיָּו.

2. עָנִי (groundform *ʿānīj*, stem עָנָה) represents forms in which the closing *Yôdh* has been blended in *î*; before formative additions the *Yôdh* under the protection of a *Dâghē'sh forte* becomes again a firm consonant, whilst the (originally short) vowel of the first syllable vanishes; comp. § 85, V. No. 5 נָקִי, *Plur.* נָקִיִּים.

3. בָּרַב with unchangeable *â* in the second syllable whilst the *Shewâ* comes from a short vowel (arab. *kitâb*); constr. state בָּרַב־ Esth. 4, 8 (readings like בָּרַב Esth. 1, 4, בָּרַב 4, 8, 2 Ch. 35, 4 are simply errors). In a stricter sense belong here the forms numbered § 84, II, No. 13; in a larger sense those which have throughout unchangeable vowels, thus § 84, I, No. 6 קָטָל, comp. however the anomalies mentioned there), No. 7, 8, partly II, No. 15, and III, No. 23; IV, No. 26, 27, 32, 33; § 85, IV, 27, 31; V, 27.—In opposition to the anomalous abbreviations of the form קָטָל (v. above) there are found elsewhere cases, where the vowels before the accent maintain themselves also in the antepenult (with the secondary accent); comp. above No. 2, Rem. 2 and No. 3 Rem. 3, as well as, of the form קָטָל (really *qāṭîl*) the examples סָרִיסִים, פָּרִיצִים, שְׁלִישִׁים, whilst the constr. state sing. reduces according to the rule the *â* into *Shewâ* סָרִיס and פָּרִיץ. (Forms like עָרִיץ *tyrant*, for עָרִיץ, therefore with unchangeable *Qāmēš*, must not be mistaken for the above.) Of the forms קָטָל (*qāṭîl*) belong here שָׁבִיעַ *week, plur.* שָׁבָעִים and שָׁבָעוֹת, constr. שָׁבָעוֹת, but with *Méthēg* of the secondary tone in the fourth syllable before the last: שָׁבָעוֹתֵם.

§ 94.

FORMATION OF FEMININE NOUNS.

1. The feminine ending ה־ appended to the masculine forms (see § 93), effects almost everywhere the same changes, which are produced by adding a light suffix to masculine nouns, as in both cases the tone is removed one place farther forward (v. § 92, 2). In the following summary are kept the same divisions and subdivisions as in § 93; a few special forms are treated in § 95, in connection with the paradigm of the feminine noun.

Parad. I (segholate forms, everywhere with the appending of the feminine ending to the ground form), a) מַלְכָּה *queen*,

כִּבְשָׂה and with the weakening of *ä* into *ī* כִּבְשָׂה *lamb*, חֲזָקָה *strength* (if not belonging to parad. *b*); *b*) סִתְרָה *covering* (masc. סִתָּר), not to be mistaken for the unchangeable forms of ל"ה stems, created by a prefixed מ, as מִצְוָה *command*, plur. מִצְוֹת; עֲרֵכָה *grace, delight* (עֲרֵךְ); *c*) חֲלָה proper noun (חֲלָה *mole*), אֲכָלָה *food* (אָכַל); *d*) נַעֲרָה *girl* (נָעַר); *e*) בְּאִשָּׁה *weed*, טְהִירָה *purity* (טָהַר); *f*) עֲוִלָה *wrong* (also עוֹלָה parad. *i*); *g*) צִידָה *game* (contracted from צִיד, therefore really parad. *i*); *h*) בִּינָה *intellect*, סוּפָה *tempest*; *i*) אֲלִיָּה *fat sheep* (as of אֵלִי), שְׁבִיָּה (*ä* weakened into *ī*) *captivity* (שָׁבַי), לִיָּה *wreath* (probably an original *qilt* form); *k*) חַיָּה *life*, מִדָּה *measure* (weakened from מִדָּה); *l*) זָמָה *plan*; *m*) חֻקָּה *law* (חָק).

Parad. II. Groundform *qātālāt* etc. *a*) נִקְמָה *vengeance* (נָקַם); *b*) אֲדָמָה *earth*; *c*) נִבְלָה *corpse*; *e*) עֲרִפָּה *languid*; *f*) רִפָּה *beautiful*, קֶצֶה *end* (from רִפָּה, קֶצֶה). From stems ע"ע arise thus *a*) רַבָּה *many*, with middle gutturals רַעָה *bad*; from ע"ו *רָה* *stranger*; *c*) עָדָה (ground form *āwīd*) *female witness*; from stems middle *o* טוֹבָה *good*. From the ground form *qātūl* עֲמָקָה *deep* (masc. עָמַק), עֲבָדָה *servitude*.

Parad. III (unchangeable vowel in first, changeable in second syllable); *b*) יָלְדָה *puerpera*, but also with reduction of the *ē* (originally *ī*) into *Shēwā* יִשְׁבָּה *dwelling* Nah. 3, 8; however in these participial forms the feminine is mostly indicated by ת— (v. below No. 2); *c*) גּוֹלָה *emigrating host* (masc. גּוֹלָה), but also with the retention of the final *Yôdh* בּוֹכִיָּה *weeping* Lament. 1, 16.

Parad. IV (original changeable vowel in the first, unchangeable in the second syllable); *a*) גְּדֻלָּה *great*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, really *pious*; בְּתוּלָה *virgin*, really *L. sejuncta*; *b*) עֲנִיָּה *wretched*.

2. The feminine ending ת is (except before suffixes) rarely appended, in its original form, to the noun; comp. however forms like בְּכִיָּה *weeping* (masc. בָּכַי § 93, I, *k*), בְּרִית *covenant*; also *fem. participles* of ל"א, as מִצָּאָה, יִצָּאָה, although these forms may have been contracted from יִצָּאָה like *segholate* forms (therefore we also have מִצָּאָה, as בָּאָר (§ 93, Parad. I, 4, *b*), comp. § 74, Rem. 3. Besides this, there is found with a simple ת, only יִלְדָּה בֶּן (construct state) Gen. 16, 11; Judges 13, 5, 7, for יִלְדָּה בֶּן (Gen. 17, 19, Is. 7, 14).

The forms which arise by the appending of the **ת** feminine to the ground form, are, as a rule, developed exactly in the manner of the masc. segholate-forms. Thus rise in I, *a*) from **גְּבֵרָה** (masc. **גֶּבֶר** = **גָּבֶר** § 93, I, 4, *a*) the form **גְּבֵרָה** *mistress*; from **מַלְכָּה** (**מֶלֶךְ** = **מַלְךְ**) *queen*; Parad. II, *a*): **יָבֵמָה** *brother-in-law*, fem. **יָבֵמָה** (from **יָבֵמָה**); *c*) **גִּדְרָה** *wall* (from **גִּדְרָה**), thus, the general form *constr. state masc.* **זָקֵן** is taken as a base; comp. on the other hand **חַמְשָׁה** as *constr. state of חַמֵּשׁ*; of formations with the lengthening of the original *i* of **חַמְשָׁה**; of formations with changeable *ō* in the second syllable, belong here **נְחֹשֶׁת** *brass* (from **נְחֹשֶׁת**); Parad. III, *a*) **הִתְמָה** (from **הִתְמָה**) *masc. seal*; *b*) **יוֹנֵקָה** (*real sense, sucking*) *off-spring*; and so mostly the feminines of the participle **קָטַל**, however also here we must admit the ground form **קָטַלָה** (**יוֹנֵקָה**, *v. above*); this ground form reappears before suffixes and under the influence of a guttural, e. g. **יָדַעַת**, fem. of **יָדַעַת** *knowing*; in a larger sense belongs here also **גִּלְגֻּלָּה** *skull*, *v. § 95*; Parad. IV, *c*) **כְּתוּבָה** *scripture*, modified from *kethâb* § 93, Parad. IV, *c*.

As to the ending **וּת** and **וּתִי** *v. § 84*, No. 16 and § 95 at the end.

§ 95.

PARADIGMS OF FEMININE NOUNS.

Corresponding with the general laws of formation, exhibited § 92, 2, 3, the principal cases that have to be considered, in regard to the inflection of feminines are the following: 1) a tone lengthened vowel retakes its original shorter form by the removal of accent (thus the *ā* of the ending **הָ** becomes *ă* again in the ending of the *constr. state* **תִּ**). On the other hand a long pretonic vowel, although originally short, maintains itself *before* the ending **הָ** e. g. **צִדְקָה**; 2) outside of the accent or foretone every original short vowel becomes *Shewâ*; on the contrary the *ă* which had likewise disappeared in the first syllable, returns again *before* a similarly vanished vowel, although usually weakened into *î*, e. g. **צִדְקָה** from *šādāqât*; 3) in the plural of the feminines of segholate forms, before the ending **וּתִי** — as well as before the

light suffixes, a pretonic *Qā'mēš* is inserted anew, and the short vowel of the first syllable becomes *Shewā*, but reappears in the *constr. state* and before grave suffixes.

In the following paradigms we present only such of those forms treated in § 94 (besides I, *d*) as require the consideration of some vowel change or other. All forms with unchangeable vowels follow the analogy of Parad. I, *d*.

Paradigms of feminine Nouns.

I.

| | a. | b. | c. | d. | e. |
|---------------------------|--------------|---------------------|--------------|------------|--------------|
| <i>Sing. absol.</i> | מֶלֶכָּה | חֲרָפָה | חֲרָבָה | חֻקָּה | גְּבֵרָתָהּ |
| | (queen) | (reproach) | (waste) | (law) | (mistress) |
| " <i>constr.</i> | מֶלֶכֶת | חֲרַפַּת | חֲרַבַּת | חֻקַּת | גְּבֵרַת |
| " <i>with light suff.</i> | מֶלֶכָּתִי | חֲרַפָּתִי | חֲרַבָּתִי | חֻקָּתִי | גְּבֵרָתִי |
| " <i>with grave suff.</i> | מֶלֶכְתְּכֶם | חֲרַפְתְּכֶם | חֲרַבְתְּכֶם | חֻקְתְּכֶם | גְּבֵרַתְכֶם |
| <i>Plur. absol.</i> | מַלְכוּת | חֲרָפוֹת | חֲרָבוֹת | חֻקּוֹת | |
| " <i>constr.</i> | מַלְכוֹת | חֲרָפוֹת | חֲרָבוֹת | חֻקּוֹת | |
| " <i>with suff.</i> | מַלְכוֹתִי | חֲרָפוֹתִי | חֲרָבוֹתִי | חֻקּוֹתִי | |
| <i>Dual absol.</i> | | רִקְמָתַיִם | | | מִצְלָתַיִם |
| | | (double embroidery) | | | (cymbals) |

II.

III.

| | a. | b. | c. | a. | b. |
|---------------------------|--------------|--------------|------------|---------------|-------------------|
| <i>Sing. absol.</i> | צֶדֶקָה | זַעֲקָה | שָׁנָה | יוֹנֵקָה | גִּלְגָּלָהּ |
| | (justice) | (outcry) | (year) | (sprout) | (skull) |
| " <i>constr.</i> | צֶדֶקַת | זַעֲקַת | שָׁנַת | יוֹנֵקַת | גִּלְגָּלַת |
| " <i>with light suff.</i> | צֶדֶקָתִי | זַעֲקָתִי | שָׁנָתִי | יוֹנֵקָתִי | גִּלְגָּלָתִי |
| " <i>with grave suff.</i> | צֶדֶקְתְּכֶם | זַעֲקְתְּכֶם | שָׁנַתְכֶם | יוֹנֵקְתְּכֶם | גִּלְגָּלַתְכֶם |
| <i>Plur. absol.</i> | צִדְקוֹת | | שָׁנוֹת | [יוֹנֵקוֹת] | גִּלְגָּלוֹת |
| " <i>constr.</i> | צִדְקוֹת | | שָׁנוֹת | יוֹנֵקוֹת | גִּלְגָּלוֹת |
| " <i>with suff.</i> | צִדְקוֹתִי | | שָׁנוֹתִי | יוֹנֵקוֹתִי | גִּלְגָּלוֹתִי |
| <i>Dual absol.</i> | | | שְׁפָתַיִם | | [יָדַשְׁתָּיִם] |
| | | | (lips) | | (pair of fetters) |
| " <i>constr.</i> | | | שְׁפָתַי | | |

REMARKS.

Rem. 1. *Parad. I* (feminine of Segholate forms). *a*) the form of this class with ה local sounds like גִּבְעָה towards *Gib'ā* (masc. גִּבַּע). In some cases, especially with gutturals for the first letter, it cannot be distinguished whether the forms belong to *qāṭl* or *qīṭl* e. g. חֲזָקָה *strength* (comp. חֲרָפָה under *b*). A *dual* of this form occurs in שִׁבְעָתַיִם *seven times* (comp. שִׁבְעַת *seven*, fem.). Analogous to masculine forms, as דָּבַשׁ (§ 93. I. Rem. 4) there is found הֲדַסָּה *myrtle*.—From masculines of the form קָרִי (ל"ה comp. § 93 I, *k*) rise feminines, partly like נִצְחָה, שְׁלָחָה, אֶלְחָה (v. above § 94, 1, I, *k*) partly like בְּכִירָה (§ 94, 2); sometimes the closing ה before the plural ending, has been retained as if it belonged to the stem, e. g. חֲנִירוֹת *lances*. Forms like גִּדְּיָה (comp. אֲנִיָּה as a *qōṭl* form), are derived directly from the masculine forms גִּדְּי *kid*, אֲנִי *ship*.—*b*) An example of ע"ן is חֲזָה *wheat* (for חֲנָזָה), plur. חֲזָזִים; analogous with בָּאָר (§ 93, I, Rem. 4, *b*) are forms בְּרִיכָה *pond* (with unchangeable *Ṣērē*) and שְׂאֵלָה *request*, with suffix שְׂאֵלָתִי, but also שְׂאֵל (= שְׂאֵלָתִי) Job 6, 8, Ps. 106, 15 (on הֲזָה etc. comp. below letter *e*);—*c*) the *plural absol.* of עֲזָלָה *prepuce* is עֲזָלוֹת (comp. פְּעָלִים § 93, *Parad. I, f*) *construct* עֲזָלוֹתֵי.—*d*). As an example of a feminine Segholate form of a stem ע"ע (groundform *qāṭl*, like חֲזָה of the form *qāṭl*, זָמָה of the *qīṭl* form) with ־ for ־, is found חֲזָה *fright* Is. 19, 17 (aram. orthog. for חֲזָה).—*e*) Segholate forms with ה fem. In the *Parad. I* גִּבְעָה (v. § 94, 2, I, *a*) the *ā* of the groundform גִּבְעָה has been sharpened into *ī* before the singular suffixes. Plural would be גִּבְעוֹת.—To the same category belong infinitives of פ"ו פ"ן, which have rejected the feeble consonant, as שָׁבַח (from רָשַׁב), הִצִּח (from רָדַע), שָׁשַׁח (from נָגַשׁ), as well as קָהַח (from חָקַח); comp. § 69 Rem. 4 and § 66. The infinitive of פ"ו is however also found in the form הִצֵּח, לָחַח, צָחַח, also עָדַח *congregation* (from רָדַח), נִצָּח *advice* (from רָדַח), שָׁנַח *sleep* (רָשַׁח), *constr.* שָׁנַח עֲדַח, whilst in the *construct forms* וַעֲדַח *sweat* Gen. 3, 19, (from רָדַח to flow) and צָחַח *excrement*, Ez. 4, 12, the *Ṣērē* has remained firm, בָּשַׁח *shame* (from בּוֹשׁ to be ashamed) must be considered undoubtedly as a *qōṭl* form of an ע"ו stem, analogous with בָּאֵשׁ (§ 93, I, Rem. 4 *c*). Of a ל"ה (הֲלָה) has been formed after rejection of the closing *Yōdh*, the masculine הֵל and afterwards the feminine הֵלָה *door*; plur. הֵלָחוֹת, *constr.* הֵלָחוֹת retains however the final ה (v. above *a* הֵלָחוֹת). In a similar way has been formed שְׁחָה *trough* (from שָׁחַ), of which the *masc.* should be שָׁח=שָׁחִי; on the other hand, the *plur. constr.* שְׁחָהֵי Gen. 30, 38 (again retaining the feminine ה as an apparent stem consonant) can only be traced back to a kindred form (שְׁחָה or שְׁחָה).

2. *Parad. II* (groundform *qātālāt* etc. comp. § 94, I, *Parad. II a* and *b*). Analogous with the masculine forms such as קָטָן, plur. קָטָנִים, is found here קָטָנָה *little* etc.—The *constr.* forms, as צִדְקָה (*ṣid^eqāth*) differ by the vocal *Shērā* from the Segholate forms, as קִבְּצָה (*kib^esāth*). Consequently the *constr. state* בְּרִכָּה (*brīkhā blessing*) is anomalous, and

probably comes from the unused absolute *בִּרְכָה*.—Under the influence of a guttural (v. Parad. *b*) the original *ā* of the first syllable comes back again in the *constr. state* (comp. also *אֶרֶץ* *earth*, *אֶרֶץ*); in other places it is modified into *Seghōl*, e. g. *עֲגֹלָה* *chariot*, *עֲגֹלָה*. Frequently with an *absolute state* in *ה*—the *construct* is formed with the ending *ה* e. g. *עֲטָרָה* *crown*, *constr.* *עֲטָרָה* (from *עֲטָרָה*); with *עֲצָרָה* *gathering* is found already in the *absolute state* *רַבָּה*; *רַבָּה* (from *רַבָּה* *brother in law*) has before suffixes *רַב־מִתִּי*, agreeing completely with *רַבָּה* (Parad. I *e*)—*אֱמֶת* *fidelity*, is found from a *ל"ו* stem (*אֱמֶת*) (for *אֱמֶת* = *'amant*) before suffixes *אֱמֶתִי* etc.—From the *masc.* form *קָטֵל* (*qāṭīl*) are formed *גִּדְרָה* *wall*, *נִבְלָה* *corpse*, *constr.* *נִבְלָה*, *בְּהֵמָה* *cattle*, *constr.* *בְּהֵמָה* (for *בְּהֵמָה*). More frequently however the *ē* of the second syllable is retained before the ending *at* of the *constr. state*, thus from *נִבְלָה* is found once *נִבְלָתִי* Is. 26, 19 and always *זֹלָה* *prey*, *זֹלָה* *unclean*, *מִלְאָתִי* *full* Is. 1, 21 (with *î compaginis* v. § 90, 3.—As a *dual* is found *רַב־חַיִּים* (comp. *רַב־חַיִּים* Gen. 49, 13, from the obsolete *רַבָּה* as feminine to *רַבָּה*); the *constr. state* *רַב־חַיִּים* is thus to be referred to a *Segholate* form (*רַבָּה*, comp. *רַבָּה* as *constr. state* of *רַבָּה*).—The forms with simple *feminine* *ת* are not based on the groundform *qāṭīl* but on the usual form of the *constr. state* (v. § 92. Parad. II, *c* *זֶהְן* of *זֶהְן*); thus the feminine of *חֶבֶר* *companion* is *חֶבְרָה*, of *גֶּדֶר* besides *גֶּדְרָה* also *גֶּדְרָה*.—The feminine of the form *qāṭāl* of stems *ע"ו*, as *גָּדָה*, *זָרָה* have an unchangeable *a* in the first syllable, as *גָּרָה*, *constr. plur.* *גָּרֹת*, *dual* *רַב־מִתִּים* *double height*. From *בָּמָה* *mount*, (stem *בּוֹם*, therefore with unchangeable *ā* in first syllable) is found in the *constr. state plur.* the pleonastic form *בְּמֹתִי* or *defectively* *בְּמֹתִי* (v. § 87, Rem. 1); the Massōrā demands for this everywhere *בְּמֹתִי*, which must be read *bām^othē* (not *bōm^othē*) with the anomalous reduction of the *ō* into (*—*); before suffix however *בְּמֹתִי* etc.—Besides the forms with the ending *ה*—are found also such with *ת*; thus with the shortening of *ā* into *ā* are formed *Segholates*, like *נָחָה* (*masc.* *נָחָה*) *rest*, *נָחָה* *pit*, from *נָחָה* and *נָחָה*.—The feminine of the form *qāṭāl* of stems *ע"ו*, as *גָּדָה*, as well as those of the form *qāṭīl* of *ע"ו*, like *מֵתָה* *mortua*, *עֵדָה* *fem. witness* (from *רַבָּה*, *מֵתָה*, *עֵדָה*) have likewise unchangeable vowels in the first syllable. The feminine of the form *qāṭīl*, as *עֵמְקָה* (*masc.* *עֵמְקָה*) maintains in all cases the original *ū* by doubling the following consonant; on the other hand through appending the *fem.* *ת* are formed *Segholates* like *נָחָשָׁה*, before *Suff.* *נָחָשָׁה* etc. *Dual* *נָחָשָׁה* (placed in the Parad. III, *b*); comp. however *נָחָשָׁה* Lament. 3, 7.

A few feminines of *ל"ו* stems (Parad. II, *c*) are found with the ending *āth*, formed by the ejection of the closing *Wāw* or *Yōdh* and the contraction of the preceding *ā* with the *ā* of the ending *āth*; thus *מִנְיָה* *share* (for *mānājāth* or *mānāvāth*, *רַבָּה* *end*, *plur.* *מִנְיָה* (*constr. state* Neh. 12, 47, 13, 10) and *מִנְיָה* (12, 44); *קִצְיָה* Exod. 38, 5.—*אֵיָה* *sign* (stem *אֵיָה*) comes from *אֵת* and this is contracted from *āyāt* = *āvāyāt*.

3. Parad. III; comp. the enumeration of the different forms § 94,

No. 1, *Parad.* III, and No. 2. The *dual* הַיְמִינִים instead of הַיְמִינִים *double wall* is anomalous, taken directly from the plur. הַיְמִינִים.—In a wider sense belong here the feminines of the form קָטַל (§ 84, No. 6), in so far as they shorten the *â* of the second syllable before the ending ה, e. g. דָּלָהּ *burning fever* (from *dallâqt*) טִבְעֵת *signet*; next the form קָטַל (§ 84, No. 9), as אָנְלָה *folly* (for *'iwält*) and all the forms, which are formed with מ preformative and have a changeable vowel in the second syllable (§ 84, No. 14), e. g. מַמְלָכָה *kingdom*, constr. מַמְלֶכֶת; מְזַמְרָה *pruning knife*, constr. מְזַמְרֶה; מְשַׁפֶּרֶת *reward*, before suffix הַיְמִינִים; comp. also the forms mentioned in § 85, III, as מִוְלָדָה *birth* (of לֵא, on the other hand, is מוֹצֵאָה *outgoing*), הוֹלָדָה *generation*, תוֹעֵבָה *abomination*, constr. תוֹעֵבָה etc. Sometimes the plural of these forms depends on a secondary form e. g. מְחַרְשֵׁת *ploughshare*, plur. מְחַרְשֹׁת (as from מְחַרְשָׁה); עֲשָׂתָרֹת *Astarte*, plur. עֲשָׂתָרוֹת (the *â* no more being inflected into *ê*); on the contrary בְּתָרוֹת *capitals* (of columns) and הוֹכָחוֹת *reproofs* are the regular plurals of בָּתָרָה and הוֹכַחָה.—In כְּהָנָה *coat* the original *û* of the first syllable has maintained itself through the doubling of the following consonant (comp. arab. *qūtūn*) before suffix הַיְמִינִים, the constr. state however is כְּהָנֶה (as already in the *absol. state* Ex. 28, 39); plur. כְּהָנוֹת, constr. כְּהָנוֹת.—The form mentioned in *Parad.* III, בְּגִלְגָּלָה is a *pulpul* form of the stem גָּלַל; comp. קָדְקֹד § 85, II.

4. To the fourth class, for which no *parad.* is required, belong all those numerous forms, which at present have entirely unchangeable vowels, after the originally short vowel of the first syllable has become *Shêwâ*, through the removal of the accent (comp. however בְּגוֹיָהָ Jer. 3, 7, 10, with an anomalous retention of the *â*, although the same had been only lengthened from *ă*). Of forms mentioned in § 84 and 85 belong here especially those with ע"ע stems, as מְגִלָּה *scroll*, תְּהִלָּה *praise*, תְּפִלָּה *prayer* § 85, II, as well as the feminines of the participle *Hîph'il* ע"י, e. g. מְאִירָה *lighting* (from מְאִיר), principally the feminines of ע"י stems, which are combined with preformative מ, as מְנוּחָה *rest* (from מְנוּחַ), v. § 85, IV, 14. Thus, in their external shape, all these forms coincide with those which already, as masculines, have throughout unchangeable vowels (v. their enumeration § 93, *Parad.* IV, 3).

5. The feminine ending יָה is based (apart from the ל"ה forms, as בְּכִיָּה, § 94, 2), on the appending of the *feminine* הַיְמִינִים to the ending יָה, which has been employed to form adjectives etc., v. § 86, 2, 5 and 6. The ending יָה mentioned in the same place and also in § 84, No. 16, is attached in segholate forms partly to the groundform, as עֲשָׂוִיָּה Job 12, 5 partly to forms with lightly closed syllable, as מְלִכִּיָּה *kingdom*; from ל"ה stems are formed words partly like שְׁבוּיָה *imprisonment* partly like בְּכוּיָה *weeping*; the latter retain the *â* of the first syllable also in the *constr. state* and before suffixes. קְדִיָּה *difficulty* is formed of a *qāṭil*-form, and פְּקוּיָה of a *qāṭil*-form etc.—In the *plural* of these forms we can distinguish a different manner of treatment. In some cases the

ending **ות** is entirely retained, as belonging to the stem (comp. above Rem. 1) e. g. **אַלְמִנִיָּוִת** from **אַלְמִנִיּוּת**; in others this ending is dismembered, as in **מַלְכִּיּוּת** Dan. 8, 22 (without doubt for *mal'kuwôth*), as well as in **עֵדִיּוּת** ('*edwôth*) from **עֵדוּת** *witness* (only in connection with *suffixes* **עֵדוּתֶךָ** etc.).

§ 96.

NOUNS OF PECULIAR FORM.

In the following alphabetical list is arranged a collection of much used nouns whose inflections offer more or less striking peculiarities. These peculiarities are however entirely subordinate to the general laws of sound, and the usual designation of these nouns as *irregular* is therefore not justified, if we only consider rightly the groundforms on which the present forms are based.

אָב (for **אַבָּה**, from **אַבָּה** prob. *to procreate*, hence **אָב** prop. *pro-creator*) *father*, *constr. st.* **אָבִי**, with *suff.* **אָבִי** (*my father*), **אָבִיךָ**, **אָבִיו** or **אָבֵיהֶם**; *plur. constr.* **אָבוֹת** (§ 87, 4) *constr.* **אָבוֹת**. The feminine ending of the plural points undoubtedly to an original abstract, indicating dignity; comp. § 108, 2, *b*.

אָח *brother*, (for **אַחָה**, fr. **אַחָה**) *constr.* **אָחִי**, with *suff.* **אָחִי** (*my brother*), **אָחִיךָ**, **אָחִיו**, *plur. constr.* **אָחֵיהֶם**. But the *plur. absol.* is **אָחִים** (with *Dāg. f. implicitum*, § 22, 1); hence **אָחִי**, **אָחִיךָ**, **אָחֵיהֶם**, etc. On the form **אָחֵי** (which is invariably used instead of **אָחִי**), see § 27, Rem. 2, *b*, and so too **אָחֵי** in *pause* for **אָחִי** *my brethren*. The doubling of the **ח** points by no means to another stem (**אָחָה**) but serves only as an artificial means of keeping the preceding *Päthüch* short, as in **גַּמְלִים** etc. (§ 93, Parad. II, *a*).

אָחָד *one* (for **אַחַד**, with *Dāg. f. implicitum*, § 22, 1, comp. § 27, Rem. 2, *b*), *constr. st.* and also elsewhere in close connection **אָחֵד**, *fem.* **אָחָת** *una* (for **אַחַת**, see § 19, 2), in *pause* **אָחֵת**. In one instance (Ez. 33, 30) it takes (by *apheresis*, § 19, 3) the form **חֵד** *masc.*, as in Aram. *Plur.* **אָחָדִים** *some*, but also *the same*.

אָחֻוֹת *sister* (from 'āchāwāt or 'āchāyāt with the elision of the **י** or **י** and the modifying of the **ā**—arisen from **ää**—into **ô**), *constr.* **אָחֻוֹת**, with *suff.* **אָחֻוֹתִי** etc.; however see Num. 6, 7 **אָחֻוֹתֵי** (with *Dagh. f. implic.* in **ח**). The *plur. absol.* (**אָחֻוֹתִים**) accidentally does not occur, but the *constr. with suff.* is found in **אָחֻוֹתֵי** etc. (Ez. 16, 52, **אָחֻוֹתֵיךָ** for **אָחֻוֹתֶךָ**). The forms **אָחֻוֹתֵי** Jos. 2, 13 *Kethîbh*, **אָחֻוֹתֵיךָ** Ez. 16, 51, 55, 61, **אָחֻוֹתֵיכֶם** Hos. 2, 3 come from a singular **אָחָה** (with rejected third consonant).

אִישׁ *man*, either incorrectly lengthened from **אִשׁ** (from *'išš* with the assimilation of the *Nûn* of the groundform *'inš* (stem **אִנֵּשׁ**) which has again been attenuated from *'anš*) or a direct softening from *'inš*; in the *plur.* it has very seldom **אִישִׁים** (Is. 53, 3, Ps. 141, 4, Prov. 8, 3), the usual form being **אֲנָשִׁים** (from **אִנֵּשׁ**), *constr.* **אֲנָשִׁי**. Comp. **אִשָּׁה**.

אֲמָה *maid-servant*, with *suff.* **אֲמָהֶהָ**, *plur.* (with **ה** as a consonant) **אֲמָהוֹת**, *constr.* **אֲמָהוֹת**. Comp. in Aram. **אֲבָהֶן** *fathers*, also Arab. *'abahât* (*fathers*), *'ummahât* (*mothers*).

אִשָּׁה *woman* (for **אֲנִישָׁה**, *fem.* from **אִישׁ**, see **אִישׁ**), *constr. st.* **אִשָּׁה** (for *'išt* with **ת** *fem.* from *'išš* after rejection of *Dāghēsh* and lengthening the *ī* into *ē*; comp. **חֲמִשָּׁה** as *constr.* of **חֲמִשָּׁה** *five*; but a direct derivation from **אִישׁ** would also be possible, the *ī* having been reduced to *ē*); with *suff.* **אִשְׁתִּי**, **אִשְׁתְּךָ**, *plur.* **נָשִׁים** (shortened from **אֲנָשִׁים**), but Ez. 23, 44 **אִשָּׁה**; *constr.* **נָשִׁי**, with *suff.* **נָשִׁיהֶם**, **נָשִׁיהֶן**.

בֵּית *house*, *constr. st.* **בֵּית**, *plur.* **בָּתִּים** *bāttî'm* or rather *bâtîm*, for the *Dāg. forte* (after firm *Méthēgh*) serves only to distinguish this word from **בָּתִּים** *staying over night* (*Part. Qāl* of **בָּתַּח**); the former habitual reading *bōttîm* is therefore not at all justified. Comp. Gesenius' Lex. 8th ed. under **בֵּית**. To the reasons cited there, the testimonial of the Babylonian vocalization must be added, which leaves no doubt as to the reading *bâtîm*.—*Constr. st.* **בֵּיתִי**, with *suff.* **בֵּיתֵיהֶם**.

בֵּן *son* (from *bīny* for *bāny*=**בָּנָה** from **בָּנָה** *to build*), *constr. st.* **בֵּן**, seldom **בֶּן**, once **בְּנִי** (§ 90, 3, a) Gen. 49, 11, and **בְּנֵי** (§ 90, 3, b) Num. 23, 18, 24, 3, 15. With *suff.* **בְּנִי**, **בְּנֶךָ**; *plur.* **בָּנִים**, *constr. st.* **בְּנִי**, with *suff.* **בְּנֵיהֶם**, **בְּנֵיהֶן**.

בַּת *daughter* (from **בָּתָּה**=**בָּתָּה** *fem.* of **בָּן**, comp. § 19, 2), with *suff.* **בָּתִּי** (for **בָּתָּה**=**בָּתָּה**); *plur.* **בָּנוֹת** (comp. **בָּנִים** *sons* from a sing. **בָּנָה**), *constr. st.* **בָּנוֹת**.

חָם *father-in-law*, with *suff.* **חָמִיךָ**; and **חֲמוּזָה** *mother-in-law* with *suff.* **חֲמוּזָתִי**. Compare **אָב** *father*, **אָח** *brother*, **אֵחָה** *sister*.

יוֹם *day*, (Arab. *yaum*) *dual* **יוֹמַיִם**; but *plur.* **יָמִים**, (from **יָמַיִם** with elision of **י**) *constr.* **יָמִי** and **יָמוֹת** (Deut. 32, 7, Ps. 90, 15).

כֶּלִי *vessel*, from **כָּלָה** *to hold*, *plur.* **כֶּלִים** (as if from **כָּל**, **כָּלָה**), *constr. st.* **כֶּלִי**, with *suff.* **כֶּלִיכֶם**, **כֶּלִיכֶן**.

מַיִם (*plur.*) *water* (comp. § 88, 1, Rem. 2), *constr. st.* **מַי**, but also doubled **מַיִמִּי**, with *suff.* **מַיִמֵיהֶם**, **מַיִמֵיהֶן**.

עִיר *city*, *plur.* **עָרִים**, *constr. st.* **עָרֵי** (either syncopated from **עִירִים** (v. Judges 10, 4) or from a kindred sing. **עָר**, which is still found in proper names).

פֶּה *mouth*, acc. to Gesen. for **פָּאָה**, from **פָּאָה** *to breathe*. It may however be derived from an original **פִּי** (*Olsh.*) for **פִּיָּה**, of a stem **פָּהָה** or **פָּהָה**. In

this case the *constr.* פִּי would be contracted from $p^ewî$ or $p^eyî$ (with *Chîrêq compag.*); comp. אָבִי from אָב for אָבִיהָ, with *suff.* פִּי (for *pîy*, *my mouth*), פִּיָּהּ, פִּיהוּ or פִּיו, פִּיָּהּ, פִּיָּהֶם, פִּיָּהֶם; *plur.* פִּים *edges* 1 Sam. 13, 21 (= פִּיָּים) and פִּיּוֹת (Prov. 5, 4).

רֹאשׁ *head* (derived from רָאשׁ = רֹאשׁ), *plur.* רֹאשִׁים (for רֹאשִׁים, § 23, 2), *constr. st.* רֹאשֵׁי, with *suff.* רֹאשֵׁינוּ etc., but Is. 15, 2 רֹאשֵׁיו.

שָׁמַיִם *plur. heaven* (§ 88, 1, Rem. 2) *constr.* שָׁמַיִ.

§ 97.

NUMERALS. I. CARDINAL NUMBERS.

1. The cardinal numbers from 2 to 10 are, in Hebrew, substantives with abstract meaning, like *triad*, *decate*, πεντάς, and are therefore originally attached in the *constr. state* to the numbered word, e. g. שְׁלֹשֶׁת בָּנִים *trias filiorum*. However the use of the numerals in apposition was likewise of an early date, e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *trias* sc. *filii*, and from this apposition it came to pass that these abstract substantives were conceived as adjectives (§ 120). The words אֶחָד *one*, fem. אַחַת (v. § 96) show already by their form that they are adjectives although here combinations like אֶחָד הַהָרִים *unus e montibus* are also possible. The consequence of the appositional and finally adjective construction was that, for numbers used in connection with feminine nouns, a special (shorter) form came into use, whilst the original forms with the abstract feminine ending, were used in connection with masculine nouns. Thus in the numbers 3 to 10 arose the semblance as if the masculine form of the numeral were connected with the feminine substantive and the feminine form with the masculine substantive. For the expression of duality there are proper dual forms, with the usual distinction of gender.

The numerals from 1 to 10:—

With the Masculine.

With the Feminine.

| | <i>Absol.</i> | <i>Constr.</i> | <i>Absol.</i> | <i>Constr.</i> |
|-----|---------------|----------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| 1. | אֶחָד | אֶחָד | אֶחָת | אֶחָת |
| 2. | שְׁנַיִם | שְׁנֵי | שְׁנַיִם ¹ | שְׁתֵּי |
| 3. | שְׁלֹשָׁה | שְׁלֹשָׁת | שְׁלֹשׁ | שְׁלֹשׁ |
| 4. | אַרְבָּעָה | אַרְבַּעַת | אַרְבַּע | אַרְבַּע |
| 5. | חֲמִשָּׁה | חֲמִשָּׁת | חֲמִשׁ | חֲמִשׁ |
| 6. | שֵׁשׁ | שֵׁשֶׁת | שֵׁשׁ | שֵׁשׁ |
| 7. | שִׁבְעָה | שִׁבְעַת | שִׁבַּע | שִׁבַּע |
| 8. | שְׁמֹנֶה | שְׁמֹנֶת | שְׁמֹנֶה | שְׁמֹנֶה |
| 9. | תְּשַׁע | תְּשַׁעַת | תְּשַׁע | תְּשַׁע |
| 10. | עֶשְׂרֵה | עֶשְׂרֵת | עֶשֶׂר | עֶשֶׂר ² |

The other Semitic languages exhibit the same peculiarity in respect to the genders, of the numerals from 3 to 10. The full form of the numeral abstracts is now but rarely found in connection with feminine nouns³; e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה נְשִׁים Gen. 7, 13, Ez. 7, 2 (in K^ethibh), Job 1, 4; in apposition Zech. 3, 9, 4, 2, comp. Jer. 36, 23.

¹ Shortened from שְׁנַיִם, which would be the regular *fem.* form for שְׁנַיִם. Notwithstanding this, the *Dāghē'sh* in שְׁתֵּי etc. can by no means be taken for *Dāghē'sh fortē*, risen from an assimilation of the *Nān*, for in this case we should have at the most שְׁתֵּי (comp. Arab. *ṭintāni*). We rather have to read *štayim*, *štē* (with *Dāghē'sh lene*=אָשׁ or אָשׁ with א prosthetic § 19, 4); comp. Arab. *'itnātāni*, another *fem.* form to *'itnāni*, *duo*.

² The simple numerals, from 1 to 10, not only exhibit an essential agreement in all the Semitic dialects; but they also, as pure primitives, awaken the expectation that somewhere a connecting point may be found for establishing a historical affinity between these languages and the Indo-Germanic (see § 1, 3, 4). Thus we may compare: אֶחָד, Sansk. *ēka*; שְׁנַיִם (Aram. אֶרְבֵּי) Sansk. *dva*, Lat. *duo*; שְׁלֹשׁ (Aram. תְּלָת) Sansk. *tri*, *τρεις*, *tres*; חֲמִשׁ Sansk. *pañcan*, *πέντε*; שֵׁשׁ (properly, as the Arab. and Aethiop. show = אָשׁ, *grdf. šidš*) Sansk. *shash*, *ṣṣ*, *sex*; שִׁבְעָה Sansk. *saptan*, *ἑπτά*, *septem*. Meanwhile we should consider that there is a more natural explanation of the Semitic numerals by reference to existing verbal stems which renders these comparisons, as a basis of evidence, extremely doubtful; thus אֶחָד (Arab. also *wāchīd*) from the stem וָחַד, Hebr. רָחַד *to be united*; שְׁנַיִם from שָׁנָה *to fold* hence *double*, i. e. *two folds*; אַרְבָּע from רָבַע *to lie down* (by folding the four paws); חֲמִשׁ, really *the contraction of the five fingers into the fist*, from חָמַשׁ; finally עֶשֶׂר from אָסַר *to bind together*=*a connection* (comp. קָשַׁר).

³ In the vulgar dialects of the Arabic, and in the Ethiopic, the feminine form of the numerals is used almost exclusively. This form appears in Hebrew

2. The numbers from 11 to 19 are expressed by adding to the *units* the numeral *ten* (in the form עָשָׂר *masc.*, עֶשְׂרָה *fem.*), written as separate words and without the conjunction. As, however, they are both pronounced closely together, the units appear almost entirely in the form of the construct state (without pretonic vowels); comp. in the following table אָחַד and אַחַת in the number 11 and the units in the feminine numbers from 13 upwards. Only the real forms of connection (*constr. st.*) of the masculine abstracts, like שְׁלֹשָׁה etc. are excluded from the combinations with עָשָׂר, as they are really in apposition and not in a genitive relation. Also שְׁנֵי and שְׁתֵּי in the number 12 are only seemingly in the *constr. st.*, although formed in the same manner and for the same reason of close connection (by contraction of *ay* and elimination of ם in שְׁנֵים, שְׁתֵּים). In שְׁנֵים and שְׁתֵּים the language has contented itself with the contraction of the *ay* (without rejecting the ם), unless both forms be considered as the Massoretic *Qerî perpetuum* (§ 17) viz. שְׁנֵי, שְׁתֵּי for the really intended שְׁנֵים, שְׁתֵּים. Accordingly the numbers from eleven upwards are:

| | <i>Masc.</i> | <i>Fem.</i> |
|-----|--|---------------------------------------|
| 11. | { אָחַד עָשָׂר עֶשְׂרֵי עָשָׂר ¹ | אַחַת עֶשְׂרָה עֶשְׂרֵי עֶשְׂרָה |
| 12. | { שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר שְׁנֵי עָשָׂר | שְׁתֵּים עֶשְׂרָה שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרָה |
| 13. | שְׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר | שְׁלֹשָׁה עֶשְׂרָה |

and so on, analogous with the last. These numbers have regularly but the above form. In regard to their syntax comp. § 120, 2 Rem.

also when speaking of the number as such, in the abstract, as in the multiplives (Gen. 4, 15, 24).

¹ The enigmatic עֶשְׂרֵי has been lately found in the Assy. cuneiform inscriptions where it has the form *istin=unus* (v. Schröder in der Zeitschr. der D. M. G. Bd. 26 p. 234 ff.). According to this עֶשְׂרֵי עָשָׂר would be a combination like Sansk. *ekâdaśan*, *ἐκδεκα*, *undecim* (analogous to the combination of units and tens in the numerals from 12—19), and serve at the same time in the combination of the fem. numeral eleven, whilst elsewhere the Assyrian has *ichit* (אַחַת) for *una*. It seems that in Hebr. also the verbal stem for עֶשְׂרֵי

Very rarely the *units* appear in the *masc.* in the *constr. st.*, as in *חֲמֵשֶׁת עָשָׂר* *fifteen* Judg. 8, 10, 2 Sam. 19, 18, *שְׁמֹנֶת עָשָׂר* *eighteen* Judg. 20, 25.

3. The *tens* from 30 to 90 are expressed by the plural forms of the corresponding units (so that the plural here always stands for *ten-times* the unit), as *שְׁלֹשִׁים* 30, *אַרְבָּעִים* 40, *הַמֵּשִׁים* 50, *שִׁשִּׁים* 60, *שִׁבְעִים* 70, *שְׁמֹנִים* 80, *תִּשְׁעִים* 90. But *twenty* is expressed by *עֶשְׂרִים*, plur. of *עָשָׂר* *ten*.¹ They are of *common gender*, and do not admit the *construct state*. When units and tens are written together, the earlier writers commonly (but with many exceptions) place the units first (e. g. *two and twenty*, as in Arabic and German); but in the later writers the order is most commonly reversed (*twenty and two*, as in Syriac, French, English *twenty-two*) e. g. 1 Ch. 12, 28, 18, 5. The conjunction (*וְ* *and*, also *וְ* before numerals accented on the 1st syllable, *וְ* before —, *וְ* before *Shewâ*) is always used between them.

The remaining numerals are:

| | |
|-------|--|
| 100 | <i>מֵאָה</i> <i>fem., constr.</i> <i>מֵאוֹת</i> <i>plur.</i> <i>מֵאוֹת</i> <i>hundreds.</i> |
| 200 | <i>מֵאוֹתָיִם</i> <i>dual</i> (for <i>מֵאוֹתָיִם</i>). |
| 300 | <i>שְׁלֹשׁ מֵאוֹת</i> (2 K. 11, 4. 9. 10. 15 however in <i>A^chibh</i> <i>הַמֵּאוֹת</i>). |
| 400 | <i>אַרְבַּע מֵאוֹת</i> etc. |
| 1000 | <i>אַלְפָּה</i> , <i>masc. plur.</i> <i>אַלְפִּים</i> <i>thousands.</i> |
| 2000 | <i>אַלְפִּים</i> (<i>dual</i>). |
| 3000 | <i>שְׁלֹשָׁת אֲלָפִים</i> , 4000 <i>אַרְבַּעַת אֲלָפִים</i> , etc. |
| 10000 | { <i>רַבְבָּה</i> , but in later books (Ezr. 2, 64, Jon. 4, 11). <i>רַבּוֹ רַבּוּא רַבּוֹ</i> (prop. <i>multitude</i> , cf. <i>μυρία</i>). |
| 20000 | <i>רַבְבָּתַיִם</i> ² (<i>dual</i>) Ps. 68, 18, also <i>שְׁנֵי רַבּוֹת</i> , Neh. 7, 71. |
| 40000 | <i>אַרְבַּע רַבּוֹת</i> , Ezr. 2, 64. |
| 60000 | <i>שֵׁשׁ-רַבּוֹת</i> Ez. 2, 69 (perh. f. <i>רַבּוֹת</i> , as Dan. 11, 12). |

has been preserved in *עֲשֵׂת* *work of art* and *עֲשֵׂתוֹת* *thought, opinion*. These two terms may easily be related to the fundamental idea of *connecting, combining* and thus one finds for *עֲשֵׂתִי* the idea of *unio, unity*.

¹ The anomalous plural forms *עֲשָׂרִים*, *שִׁבְעִים*, *תִּשְׁעִים*, from the *S^cgholates* *עָשָׂר*, *שִׁבְעִי*, *תִּשְׁעִי*, for which we should (according to § 93, 6) expect *עֲשָׂרִים*, *שִׁבְעִים*, *תִּשְׁעִים*, are found but very seldom elsewhere as in *שְׁקֵמִים* *mulberry-trees* and *רֵחִים* *viscera* from *רָחַם*.

² Acc. to *Delitzsch* (Comm. on Ps. 68, 18) this "is a dual from *רַבּוֹת*, and

Rem. 1. The dual form occurs in some of the units, with the effect of our ending *-fold*, as in אַרְבַּעְתָּיִם *fourfold* 2 Sam. 12, 6, שִׁבְעָתַיִם *sevenfold* Gen. 4, 15, 24, Ps. 79, 12. Besides its use for the *tens*, we find the plural also in אֲחֵרִים [comp. Ger. *einige*, W. *ychedig*] *some, a few*, also *the same* (*idem*), and in עֶשְׂרִית *decades* (not *decem*) Ex. 18, 21, 25.

2. The *suffixes* to numerals are, as with nouns, prop. genitives of the pronoun, though we translate them as in nominative or acc., as שְׁלֹשָׁתֶּךָ *you three*, prop. *your triad*, Num. 12, 4.

§ 98.

NUMERALS. II. ORDINAL NUMBERS.

The ordinal numbers from 2 to 10 are formed from the corresponding cardinals by adding the termination י (§ 86, No. 5), besides which another י also is mostly inserted between the second and third stem consonant. They are as follows, שְׁנִי *second*, שְׁלִישִׁי, רְבִיעִי, חֲמִישִׁי and חֲמִישִׁי, שְׁבִיעִי, חֲמִישִׁי, עֲשָׂרִי, תְּשִׁיעִי, שְׁמִינִי. The ordinal *first* is expressed by ראשון for ראשון, from ראש *head, beginning*, with the ending ון (§ 86, 2, No. 4). The feminine forms have the ending ית, more rarely יה, and are employed also for the expression of *fractions* or *parts*, as חֲמִישִׁית *fifth part*, עֲשָׂרִית and עֲשִׂירֶה *tenth part*. The same meaning is found also in forms like חֲמִישָׁה *fifth part*, רִבֵּעַ and רְבִיעַ *fourth part*; they are abstracts derived from cardinals.

For the expression of the other relations of number, for which the Hebrew has no separate forms, see in the Syntax, § 120.

this is either an abstract noun equivalent to רִבְיָה (from which comes the apoc. רִבִּי=רבו) *a myriad*, consequently רִבְיָהּ *two myriads* or a contracted plural out of רִבְיָהּ Ezra 2, 69 therefore the dual of a plural". This as *Perowne* suggests would signify *two series* of myriads, as הַיְמִינִים *the double line of walls*, הַיְמִינִים *the double series of planks of a ship*.—Ed.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PARTICLES.

§ 99.

GENERAL VIEW.

1. The particles, which in general express the secondary modifications of thought in speech, and the closer relation of the words or clauses and sentences to each other, are for the most part borrowed or derived from nouns, but a few also from pronouns and verbs (§ 30, 4); on the other hand (aside from a few demonstrative forms, § 100, 4) only in the sense defined in § 81 can any be taken for *primitives*.

2. So far as the origin of the particles can be determined with certainty, they are,—1) either *borrowed* from other parts of speech; i. e. certain forms of the verb, noun, or pronoun, are employed as particles, retaining more or less of their original signification, like the Lat. *certo, falso, partim, verum, causa*, and the Eng. *except, instead, away*; or—2) *derived* from other parts of speech, either—*a*) by the *addition of formative syllables*, like יוֹמִים *by day*, from יוֹם (§ 100, 3); or most commonly—*b*) by *abbreviation*, effected in various ways, the degree of mutilation being proportioned to the frequency of their use, so that the original form of some has become entirely unrecognizable.

Compare in Ger., *gen* from *gegen, Gegend*; *seit* from *Seite*; *weil* (orig. a particle of time) from *Weile*=our *while*; in Eng. *sith* and *since* (old Eng. *sithence*).

Such words suffer still greater changes in the Greek and the Latin, and in the languages derived from the latter, as in ἀπὸ, *ab, a*; ἐξ, *ex, e*; ἀντ, *Fr. à*; αὐτ, *Fr. ou, Ital. o*; super, *Ital. su*.¹

¹ Even short phrases are contracted into one word, e. g. German *zwar* from *es ist wahr* (*il est vrai*), Lat. *forsitan* from *fors sit an*, δηλονότι, *δηλαδὴ*, Fr. *peut-être*, E. *prithée* from *I pray thee*. In the Chinese, most of the particles are verbs or nouns; e. g. *iù* (*to give*), employed as a sign of the dative; *ì* (*to make use of*), hence *for*; *něi* (*the interior*), hence *in*.

The greatest curtailing of the particle occurs when, having ceased to be an independent word, it has been reduced to a single letter with, in most cases, a very short vowel sound. According to the laws of syllable formation in Hebrew (§ 26, 4) such particles cannot stand independently but are *prefixed* to the following word (as in the case with the preformatives of the Imperfect, § 47, 1, 2), e. g. the prefix לְ from אֵל (§ 102).

That this shortening of a whole word to a single letter has actually taken place, and is to be regarded as a part of the process in the formation of the language, is evident from the fact, that in the subsequent stages of this process, as exhibited in the later Hebrew, the Aramæan, and all the Semitic dialects, such abbreviations become more and more striking and frequent. Thus אֲשֶׁר was shortened into אֲשׁ in Phoen., and in Hebr. to שְׁ, שֵׁ and even שֶׁ, which prefix forms became more and more customary among the Rabbins; the הִי of the Biblical Aram. at a later period became הֵ; in modern Arabic we have *hallaq* (now) from *hâlwaqt*, *lêsh* (why?) from *li-ayyi-shaiin*, and many others. This view derives confirmation from the analogy of the Western languages. Yet the use of the simplest particles belongs already to the earliest epochs of the Hebrew language, or at least to the earliest documents in our possession.

3. Particles are formed, less frequently, by *composition*: as in מִדּוּעַ (for מִה־יָדוּעַ *what known?* τίς αἰτία;) *wherefore?* בְּלֻעָדִי (from בָּל and עָדִי) *besides*; מִלְּמַעְלָה (from מִן, לְ, מַעְלָה) *from above*.

More frequent is the combination of two words without being contracted into one; as בִּירְעִלִּיכֶן, אִם־כִּי, אֲתִּיכִי, אֲחֵרֵיכֶן.

§ 100.

ADVERBS.

1. Of obscure origin though undoubtedly the remainder of some noun is the negative לֹא *not*, and some particles of place and time, as שָׁם *there*.

2. Forms of other parts of speech, which, without any farther change, are used *adverbially*, are—

- a) Substantives with prepositions, as בְּמֹאֲד (prop. *in strength*) *very, greatly*; לְבַד *alone* (prop. *in separation* Fr. *à part*)

=E. *apart*), with suff. לְבַדִּי *I alone*; מִבֵּית (prop. *from house*) *within*; בְּאַהֲדָה (prop. *as one*) *together*.

- b) Substantives in the accusative (the *adverbial case* of the Shemites, see § 118, comp. ἰσχυρῶς, ὁμαρξάν), as מֵאֲדָה (*strength*) *very, greatly*; אָפֶס (*cessation*) *no more*; הַיּוֹם (*this day*) *to-day*; יַחַד (*union*) *together*. Many of these substantives are but seldom used as such e. g. סָבִיב and in plur. form סְבִיבִים and סְבִיבוֹת (*circuit*), as adv. *around*; others not at all, as כָּבֵד (*length*) *long ago*; עוֹד (*repetition, duration*) *again, further, longer*.
- c) Adjectives, especially in the *feminine* (answering to the Indo-Germ. *neuter*), as ראשונה (*primum*) *at first, formerly* (often 'בְּרֵאשׁ, also 'לְרֵאשׁ); רַבָּה and רַבַּת (*multum*) *much, enough*; נִפְלְאוֹת (prop. *mirabilibus sc. modis*) *wonderfully*; יְהוּדִית *Jewish*, i. e. in the Jewish tongue.
- d) Verbs in the *Infinitive absolute*, especially in *Hiph'il*, which are also to be regarded as accusatives (§ 131, 2); e. g. הִרְבָּה (prop. *to do much*) *much, להִרְבֶּה in quantity*.
- e) Pronouns and numerals, as זֶה (prop. *there = at this place*) *here*, הֵנָּה *here, hither*, אַחַת, שֶׁבַע, שְׁתַּיִם, מָאָה *once, twice, seven-times, 100-times, שְׁנִית a second time, again Lev. 13, 5*.

See a list of the adverbs most in use, classified according to their meanings, in § 150.

3. Some adverbs are formed by the addition of the formative syllable ׀ to substantives, as אֱמִנָּה and אֱמִנָּה *truly* (from אֱמֶן *truth*); חֵנָּה (*by favor*) *gratis*, (from חֵן *favor*); רֵיקָנָה (*from רֵיק empty*); יוֹמָנָה *by day* (from יוֹם); פִּתְאֵם *for* (from פָּתַע *twinkling*) *in a twinkling, suddenly*.

The termination ׀ occurs also in the formation of substantives, e. g. סֻלָּמָה (*ladder* (from סָלַל) so that ׀, ׀ are like ׀, ׀ (§ 84, No. 15), e. g. פְּדִיּוֹן and פְּדִיּוֹן *ransom*, λῦτρον; בְּפִתְאֵם (with prep.) *in a twinkling* 2 Ch. 29, 36; hence these forms may be regarded as denominative nouns used adverbially. But others think that the ׀ is nothing else than an obsolete plural-ending of the noun (see § 87, 1, d), and that these adverbs are properly nouns in the accusative plural, hence אֱמִנָּה like מִישְׁרֵי as adv. in Ps. 58, 2, חֵנָּה like Lat. *gratis* i. e. *gratius*.

4. Those forms which are very closely connected with the demonstrative pronoun may most naturally be regarded as *primitive adverbs*, having sprung from a combination of so-called demonstrative sounds. Some of these have since suffered great mutilations, whose extent however can nowhere be determined with certainty. Here belong e. g. **אָז** *then*, **כֵּן** *so*, **אָזְנִי** *only*, **אֲנִי** *truly* (on all these adverbs v. Davies' Heb. Lex.), but especially the *interrogative* **הֵ**, e. g. **הֲלֹא** *nonne?* **הֲנִי** *num etiam?* This **הֵ** as well as the kindred article **הַ** (v. § 35, Rem. 1) comes undoubtedly from **הָל**, as still used in Arabic and perhaps also meant in Heb. in Deut. 32, 6.

This *interrogative* **הֵ** receives,—1) before non gutturals with firm vowel generally *Châṭēph-pāthäch*, as **הֲשֵׁבָה** *hast thou set?* see examples in § 153, 2 (except **הֲיִיטֵב** in Lev. 10, 19);—2) usually with *Pāthäch* and *Dāghēsh fortè* (according to the original form **הָל**, and hence like the article) before a letter that has *Shewâ*, as **הֲבָרָה** *num in via* Ez. 20, 30, **הֲלֵכִי** Gen. 17, 17, 18, 21, 37, 32, or also with the *Pāthäch* only, as in **הֲמֵצֵט** Gen. 30, 15, 27, 38;—3) with *Pāthäch* (and *Daghēsh f. implicitum*) before gutturals, as **הֲאֵלֵךְ** *shall I go?* **הֲאַתָּה** (art) *thou?* **הֲאִם** *num si*; Judg. 6, 31, 12, 5, Neh. 6, 11 must be read **הֲאַתָּם** (not **הָאָ**); with **הֲאִישׁ** Num. 16, 22 the Massora means the article. Comp. Deut. 20, 19, Eccl. 3, 21 and *Delitzsch* on the latter passage;—4) with *Sēghôl* before gutturals that have *Qāmēš* or *Châṭēph Qāmēš* as **הֲאֵנִי** *num ego?* **הֲהִיְתָה** *was there?* The place of this interrogative particle is always at the beginning of the clause.

5. Some adverbs, involving a verbal idea, or at least (though really substantives) inclining to such an idea, admit also of *verbal suffixes*, especially those with *Nûn epenthetic* (§ 58, 4); e. g. **הֲשֵׁנוּ** *he (is) existing*; **אֵינִי** *I (am) not*, **אֵינָהּ** *he (is) not*, **עוֹדֵנִי** *he (is) yet*, **אֵיכָּה** *where art thou?* **אֵיךְ** *where (is) he?* The same applies to **הֵן** and **הִנֵּה** *behold!* (prop. *here, here is*), with suffixes; as **הֵנִי** (in *pause* **הֵנִי** and **הִנֵּנִי**) *behold me* (prop. *here I am*), **הֵנּוּ**, **הִנּוּ** *behold him*, **הֵנּוּ**, **הִנּוּ** *behold us* (in *pause* **הֵנּוּ** and **הִנּוּ**), **הֵנֶכֶם**, **הִנֶכֶם**.

§ 101.

PREPOSITIONS.

1. The words, which by usage serve as prepositions, were originally substantives, and properly:

- a) Substantives in the *accusative case* and in the *construct state*, so that the noun governed by them is to be considered as in the genitive, and it actually has in Arabic the genitive-ending (compare in German *statt dessen*, *kraft dessen*, in Greek *τούτου χάριν*, in Latin *hujus rei causa* or *gratia*, *montis instar*); as *אַחֵר*¹ (hinder part*) *behind*, *after*; *אַצֵּל* (side*) *close by*; *בֵּין* (intermediate space, midst*) *between*; *בְּעַד*, *בִּצְדָּה* (interval of space) *behind*, *about*; *זוֹלָתוֹ* or with *Chireq compag.* *זוֹלָתִי* (removal, want) *besides*; *יַעַן* (purpose) *on account of*; *מִזֵּל* (*front-side*, from *מִזְאוֹל* v. Ges. Lex. 8th ed.) but usually *מִלֵּל* *before*, *over against*; *מִן* (part) *from*, *out of*; *נֶגֶד* (what is in front) *before*, *over against*; *עַד* (progress, duration*) *during*, *until*; *עַל* (upper part*) *upon*, *over*; *עִם* (connection, from the same stem *עָמַם* comes also *עִמָּת*, *לְעִמָּת*) *with*; *תַּחַת* (under part*) *under*, *in place of*.
- b) Substantives in the *construct state* to be conceived however as standing in the genitive depending on *prefix prepositions* (espec. the inseparable): as *לִפְנֵי* (in the face of) *before*; *כְּפִי*, *לְפִי* (to the mouth of, i. e. *the command**) *according to*; *בְּגִלָּל* (in the occasion of) *on account of*, *לְמַעַן* (for the purpose of) *on account of*.

2. Substantives used adverbially, in this manner, are very apt to become prepositions; e. g. *בְּבִלְי*, *בְּאֵין*, *בְּאַפֶּס* (with nought of) *without*; *בְּעוֹד* (in duration of) *during*; *בְּדִי*, *כְּדִי* (for the requirement of) *for*, *according to measure of*.

§ 102.

PREFIX PREPOSITIONS.

1. Of the prepositions given in the preceding section *מִן* *from*, *out of*, is frequently written as a *prefix* (§ 99, 2), yet its *Nûn*, assimilated to the following consonant, is still represented by the *Dāghē'sh fortè* in that consonant, as in *מִיַּעַר* *from a forest*.

¹ In these examples, the signification of the noun is put in parenthesis, and marked with an asterisk when it is still in use.—On a similar use of substantives as prepositions in other languages, see *W. Von Humboldt über die Kavisprache*, Bd. III., p. 621.

Rem. The preposition **מן** is used as follows. It stands apart generally only before the article (and always with *Mäqq'êph*), as **מִן־הָאָרֶץ**, also here and there before softer letters, as **מִן־יָזַח** Jer. 44, 18, **מִן־בְּנֵי** 1 Ch. 5, 18, and elsewhere in the later books (like the usage of the Aramæan); there is besides a poetical form **מִנִּי** (comp. § 90, 3, *a*) and **מִנִּי** Is. 30, 11 (comp. **מִנִּי** and **מִנִּי** § 103). Its form is mostly **מִ** prefixed (as in **מִדָּם** from blood) by means of *Dāghê'sh fortè* which can be omitted only in letters that have *Shêwâ* (according to § 20, 3, *b*); with a following **י** the **מ** is usually contracted into **מִי** e. g. **מִי־יָדָיו**=**מִי־יָדָיו** or **מִי־יָדָיו**; before gutturals it becomes **מִ** (according to § 22, 1), e. g. **מִבְּרָאִים**, **מִבְּרָאִים**; but also **מ** (w. *Dāgh. f. impl.*) before **ח** and **ה**, as in **מִחַיִּים**, **מִחַיִּים** Gen. 14, 23; so sometimes before **ר** (§ 22, 5, Rem.).

2. There are also three other prepositions, the most common in the language, which have been reduced by abbreviation (§ 99, 2) to a single prefix consonant with *Shêwâ*; viz.—

- בִּ** in, at, on, with,
לִ towards, to, for, L. ad,
כִּ like, as, according to.¹

On the pointing of these (inseparable) prefixes it is to be observed that—

- a*) The *Shêwâ mobile* with which the above prefixes are usually pronounced has resulted from the disappearance of a short vowel, which therefore according to § 28, 1, 2 must return as soon as another *Shêwâ* follows. Before simple *Shêwâ* this vowel is **י**, but before *Châṭêph*, the vowel of the *Châṭêph* is taken e. g. **לִפְרִי** for fruit, **כִּפְרִי** as a lion; and before feeble letters it follows the rules in § 23, 2, and § 24, 1, *a*, e. g. **לִפְרִי** for **לִפְרִי**.
- b*) Before the article they usually displace the **ה** and take its pointing, as **בַּגֶּן** for **בְּהֶגְן** in the garden. See full particulars in § 35, Rem. 2.
- c*) Immediately before the tone-syllable, i. e. before monosyllables and words of two syllables that have the tone on the penultima, they take also *Qā'mêṣ* (prob. as a lengthening of orig. *ă*, comp. § 26, 3), but only in the following cases,—*α*) **לִ** before the Infinitives which have the above-mentioned form, as **לִתֵּן** for to give, **לִדֹּשׁ** for to judge,

¹ Contrary to *Gesenius'* and *Rödiger's* learned derivation of **בִּ** from **בֵּית**, Aram. also **בֵּית** (therefore really in the house, in) or from **בֵּין** between (*Ewald*), *Mühlau* and *Volk* in the 8th ed. of the Lex., following *Böttcher*, have recommended, and without doubt rightly, to regard the **בִּ** (Arab. *lī*) as a softening of the Arab. *fī* (in).—**לִ** arises first from **לִל** and more remotely from a stem which means *appropinquavit, accessit* (Arab. **لِل**).—On **כִּ**, orig. a noun meaning *amount, kind* (*instar*) see Lex.

לָבֵר *for to bear*, except when another word closely follows the Inf. (especially as its subject § 133, 2), placing it in a sort of *constr. st.* as in בָּנִשְׁח Num. 8, 19, לָשֹׁבָר Gen. 16, 3;—β) before many pronominal forms, בָּוֶה, לָוֶה, בָּוֶה, כָּאֵלֶּה *like these*, but specially always בָּכֶם, לָכֶם; and בָּהֶם, לָהֶם, כָּהֶם (see § 103, 2);—γ) לָ before monosyllables or nouns accented on the first syllable, e. g. פֶּה לִפֶּה *mouth to mouth* 2 K. 10, 21, בֵּין מַיִם לַמַּיִם *between water and water* Gen. 1, 6, in both cases before the great pause observe in the instructive example in Deut. 17, 8 that the punctuation לָ requires at least the small pause after it; in Is. 28, 10 and 13 the לָ stands in the double repetition before the small and the smaller distinctives.—δ) in certain standing expressions, which have become adverbial as לָעַד *to eternity*, לָרַב *in multitude*, לְבִטָּח *in security*, לְנֶצַח *to perpetuity*, but לְנֶצַח לְנֶצַח *to all eternity* Is. 34, 10.

- d) With the *interrogative* מַה we have בְּמַה *by what?* כַּמַּה *how much?* מֶמַּה (Job 7, 20 מֶמַּה, 1 Sam. 1, 8, מֶמַּה, all *Mil'el* therefore *ā* in the tone is lengthened to *ā*) *for what? why?* Before the gutturals א, ה, וּ (מִלְרָא) is used to avoid hiatus instead of מֶמַּה; but before the ה we find also מֶמַּה. Before non-gutturals is found לְמַה Ps. 42, 10, 43, 2 (immediately after a tone-syllable).

Rem. The divine name יְהוָה, which has not its own original vowels (probably יְהוֹה), but those of אֲדֹנִי (see Lexicon under the word), takes the *prefixes* also after the manner of אֲדֹנִי, as לִיהוָה, בִּיהוָה, מִיהוָה (because the Jews read in these cases אֲדֹנִי, לֵאדֹנִי, בֵּאדֹנִי, מֵאדֹנִי).

§ 103.

PREPOSITIONS WITH SUFFIXES AND IN PLURAL FORM.

1. So far as all prepositions were originally nouns in the accusative (§ 101), they are also united with the suffixes of nouns (§ 91, 1, 2), as אֵצְלִי (at my side) *by me*, אִתִּי (in my proximity) *with me*, בִּתְהֶם (in their place) *instead of them* (like L. *mea causa*, *on my account*).

Rem. 1. The preposition אֵצֶּה *near, with* (from אֵצֶּה v. Lex. s. v. אֵצֶּה II.), is distinguished from אֵצֶּה (the sign of the definite accusative, see § 117, 2) when suffixes are added, by the difference of pointing, the former making אֵצֶּהִי, אֵצֶּהֶם, אֵצֶּהָם, while the latter retains its original *o* before the so-called light suffixes as אֵצֶּהִי *me*, אֵצֶּהָ *thee*, אֵצֶּהוּ *him*, אֵצֶּהָ *her*; אֵצֶּהֶנוּ *us*, but אֵצֶּהֶם, אֵצֶּהֶךָ, אֵצֶּהֶם *them*. Yet in later books, particularly in the books of Kings and in Jeremiah and Ezekiel, this אֵצֶּה *with* is at times incorrectly inflected אֵצֶּהִי, אֵצֶּהָם.

2. The preposition עִם *with* (st. עִמָּם) takes Qā'měš (pretonic) before

כֶּם and הֶם, in order that the doubling of the *Mêm* may be distinctly heard, as in עֲמָהֶם, עֲמָכֶם (for which however עִמָּם usually stands). In the first person, besides עִמִּי we find עִמָּרִי.

3. It is but seldom that prepositions take the verbal-suffixes, as תַּחְתָּי 2 Sam. 22, 37, 40, 48 (for which we find תַּחְתִּי in Ps. 18, 37, 40, 48), תַּחְתָּיָה Gen. 2, 21, and בְּעֵדָי Ps. 139, 11 (perh. for the sake of rhyming with יְשׁוּעָי). But in these cases the form of the suffix may perhaps be accounted for in this way, that the idea of *direction* *whither* is implied, so תַּחְתָּי *under-me-ward* 2 Sam. as above (also תַּחְתִּי *under me*), תַּחְתָּיָה *in its place* ('he put flesh in-to its place'), בְּעֵדָי *hither around me*.

2. There is a tendency to obviate the extreme brevity and lightness of the forms resulting from the union of the prefix prepositions (§ 102) with the suffixes, especially with the shorter ones, by lengthening the preposition. Hence to כִּי is appended the syllable מוֹ, and מִן is doubled into מִמֶּן (for מִימֶן, prop. L. *a parte*, from the side of—), and for בִּי and לִי we have at least בִּי and לִי with full vowel (§ 102, 2, *a* and *c*).

a) לִי with suffixes:

Sing.

Plur.

- | | | | |
|----|--|---|--|
| 1. | לִי <i>to me.</i> | לָנוּ <i>to us.</i> | |
| 2. | { <i>m.</i> לָהּ, לָהֶּה, in pause לָהֶּה } <i>to</i> { <i>f.</i> לָהּ } <i>thee.</i> | { לָכֶם, [לָכֶן ¹] לָכֶה } <i>to you.</i> | |
| 3. | { <i>m.</i> לוֹ <i>to him.</i> { <i>f.</i> לָהּ <i>to her.</i> | { לָהֶם, לָהֶּה, poet. לָמוֹ ² לָהֶן ³ } <i>to them.</i> | |

¹ לָכֶן happens not to occur in the O. Testament.

² Even Rüdiger denies altogether that לָמוֹ may stand also for the sing. לוֹ. But this question must now be decidedly answered in the affirmative, since the Phœnician suffix of the 3. fem. sing. in ם is generally recognized as analogous to the Hebrew suffixes in מוֹ (comp. Schröder Phöniz. Sprache p. 153 f. and p. 154, Schlottmann's explanation of this מוֹ). To be sure in places like Gen. 9, 26, ff. Deut. 33, 2, Is. 30, 5, Ps. 73, 10, לָמוֹ is better explained as *plural* (in reference to collective nouns); but in Is. 44, 15 and 53, 8 its explanation as plural would be an extremely forced one. Besides there would remain פָּלְמֹי Ps. 11, 7 and כְּפִימֹי as well as עֲלִימֹי, the latter occurring three times, Job 20, 23, 27, 23 (also עֲלִיֹי) and especially 22, 2. In all these places we can avoid the worst exegetic artifices by recognizing simply a singular suffix (=פָּלְמֹי, כְּפִיֹי, עֲלִיֹי).

³ The form לָהֶן usually signifies *therefore*.

בָּ takes suffixes in the same manner, except that for the 3d person plur. we have בָּהֶם, בָּהֶֿמָה, also בָּם and the fem. בָּהֶֿנָּה also 15 times בָּהֶן; but only in 1 Sam. 30, 7, Is. 38. 16, Ezek. 42, 14 בָּהֶן.

b) בָּ with suffixes:

| <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
|---|---|
| 1. בָּמֹנִי ¹ as I. | בָּמוֹנֵנוּ as we. |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> בָּמוֹה } as thou. <i>f.</i> — } | בָּכֶם, seldom בָּמוֹכֶם } as ye. — — — } |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> בָּמוֹהוּ } as he. <i>f.</i> בָּמוֹהָ as she. | בָּהֶם [בָּהֶם] בָּמוֹהֶם } as they. [בָּהֶן] בָּהֶנָּה [בָּהֶן] } |

c) מִן with suffixes:

| <i>Sing.</i> | <i>Plur.</i> |
|---|--|
| 1. מִמֶּנִּי, poet. מִמִּי, in pause מִמִּי from me. | מִמֹּנֵנוּ from us. |
| 2. { <i>m.</i> מִמֶּה, in p. מִמֶּךָ } from thee. <i>f.</i> מִמֶּה } | מִמֶּם } from you. מִמֶּן } |
| 3. { <i>m.</i> מִמֶּנּוּ, poet. in pause מִמֶּנּוּ, [מִמֶּה or מִמֶּהוּ] } from him. | מִמֶּם, מִמֶּמָּה, poet. מִמֶּנָּם } from. [מִמֶּה] } them. |
| <i>f.</i> מִמֶּנָּה from her. | מִמֶּנָּה, מִמֶּנָּה |

Rem. The syllable מִ (in Arabic *mā* ما=Heb. מָה what) in בָּמֹנִי (prop. according to what I for as I), is in poetry appended to the three simple prefixes בָּ, בָּ, לָּ, even without suffixes, so that בָּמִ, בָּמִ, בָּמִ appear as independent words equivalent to בָּ, בָּ, לָּ. In this case, poetry distinguishes itself from prose by longer forms; in the case of מִן on the other hand it has adopted the shorter ones, resembling the Syriac.

The above bracketed form בָּהֶם stands only in 2 Kings 17, 15 (in pause); בָּהֶן (or בָּהֶן) only in Ez. 18, 14. Comp. *Freundsdorff*, *Massora magna*, p. 234 ff.—For בָּם (so formerly in this grammar) as ye, must be read בָּכֶם according to the express testimony of *Kimchi* (comp. also *Baer* on Job 16, 4).

The preposition מִן (see § 102, 1, Rem.) with suff. makes מִמֶּנּוּ from him, which comes from מִמֶּנּוּ (according to § 19, 2), and is identical

¹ The use of לִי for לִי— here is simply for euphony, (comp. above No. 1 Rem. 3). בָּמֶנִּי written defectively only in the Pentateuch.

in form with מִמֶּנּוּ *from us*, which comes from מִמֶּנִּי.¹—The form מִמֶּנָּה always stands without *Mappi'q*, and comes from מִמֶּנָּהּ. The bracketed form מִמֶּנָּה for which *Baer* after *Kimchi* et al. writes מִמֶּנָּהּ is found only in Ps. 68, 24 and is perhaps rather a *substantive* = *share* (v. *Delitzsch* in loc.).—מִמֶּנָּה (in printed editions, in MSS. however מִמֶּנָּה) is found only Ez. 16, 47, 52.

3. Several of these prepositions, especially those which express relations of space and time, are properly plural nouns, like the Germ. *wegen* or the Eng. *besides* (for the reason of this, see § 108, 2, a),² and are therefore joined with the pronominal suffixes, in the form of the plural construct state just like plural nouns (§ 91, 2). Such are—

אַחֵר, more frequently אַחֲרֵי (prop. *hinder parts*) *behind*, *after*, with suff. always thus: אַחֲרֵי *behind me*, אַחֲרֶיהָ *behind thee*, אַחֲרֵיהֶם, אַחֲרֵיהֶן etc.

אֶל, poet. also אֵלַי (*regions, directions*) *towards, to*, with suff. always אֵלַי *to me*, אֵלֶיהָ, אֵלָיו, אֵלֵיהֶם, אֵלֵיהֶן (also defect. אֵלֵהֶם), for which latter also poet. אֵלֵיהֶם (Ps. 2, 5).

בֵּין (*interval*) *between*, to which the suff. which have a singular sense are joined, thus: בֵּינִי, בֵּינָה, etc. (Gen. 16, 5 בֵּינָה but the second *Iôdh* has been rendered critically doubtful by a dot; בֵּינִי occurs three times, but it is only Massoretic *Qeri* for בֵּינוֹ, which is found e. g. Gen. 30, 36). On the other hand the suffixes that signify a plural are added to the plur. בֵּינוֹ or בֵּינוֹת, thus בֵּינוֹנוֹ, בֵּינוֹלָם, בֵּינוֹהֶם, בֵּינוֹהֶן, also בֵּינוֹתֵינוּ, בֵּינוֹתֵיהֶם (ם— also sometimes elsewhere to the plur. noun to avoid too long forms).

סָבִיב (*circuit*) *around*, with suffixes always in the plural form, partly masculine סָבִיבָה, סָבִיבֵינוּ etc., partly, and more frequently feminine סָבִיבוֹת *surroundings* with suff. סָבִיבוֹתַי *around me*, סָבִיבוֹתֵיהֶם, סָבִיבוֹתֵיהֶן.

¹ The Babylonian grammarians wanted to distinguish the last from the 3d sing. by writing it מִמֶּנּוּ *from us*, but Ibn·Ezra justly objected.

² Some of these words, which come from stems ל"ה, viz., אֵלַי, אֵלֶיהָ, אֵלָיו, אֵלֵיהֶם, אֵלֵיהֶן, may certainly be traced back to singular forms like אֵלַי, אֵלֶיךָ, אֵלָיו; but the analogy of the others makes it more probable that these also should be regarded as plurals.

עַד (*progress, duration*, from עָדָה) *as far as, unto*, plur., עָרִי (poet.), but with suff. even in prose always עָרִי, עָרִיָּה, עָרִיר, עָרִיָּה, עָרִיָּה (with *Qā'mēš* in the secondary tone) Job 32, 12.

עַל *upon, over* (constr. st. of עַל *what is above*, from עָלָה *to go up*), plur. עָלִי (poet.), but with suff. also in prose always עָלִי, עָלִיָּה, עָלִיר, עָלִיָּה, עָלִיָּה, for which עָלִיָּמו is also often used in poetry. On the use of the latter in the *sing.* see above 2, a, Note ².

תַּחַת *under* (prop. *what is beneath*), in plur. with suff. תַּחַתִּי, תַּחַתִּיָּה, תַּחַתִּיר, תַּחַתִּירָה (see בִּינְיָוֶתם above).

§ 104.

CONJUNCTIONS.

1. The conjunctions serve to connect words and sentences, and to express their relations to each other.—Such are

- a) Original pronouns, as the demonstrative כִּי *that, because, for*.
- b) Original substantives, which afterwards became pronouns or adverbs e. g. אֲשֶׁר (s. § 36), which serves partly as general expression of the idea of relation, partly as relative pronoun (= *qui, quae, quod*); farther אַל (*nothing*) *that not*; פֶּן (perhaps literally *turning off*, from פָּנָה) *that not, lest* (the Greek *μὴ prohibitivum*) etc. Also substantives used adverbially with prepositions e. g. בְּטָרָם (in *not-yet*) *before that* (for which also מִטָּרָם). On the combination of two conjunctions to express complicated ideas (e. g. אֲדָבִיר *to this comes, that=yea more that*) v. § 155, 2.
- c) Prepositions, which by the addition of the conjunctions אֲשֶׁר and כִּי are reduced to the idea of one conjunction; e. g. אֲשֶׁר אֲשֶׁר *because* (from אֲשֶׁר *account of*), prop. *on account that*, אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר *after that*, כַּאֲשֶׁר *according as* (אֲשֶׁר and כִּי), עַקֵּב כִּי and עַקֵּב אֲשֶׁר (*in consequence that*) *because*. The preposition may still be employed in this manner, even when the conjunction is omitted, e. g. עַל (for עַל אֲשֶׁר) *although*, Job 16, 17.

So at least according to the logic of our language; it would however be more correct to say that instead of the intermediate אֲשֶׁר the whole

following sentence has one substantive idea, governed directly by the preposition. In like manner, all prepositions prefixed to the Infinitive may be rendered in English as conjunctions (§ 132, 2) with the finite verb.

2. Even those little words which are no longer in use except as conjunctions, and which are in more or less of obscurity as to their formation, or original signification, may be considered throughout as remainders of original nouns, such as **או** (prop. *will, choice*, from **אָהָה** *to desire*, comp. Prov. 31, 4) or, like Lat. *vel, ve*, from *velle*; of doubtful origin are **אז** *when*, also or (before the second member of a double question) **אם** *also* and others. Even the only *prefix* conjunction **ו** (*and*) seems to have come from a stem meaning *to add or join*; comp. Davies' Heb. Lex. under **וָו**.

NB. The pointing of the conjunction **ו** is in many respects analogous to that of the *prefixes* **בְּ**, **כִּי**, **לִי**, (§ 102, 2), but as a feeble letter it has some peculiarities:—

- a) Usually it has simple *Sh'wā* (**וְ**).
- b) Before words beginning with a guttural and a *composite Sh'wā*, it takes the vowel with which the *Sh'wā* is compounded (according to § 28, 2), as **וְיָחִיבְּכֶם** *and be thou wise*, **וְעַבְדֶּיךָ** *and slaves*, **וְקֹזֶזוּ** *and force*, **וְאָכַל** *and eat thou*, **וְחָלִי** *and sickness*. But **וְאֱלֹהִים** *God*, with **ו** is contracted into **וְאֱלֹהִים** etc. In cases like **וְיַצַּר** Job 4, 2 comp. § 28, 2.
- c) Before words whose first consonant has simple *Sh'wā* (excepting the cases under d), *Wāw* becomes the vowel *ū*, as **וְלֹכֵל** *and to all*, and even before a *Chāṭēph* (under letters not guttural), as **וְיָהֹב** Gen. 2, 12 (comp. § 10, 2, Rem. b). It is also sounded thus (yet with the exception of the cases under e) before its cognate labials **בְּ**, **מְ**, **פְ**; as **וּמִלֵּךְ**.
- d) Before **ו** *Wāw* takes *Chîrēq*, as in **וְיָהִי** *and he was* (for **וְיָהִי**, according to § 24, 1, a); on the peculiar punctuation of **ו** copulative before forms with initial *Sh'wā* from **וְיָהִי** *to be* and **וְיָחִי** *to live*, as **וְיָהִי־יְהוָה** Josh. 8, 4, **וְיָהִי־יְהוָה** Gen. 20, 7, comp. § 63, Rem. 5.
- e) Immediately before the tone-syllable, it often takes *Qāmēṣ*, like **וְ**, **כִּי**, **לִי** (§ 102, 2, c), yet chiefly only at the end of a clause, e. g. 2 K. 7, 4 (**וְיָמְחִנוּ** *וְיָמְחִנוּ* and *וְיָמְחִנוּ*), Ruth 3, 3 (**וְיָסֻכָּהּ**), Ps. 10, 15 (**וְיָצֵעַ**), 2 Sam. 13, 26 (**וְיָלֵא**), 1 Sam. 9, 4 (**וְיָאֲרֵךְ**), Ez. 47, 9 (**וְיָחִי**); comp. also (with *Tiphchā*) Gen. 33, 13, 2 Sam. 15, 12. Regularly the **ו** copulative stands with *Qāmēṣ*, when it serves to unite two nouns, which have the same generic idea, and thus in their combination present only one more comprehensive idea. It is also here however a condition that the **ו** shall stand immediately before the tone syllable, e. g. **וְיָהִי־יְהוָה**

Gen. 1, 2, וְהָיָה 8, 22 (see also examples above); Ex. 25, 3; כֹּה וְכֹה *so and so*, וְכֹה Ps. 96, 7, 10, וְרָכַב וְסֹס Ps. 76, 7; even נִתְּנוּ וְשִׁמְּתָם גִּלְגָּלִים Gen. 7, 13, אֱלֹהִים וּמַלְאָךְ 1 K. 21, 10, אִישׁ-וְאִישׁ Esth. 1, 8 (at the end of the verse); also with 3 words as in פָּתַח וּפָתַח וּפָתַח Is. 24, 17. It is otherwise when the word stands in close connection with the following, e. g. אִישׁ וְאִישׁ יָרָד בָּהּ Ps. 87, 5. From the same rhythmical reason the וְ (not וּ) stands with certain monosyllabic words, whose nature is to lean upon the following, as וְהָיָה, וְאֵת, וְלֹא, וְכֵן and others.

§ 105.

INTERJECTIONS.

1. Among the interjections there are (as in all other languages) some merely natural sounds, or as it were, vocal movements, called forth by some impression, or sensation, as אָהָה, אָה *ah!* הֹהָה *ho!* אָהָה *hush!* But הוֹי, וְוֵי *woe!* is an original noun and belongs therefore to No. 2.

2. Others, however, were borrowed from other parts of speech, and became interjections only by use in animated discourse, as הֵן or הִנֵּה *behold!* (prop. *here*); לֹא! (prop. *see*, Imp. of רָאָה); הִבֵּה, plur. הִבֵּי (prop. *give*, Imp. of יָהַב) for *come on! go to!* (L. *age, agite*); לָכֵה (also לָהּ in Judg. 19, 13), לָכֵי (prop. *go ye*, Imp. of הִלָּךְ) *go to! come on!*¹ הֲלֵיכָה *far be it!* (prop. *ad profanum!*), בִּי (for בְּעִי *entreaty*) *I beseech, prithee!* (for *I pray thee*), נָא *now!* (cf. Ethiop. *nā'a*, prop. *hither*, but also *come on!*) a particle of incitement and entreaty (which is put after the expression it belongs to).²

¹ רָאָה, הִבֵּה and לָכֵה stand connected, in this form, also with the feminine and with the plural, which shows that they have quite assumed the nature of interjections.

² The particle נָא serves to express the most various shades of thought, which are exhibited in various places in the Syntax. A short statement must here suffice. נָא stands—*a*) after the *Imp.* in commanding as well as in entreating (§ 130, 1);—*b*) after the *Impf.* in the first as well as in the third person (§ 127, 3, *b*, and § 128, 1);—*c*) once after the *Perf.* (§ 126, 4 in foot Note);—*d*) after various particles, as הִנֵּה-נָא *behold now*, particularly with conjunctions, as אֲלֵ-נָא *no! pray (ne quæso)*, אִם-נָא *if now*, εἴποτε, *if*, with a courteous or modest hesitation.—In courteous discourse this particle is used in redundancy, as in Gen. 18, 3, 19, 7, 8, 19, 50, 17.

PART THIRD.

SYNTAX.

CHAPTER I.

SYNTAX OF THE NOUN.

§ 106.

EXPRESSION OF ADJECTIVES THROUGH SUBSTANTIVES,— THE ABSTRACT FOR THE CONCRETE.

In the Hebrew language, there is a want of adjectives in proportion to the substantives, and some classes of adjectives, such as those of *material*¹, are almost entirely wanting. This deficiency is supplied by substantives, especially in the following ways:—

1. The substantive expressing quality is placed in the genitive after the noun qualified. This is constantly the case in specifying the material, e. g. כֶּלִי כֶסֶף *vessels-of-silver* = *silver vessels*, אֲרוֹן עֵץ *ark-of-wood* = *wooden ark*, like the Fr. *des vases d'or*; in like manner אֶחָדָה עוֹלָם *eternal possession* Gen. 17, 8, מְתֵי מִסְפָּר *men-of-number* i. e. that can be numbered = *few men* Gen. 34, 30, אֶבֶן יָקָר *precious stone* Prov. 17, 8. So likewise even in cases where the language had a corresponding adjective, e. g. בְּגָדֵי הַקֹּדֶשׁ *garments of holiness* = *the holy garments* Ex. 29, 29; for the use of the adjective קָדוֹשׁ is restricted

¹ A few adjectives of this kind, in the form of *passive participles*, are אֲרוֹז (denom. from אָרַז) *of cedar*, נְחֹשׁ *of copper*. On the form קָטוֹל as expression of inherent qualities, v. § 50, 3, Rem. 2.

to the expression of certain combinations. Compare hence in the N. Test. ὁ οὐκονόμος τῆς ἀδικίας Luke 16, 8. Comp. Fr. *Un homme de bien*.

Rem. 1. Less frequently the substantive which expresses a quality precedes and the other noun follows it in the genitive, as *בְּבִחַר עֲמָלָיו* *the choice of thy valleys*, i. e. *thy chosen valleys* Is. 22, 7 (comp. 17, 4), 37, 24, Gen. 23, 6, Ex. 15, 4. This is the usual construction with the substantive *כָּל* *totality* used for the adj. *all, whole* (see § 111, 1).

2. Instead of an adjective, which ought to stand as the predicate of a sentence, a substantive is sometimes employed; e. g. Gen. 1, 2, *the earth was desolation and emptiness*, Job 3, 4 *let that day be darkness*, Ps. 25, 10, 35, 6, 88, 19, 110, 3, Is. 5, 12, Job 23, 2, 26, 13; in a few of these cases the periphrasis with the aid of a substantive was necessary, as there existed no corresponding adjective. But in all cases the idea of quality is more strongly expressed by a substantive than by an adjective or verb. The same may be said of the examples where the predicate has been expressed by a substantive with a preposition, as in Ps. 29, 4 *the voice of the Lord is בְּכֹחַ* *with power* i. e. *powerful*.

2. Especially, adjectival ideas, denoting the possession of a thing, quality or condition, and the like, are frequently expressed by circumlocution, viz. by substantives (like *man, lord, son, daughter*) with the genitive of the thing, attribute, etc., in the following manner:—

a) *אִישׁ* *man*, e. g. *אִישׁ דְּבָרִים* (prop. *man of words*) *eloquent man* Ex. 4, 10; *אִישׁ דָּעַת* (prop. *man of knowledge*) *intelligent man* Prov. 24, 5; *אִישׁ חֲמָה* *wrathfull man* Prov. 15, 18.—b) *בָּעַל* *master, owner*, e. g. *בָּעַל שֹׁעַר* *hairy* 2 K. 1, 8, *בָּעַל הַחֲלֹמָה* *the dreamer* Gen. 37, 19.—c) *בֶּן* *son* and *בַּת* *daughter*, e. g. *בֶּן-תָּהִל* *valiant man* 1 K. 1, 52; *בֶּן-מָדָם* *an oriental* Gen. 29, 1; *בֶּן-שָׁנָה* *one year old* Ex. 12, 5; *בֶּן-מָוֶת* *doomed to death*=*a child of death* 1 Sam. 20, 31; *בַּת בָּלָעַל* *worthless woman* 1 Sam. 1, 16; poet. also of a thing without life, as in Is. 5, 1 *בֶּן-שָׁמֶן* *fat ground* (of a fruitful hill); comp. *בֶּן-לֵילָה* *Jonah* 4, 10.

A bolder construction, and merely poetic, is the use of the simple abstract in place of the concrete, as *בְּלָעַל* *worthlessness* for *בֶּן-בָּלָעַל* or *אִישׁ בָּלָעַל* *worthless*, like L. *scelus* for *scelestissimus*. Comp. § 83, Rem. 1.

Rem. On the contrary, forms of adjectives or concretes, especially in the feminine, often take the abstract signification, as has been shown in § 84, 1, 3, 12, etc.; comp. § 107, 3, b.

We here remark, also, that the poets employ certain *epitheta ornantia* alone instead of the substantive to which the attribute belongs; e. g. *אֲבִיר* *the Strong*, i. e. *God*; *אֲבִיר* *strong*, i. e. *the ox*, in Jeremiah *the horse*, *רִיזֵן* *majestic, august*, for *the prince* (comp. *נָשִׂיא* *elatus*, with the same signification); *לָבָנָה* *white*, i. e. *the moon*. So also *רֹבֵץ* *lurking*

i. e. *the lurker*, for a *lurking lion* Gen. 4, 7. In Arabic this use of adjectives and participles for substantives is even far more common. Comp. L. *merum* for *vinum*, ὕγρη i. e. *the sea* in Odyss. 1, 97.

§ 107.

INDICATION OF THE GENDERS OF THE NOUNS.

Whether the Hebrew regarded a substantive as feminine is known partly from its feminine termination in the singular (§ 80, 1, 2), and from the feminine ending of the plural (see however § 87, 4) and partly merely from its construction with a feminine predicate. On the indication or non-indication of the gender, and also on the peculiar Hebrew conception of genders, the following has to be noted in particular.

1. The most natural use of it was the express indication of gender in cases where the physical sex of man or beast comes into consideration. Language shows, however, several gradations, according as this natural distinction is more or less prominent in the mind's view. The former is principally the case—

- a) when the female is designated by an entirely distinct word, which, of course, requires no feminine-ending, as *father*, *mother*, in Heb. אָב, אִם; אֵיל ram, רֶחֶל ewe; חֲמֹר he-ass, אֲחֹךְ she-ass;
- b) when the female is indicated only by the addition of the feminine-ending, as אָח brother, אָחוֹת sister; עֶלֶם young man, עֲלָמָה young woman; פֶּרֶן ox, פָּרָה heifer; עֵגֶל he-calf, עֵגְלָה she-calf; the gender is less emphatically distinguished:—
- c) when the feminine gender is shown only by the construction (*communia*), like ὁ, ἡ βους, ὁ, ἡ παῖς, as נָמֵל camel, masc. in Gen. 24, 63, but fem. in 32, 16; בָּקָר masc. for male cattle in Ex. 21, 37, but fem. for female cattle in Job. 1, 14;
- d) when, without regard to the natural distinction of the sexes, only one form is employed in the same gender to designate both (*epicæna*), as in ὁ λύκος, ἡ χελιδὼν; e. g. הָב שָׁכַל masc., a bear robbed of his young Hos 13, 8 (yet

it is construed as feminine in 2 K. 2, 24, Is. 11, 7); אֵלֶּיָּה masc., *ox* in Ps. 144, 14, where however the *cow* is intended.

In cases under a, b, c, the more definite designations of the *fem.* gender, although existing in the language are often replaced by more general expressions which are used elsewhere only for the masculine, e. g. הַמִּיּוֹר as *fem.* for אֶחָד 2 Sam. 19, 27, and אֶלֶּל for אֵלֶּלָה Ps. 42, 2. Compare in German *Gemahl* for *Gemahlin*; on the other hand in Arabic, where the more ancient style avoids the feminine forms e. g. *bāla* *mistress*, *arūsa* *bride*, which become more and more common in later usage. On the other hand נַעַר *boy, youth* being employed also for נַעֲרָה in the Pentateuch, comes from the originally epicene use of נַעַר. But if in Job 1, 19, Ruth 2, 21, נַעֲרִים is used for young people (of both sexes) it is because the idea of the male sex, as the nobler one, predominated and included at the same time, the female sex; comp. Arab. *ʿabawāni*, *the two fathers*, i. e. *parents*.

The same sparing use of the designation of sex appears also in other examples; viz. אֲמֹן *m. artificer* Prov. 8, 30 (where *wisdom* חָכְמָה *f.* is meant, like *artifex omnium natura* in Plin. 2. 1); מֵת *m. a dead body*, spoken of the corpse of a woman Gen. 23, 4; אֶלְהִים for a goddess 1 K. 11, 5; comp. Eng. *friend, teacher*, also Lat. *auctor, martyr*.

Among *epicæne* nouns are found names of whole species of animals, which were regarded as masculine or feminine according as they appeared strong and powerful, or weak and timid; e. g. *m.* כָּלֵב *dog*, זֶאֵב *wolf*; *f.* יוֹנָה *dove*, חֲסִידָה *stork*, בַּת יָעֵנָה *ostrich*, אֲרֻנָּבָה *hare*.

2. The use of the feminine-ending for denoting the feminine gender, is most constant in the adjectives and participles. See § 87, 5.

3. Besides objects properly feminine, there are others (nearly the same as those which in Greek and Latin are *neuter*) indicated in Hebrew by the feminine form viz.—

a) *Things without life*, for which the feminine, as the weaker, seemed to be the most suitable designation, as יָרֵךְ *side* (of the body), *thigh*, יָרֵכָה or יָרֵכָה *side* (of a country), *region, rear* (of a dwelling); מִצָּחַ *front or forehead*, מִצָּחָה *greave* (from some resemblance). As in the two last examples, so the feminine is often used to transfer the signification of an animate object to a kindred inanimate object (especially of art).

b) Hence *abstract ideas*, which decidedly prefer the feminine form, even when the masculine is also in use; as נָקָם, נִקְמָה *vengeance*, עֲזָרָה *help* (§ 84, 11, 12). Adjectives when used substantively in a neuter sense (like τὸ καλόν), commonly take the fem. form, as נְכוּנָה *right* in

Ps. 5, 10; רָעָה *evil, ill-luck*; so also in the plur. fem. גְּדֹלֹת *great things* Ps. 12, 4; נִפְלְאוֹת (Part. Niph. *wonderful thing*).

c) At times the feminine form is applied, when a *dignity* or *office* is designated, as בָּרִיִּים (prop. *surnames, equally named*) *colleagues*, בָּרִיעִים *princes* (like our *highnesses*). Considered more closely, these feminine forms express really abstract ideas, which afterwards had been transferred to concrete individual persons. Undoubtedly the same is the case with אֲבוֹת *fathers* (more exactly something like *paternitas*, indicating dignity). Of a somewhat different kind are cases like כְּהֵנָה *concionator* (designation of *King Solomon* as the preaching wisdom) where the fem. ending serves in a manner to designate the so named personality as being active in that particular direction; comp. סֹפֵר as a man's name in Neh. 7, 57, Ezra 2, 55. These words are, however, agreeably to their signification construed with the *masc.* This use of words prevails more extensively in Arabic, Ethiopic, and Aramaean, e.g. in *Chalīpha* (fem. of *chalīph*, *successor, representative*). Compare in Lat. *magistratus*, Ger. *Herrschaft* (Eng. *lordship*) for *Herr* (Eng. *lord*), *Obrigkeit* for *Oberer*; *Majesty, Excellency*, Ital. *podestà*¹, etc.

d) *Collectives*, as אֲרִיב *wanderer, traveller*, אֲרִיבָה *caravan* (prop. *that which wanders* for *wanderers*); גִּילָה (from masc. גִּילָה) *a company of exiles*; יִשְׁבֵּחַ Is. 12, 6, Mic. 1, 11, 12, prop. *that which inhabits* for *inhabitants*; אֲוֵבָה for *enemies* Mic. 7, 8, 10. So in Arabic often. Comp. the poetic בָּר צֶר for בְּנֵי צֶר *sons (=inhabitants) of Tyre* Ps. 45, 13, בְּנֵי עַמִּי = עַמִּי *my countrymen*. Comp. τὸ καβαλόν and ἡ ἰππος for *the cavalry*, ἡ ἀμάχλος (Herodotus I. 80).

e) But on the contrary the feminine, as the *nomen unitatis* in Arabic, now and then denotes *an individual of a class*, when the masculine is used of the whole class, e.g. אֲנִי *ships, fleet* (1 K. 9, 26, comp. 2 Ch. 8, 18), אֲנִיָּה *single ship* (Jon. 1, 3); שֵׁשֶׁר *hair* (collectively), שֵׁשֶׁרָה *a hair* (see Judg. 20, 16, 1 Sam. 14, 45, Ps. 40, 13); שִׁיר *song* (mostly collective), שִׁירָה *a song*, so also הֶאֱנָה *a fig*, נֶצֶחַ *a blossom* (besides the collective נֶצֶחַ Gen. 40, 10), שִׁישָׁה *a lily* (besides שִׁישָׁן), לִבְנָה *a brick* Ez. 4, 1 (Arabic *labīna*, also collect. *labīn*), and other instances, although the difference is partly lost sight of in the Hebrew.

4. Many words (besides certain names of objects properly feminine, No. 1, *a—d* in this section) are more or less regarded as feminine, without having the appropriate ending, but taking the syntactical construction, as if feminine. They belong chiefly to the following classes:

¹ So פָּחָה (= *pasha*) is *fem.* in form and inflection, but *mas.* in sense and construction.—*Tr.*

a) Names of countries and towns, contemplated as mothers¹, or nurses (as it were), of the inhabitants e. g. אַשּׁוּר *f. Assyria*, אֲדָם *f. Idumæa*, צֵר *Tyre*; so also the appellative nouns which denote country, city or any locality, or limited space, as אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, הָעוֹלָם *the world*, עִיר *city*, דֶּרֶךְ *and* אֶרֶץ *way*, חֲצֵר *court*, מַחֲנֶה *camp*, בְּאֵר *the grave*, בְּאֵר *a well*, צָפוֹן *north*, דְּרוֹם *south*, etc.; at times even מְקוֹם (*place*) is *fem.*, as in Gen. 18, 24 (referring to Sodom), and 2 Sam. 17, 12 in *Kethibh* (where the *Qeri* gives the *masc.*).²

As names of people are commonly masculine, it often happens that the same word is used as *masc.* for the people, and as *fem.* for the country; e. g. יְהוּדָה *m. Jews* Is. 3, 8, *f. Judea* Lam. 1, 3; אֲדָם *m. Idumæans* Num. 20, 20 and *f. Idumea* Jer. 49, 17.

But names are also construed as *fem.*, even when intended for the people, by a metaphorical use (like the German *die Türkei schliesst Frieden*) Job 1, 15, 1 Sam. 17, 21, Is. 7, 2, 21, 2.³

b) Many members and parts of the body in man or beast, יָד and כַּף *hand*, אֶצְבַּע *finger*, רֶגֶל *foot*, בִּרְךָ *knee*, בִּתְּחָל *shoulder*, יָרֵךְ *loin*, שׁוֹק *leg*, עֵין *eye*, אוֹז *ear*, זְרוֹעַ *arm*, לָשׁוֹן *tongue*, כַּנָּף *wing*, קָרְנוֹ *horn*, שֵׁן *tooth*, בֶּטֶן *womb*, probably with reference to their subserviency as mere instruments⁴; and hence also words for inanimate instruments and utensils, as חֶרֶב *sword*, דָּבַר *peg*, אֲרוֹן *ark or chest* (but also *masc.*), כַּד *bucket*, מִטָּה *bed*, נַעַל *sandal*, כּוֹס *cup*, also אֶבֶן *stone*, and many others.

c) *Fem.* too are the words for *light, fire*, and other powers of nature, as שֶׁמֶשׁ *sun* (also *masc.*), אֵשׁ *fire* (Eth. *ēsât*), אֵיר (light Job 36, 32 elsewhere *masc.*), נֹגַהּ *brightness*, also רוּחַ *wind and spirit*, נְפֶשׁ *breath and soul* (both, but rarely, *masc.*), etc.⁵

¹ Thus אִם in 2 Sam. 20, 19. and on Phœnician coins, stands for *mother-city*, μητῆρπολις (comp. μητήρ. *mater*), and by the same figure the inhabitants were called *sons* of the country, as *sons of Zion* Ps. 149, 2, *sons of Babylon* Ez. 23, 15 (like *son of the house, son of the womb*).

² As this word מְקוֹם is *masc.* everywhere else, so we find also in the others more or less fluctuation in the gender.

³ This applies also to the poetical personification of nations, countries and cities as female beings e. g. Is. 47, 1, 50, 1, 54, 1 seq., Ez. 16, 3, Lam. 1, 1. Therefore also בִּתְּרֵיךְ, בִּתְּרֵיךְ used for a city and its people (see above in No. 3, d), and the styling of a smaller place in dependence on a city as its *daughter*, as in Josh. 15, 45.

⁴ The *masc.* gender also is found in these nouns in a few cases, as זְרוֹעַ Is. 17, 5, שׁוֹק Ex. 29, 27, לָשׁוֹן Zech. 4, 10, Ps. 22, 16. Only as *masc.* line do we find אֶף *nose*, מִצַּח *front*, צְנָאָר *neck*, עֵרֶךְ *nape of the neck*, פִּה *mouth*, עֶקֶב *heel*, זָנָב *tail*.

⁵ The particulars are to be found in the Lexicons. Some of these words have the feminine-ending, as נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*, קֶשֶׁת *bow* (from the root קָשׁ), עֵת *time* (for עֶרֶת), and yet are now and then construed as masculine, from a misconception as to their origin, taking the ה for a stem consonant.

§ 108.

OF THE PLURAL AND COLLECTIVE NOUNS.

1. Besides the proper plural-endings (§ 87, 1, 2), the language employs some other means for the expression of plurality, viz.—*a*) certain words, with a *collective* signification, which have their corresponding *nomina unitatis*, i. e. nouns which designate an individual of the class, as שׁוֹר *an ox*, בָּקָר *oxen*, e. g. חֲמִשָּׁה בָּקָר *five oxen* Ex. 21, 37, צֹאן *small cattle*, viz. *sheep or goats* (μῆλα), שֶׁה *a single head of the sheep or goats*;—*b*) the feminine-ending (§ 107, 3, *d*);—*c*) nouns which have the proper signification of the singular, but which are also used as collectives, e. g. אָדָם (never pl.) *man, the human race*, אִישׁ *a man, for men*, אוֹיֵב *enemy for enemies*, עֵץ *tree for trees*. These words take the article, when all the individuals of the class are included (§ 109, 1). Comp. also § 108, 4, Rem. 1 on the special signification of the plural of certain collectives.

2. On the other hand, the terminations which properly express *plurality* are employed in the expression of other kindred ideas, so that the Hebrew at times uses plural forms where other languages employ the singular. The plural is thus used to denote:—

a) *Extension of space or time*; hence the frequent use of it to express *portions of space, regions or surfaces*, their unity being considered as the compound of an immense number of single particles or dots (comp. L. *loca*), שָׁמַיִם *heavens* (§ 88, Rem. 2), מְרוֹמִים *heights* (of heaven) Job 16, 19, מַיִם *water*, יָמִים poet. for יָם *sea* (as it were the vast surface of the sea), מִרְגְּלֵי *place at the feet*, מִצְעָצֵת *place at the head*; *certain portions of the body*, which are parts of its extension,¹ as פְּנִים *face* (also *surface, front* in general), צַוְעָרִים *neck*; *spaces of time*, as חַיִּים *life*, נְעֻרִים *youth*, זְקֵנִים *old age*. These latter plurals, however, may perhaps be better explained as intensively expressing the qualities and conditions inhering in the idea of the stem, so that זְקֵנִים expresses really the totality of the conditions of a זָקֵן. Such a comprehension into an abstract idea certainly takes place in cases like בְּתוּלִים *virginity*, פְּעֻרָּה *perverseness*, שִׁלְלִים *childlessness*, סְנֵינִים *blindness*. Comp. the prepositions of space and time in pl. form, § 103, 3.

¹ Comp. the same use of the *plur.* in τὰ στήρνα, τὰ νῶτα, τὰ τράχηλα, *præcordia, cervices, fauces*.

b) Might, power and greatness. These so-called *plurales excellentiae* are analogous to the intensive plural treated in *a*); here the plural serves first to form abstract nouns which express the fundamental idea, raised to a higher power (interiorly multiplied). Of this sort particularly is the plural (of אֱלֹהִים אֱלֹהִים *God*. Even supposing that the use of this plural originated in a polytheistic view, in the language of the Old Testament it has become completely stripped of numerical multiplicity (so far at least as Elohim is used of *one* God) and retains only the conception of a being, who is in the highest degree an object of awe and reverence. So too a few times קְדוּשָׁה the *most Holy* (God) Hos. 12, 1, Prov. 9, 10, 30, 3 (comp. Josh. 24, 19 and Aram. עֲלִיזְיָהּ the *Highest* Dan. 7, 18), and הַרְפִּים *L. penates* always in the plural (even when only one image is meant) 1 Sam. 19, 13, 16. Also most frequently אֲדֹנָי=אֲדֹנִים *lord*, e. g. אֲדֹנָי קָשָׁה *a severe lord* Is. 19, 4, אֲדֹנֵי הָאָרֶץ *the lord of the land* Gen. 42, 30, 39, 20, specially with *suff.* of 2d and 3d person, as אֲדֹנֶיךָ *thy lord*, אֲדֹנָי *his lord* (but אֲדֹנֵי *my lord*, אֲדֹנֵי *the Lord*, God's name, § 121, Rem. 4); so also בָּעַל *master*, with *suff.* often בָּעַלְיוֹ *his master* Is. 1, 3, בָּעַלְתִּיהָ *her master*. Comp. also עֹשֶׂה *creator* (always with suffix) Is. 22, 11, 54, 5 (with בְּעֹלְמוֹ) Ps. 149, 2, Job 35, 10.¹

Rem. 1. This use of the plural, according to letter *b*, is very limited, and very seldom extends beyond the above words, which (except הַרְפִּים) are used in the singular as well. On the construction of these plurals with adjectives, see § 112, 1, Rem. 3; with verbs, in § 146, 2.

2. The plurals under *a* are also limited in common prose to few words, but in the language of the poets and prophets they are somewhat more frequent, e. g. חֲשֵׁכִים *tenebræ* (used like our *shades* for dark places), עֲדִינִים and תַּעֲנִינִים *delights*, אֱמוּנִים *faithfulness*, and many others.

3. When a substantive is followed by a genitive, and this compound idea is to be expressed in the plural, it is done—*a*) most naturally by the plural form in the governing noun (§ 89, 1), as הַיֵּל גִּבּוֹרֵי *valiant heroes* (prop. *heroes of valour*) 1 Ch. 7, 2, 9; so also in compounds, as בְּנֵי־רִמְיָה *Benjaminite, plur.*

¹ Somewhat similar is the use of *we* by kings when speaking of themselves (comp. 1 Mac. 10, 19, 11, 31); but the plurals in the mouth of God (Gen. 1, 26, 11, 7, Is. 6, 8) are to be explained either as collectives (including the surrounding angels) or, and perhaps more justly, as plurals of reflection (self counsel). The Jewish grammarians call such a plural רֵבּוּי הַכּוֹחַ (pluralis virium or virtutum); the moderns call it *pluralis excellentiae* or *pluralis majesticus*. The use of the plural as a form of respectful address, as modern languages have it, is rather remote from the Hebrew usage.

בְּנֵי יִמְיָנִי 1 Sam. 22. 7;—*b*) in *both* nouns, as גְּבֻרֵי חַיִּלִּים 1 Ch. 7, 5, בְּתֵי כְלָאִים *prison-houses* Is. 42, 22, and so בְּנֵי אֱלֹהִים *sons of God* (not *sons of gods*) Ps. 29, 1;—*c*) also in the *governed* noun only, as בֵּית אָב *father's house, family*, בֵּית אֲבוֹת *families* Num. 1, 2 foll., בֵּית הַבְּמוֹת *the houses of the heights* 2 K. 17, 29, also בְּתֵי הַב' in 23, 19, בֵּית עֲצֻבֵיהֶם *their idol-houses* 1 Sam. 31, 9. As to this remark, formerly overlooked by the grammarians, compare also Judg. 7, 25 (*the head of Oreb and Zeeb for the heads*). Here the two words, by which the compound idea is expressed, are treated just as a compound noun.¹

When a substantive with suffix is related to a plural, the singular form of the substantive is sufficient because the relation to plurality is sufficiently expressed by the suffix, as פִּימֹו *their mouth for their mouths* Ps. 17, 10, יְמִינֶם Ps. 144, 8, where we also can say *their mouth, their right hand*.

4. To the modes of expressing plurality belongs also the *repetition* of a noun, with or without the conjunction. By this is chiefly indicated *the whole, all, every*, as יוֹם יוֹם *day by day, every day*, אִישׁ אִישׁ *every man*, also אִישׁ וְאִישׁ Ps. 87, 5, יוֹם יוֹם Est. 3, 4, דּוֹר דּוֹר *every generation* Deut. 32, 7; elsewhere *distributively*, as עֶדֶר עֶדֶר לְבָדּוֹ *each flock by itself* Gen. 32, 17, Num. 31, 4; also *a multitude* (in groups), even with the plural form, 2 K. 3, 16, גְּבִים גְּבִים *ditches in abundance* Joel 4, 14, Ex. 8, 10, also in *constr. st.* with a following genitive, as in Gen. 14, 10 בְּאֲרוֹת הַחֵמֶר בְּאֲרוֹת הַחֵמֶר *nothing but asphalt-pits*, Judg. 5, 22 (comp. Mark. 6, 39, 40); finally (*with the conjunction וְ*) *diversity, of more than one kind*, just as כָּל signifies *all and of every kind*, e. g. אֶבֶן וְאֶבֶן *diverse (two) kinds of weights* Deut. 25, 13, Prov. 20, 10; לֵב וְלֵב *a double heart* Ps. 12, 3, 1 Ch. 12, 33.

Not here, but to rhetoric, belongs impassioned repetition of the same noun in exclamations (e. g. Jer. 22, 29, Lam. 1, 16, Ez. 21, 32; also of an adjective, Is. 6, 3), in order to give value, as it were, to its idea in all directions.

¹ All the three methods occur also in Syriac and Ethiopic. See Hoffmanni, Gramm. Syriaca, p. 254; Ludolfi, Gram. Ethiopica, p. 139; Dillmann, Gram. d. äthiop. Spr., S. 364.

Rem. 1. Coherent substances, materials, etc., are mostly regarded as a *unity*, and therefore occur almost exclusively in the singular, as *זָהָב* *gold*, *כֶּסֶף* *silver*, *עֵץ* *wood*, *יַיִן* *wine* (yet *מַיִם* *water* is expressed by the plural, acc. to 2 a, but in Arabic it is singular). But when the word is used to express *portions*, separated from the totality, then of course the plur. is used, as *כֶּסֶפִּים* *pieces of silver* Gen. 42, 25, comp. verse 35; *לִּגְנִים* *ligna* (*timbers* for building or *sticks* for burning) also pl. *trees*. So of grain, as *חִטָּה* *wheat* (on the stalk), *חִטִּים* *wheat* (in the grain); the same, *שְׂעִירָה* and *בָּרְבִּירִים* *barley*; *דָּם* *blood* (as organic unity, therefore also the blood of sacrifices collected in a vessel) *דָּמִים* *spilled blood*, revealing itself by a multitude of blood spots (*Pluralis extensus*); however, the use of the plural (e. g. Gen. 10, 4) seems to have been limited to express simply *blood violently spilled* and therefore signifies directly *caedes* or *murder*.

2. In cases where the plural is regarded as poetic, the idea of *plurality* or *extension* is not excluded, e. g. Job 17, 1 *the graves are my portion* (that is *the grave-yard*, where many graves are together), comp. 21, 32, 2 Chr. 16, 14.

3. In some cases the plural designates an indefinite unity; as certainly in Judges 12, 7: *בְּעָרֵי גִלְעָד* *in one of the cities of Gilead*; probably also Gen. 8, 4; 13, 12; 19, 29.

§ 109.

USE OF THE ARTICLE.

The article (הַ, הָ, הֵּ, § 35) was originally a demonstrative pronoun (as in other languages, e. g. the Romance, comp. *ὁ, ἡ, τό* in Homer); yet its force is so slight at least in the language now before us, that it is used almost exclusively as a prefix to the noun.

Rem. The stronger demonstrative force of הַ (*this*) is still found in some connections, as *הַיּוֹם* (L. *hodie*) *this day, to-day* (in Scotch *the day*), *הַלַּיְלָה* *this night, to-night*, *הַפֶּעַם* *this time*. To this demonstrative sense is to be referred in particular,—a) the fact, that sometimes it stands for the relative before the verb, e. g. *הַמִּצְוֹת* *that are found* 1 Ch. 29, 17, 26, 28, Josh. 10, 24, Ezra 8, 25; likewise according to the view of the Massora Gen. 18, 21, 46, 27, Ruth 1, 22, 4, 3, Is. 51, 10, Job 2, 11; comp. also *אֲשֶׁר עָלֶיהָ=הָעִירָה* 1 Sam. 9, 24;—b) the case where it is employed, mostly before a participle, to connect and to point back to a subject noun, in order to make it again prominent, as in Ps. 19, 10 *the laws of the Lord are truth* ver. 11, *הַחֲקִירִים* *they, that are precious*: here the article has nearly the force of *αὐτὸς*. Comp. with this Ps. 104, 3 (three times), Is. 40, 22, 23, 46, 6, Gen. 49, 21, Job 5, 10,

41, 25, etc.; further before a participle with a verbal suffix in Ps. 18, 33 **הָאֵל הַמַּצְרִיכֵנִי הָיִל** *the God that girds me with strength*; comp. ver. 48, Jer. 19, 13, Neh. 10, 38. The article is found with like emphasis before substantives in the absolute: Deut. 32, 4, Ps. 18, 31 (= *he, the God whose, etc.*).

The article is used with a noun to define its application in nearly the same cases as in Greek, German and English, viz., only when *a definite object*, i. e. *one previously mentioned*, is the subject of discourse, e. g. Gen. 1, 3 *God said, Let there be light* (**אֹר**), ver. 4 *and God saw the light* (**אֶת־הָאֹר**); 1 K. 3, 24 *Bring me a sword* (**הַחֶרֶב**), *and they brought the sword* (**הַחֶרֶב**), comp. Ec. 9, 15; or *one regarded as already known*, as **הַמֶּלֶךְ** *the king Solomon*; or *the only one of its kind*, as **הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ** *the sun*, **הָאָרֶץ** *the earth*. The article is *not* used when the object is thought of as something indefinite, general or yet unknown, e. g. (besides **אֹר** and **חֶרֶב** above) in Ec. 1, 12 *I was king* (**מֶלֶךְ**) *over Israel in Jerusalem*.

In *poetry* only, where the article is much less used than in prose, even the definite nouns (as above) may dispense with it, e. g. **מֶלֶךְ** for **הַמֶּלֶךְ** Ps. 21, 2, **אָרֶץ** for **הָאָרֶץ** Ps. 2, 2.¹ In all the cases however where the ה of the article is syn-copated after a prefix (§ 35, Rem. 2) the vowel required for the article is in poetry also usually placed after the prefix. Ps. 2, 4 al.

Special cases in which the article is usually employed are—

1. When a generic word is used collectively to denote all the individuals belonging to it, as *the righteous, the un-righteous* Ec. 3, 17, *the woman* for *the female sex* Ec. 7, 26, *the Canaanite* Gen. 13, 7, 15, 19, 20, just as we say *the Russian, the Turk*; so among the Attics ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ὁ Σαρακένσιος.

2. When a generic word is applied by way of *eminence* to a *particular* object and thus becomes a kind of *proper name*, like ὁ ποιητής (Homer), as **שָׁטָן** *adversary, the adversary, Satan*; **בָּעַל** *lord, the idol* (prop. name of the idol) **בָּעַל** *Baal*; **הָאָדָם** *the (first) man, Adam*; **הָאֵל** ὁ Θεός, *the*

¹ Certain old words, mostly used by the poets, stand always without the article, as **תַּחֲוִים**, **שָׂאִיל**, **תַּבֵּל**, **תַּשְׁחִיחַ**, **שָׁנִי**, **שָׁנִיר**, **רֶזֶן**, **אֶלֶם**.

only, true God=יְהוָה (yet אֱלֹהִים is often used thus without the article, because it approaches the nature of a *proper name*, § 110, 1). So too הַנָּהָר *the river*, i. e. *the Euphrates*; הַנָּחַל *the circuit*, viz. of the Jordan.

3. Hence it is used also with actual proper names of *rivers, mountains*, and of many *towns*, with reference to their original appellative signification (comp. *the Hague, le Havre*; also our names *the Nore* and *the Nase*=*the nose* i. e. *the head-land*), as הַיָּאֵר *the Nile* (prop. *the stream*), הַלְבָּנוֹן *Lebanon* (prop. *the white*, i. e. *mountain*), הַיַּרְדֵּן *the Jordan* (prop. *the descent*, i. e. *rapid current*). But its use in connection with names of towns is rare, comp. הָעִי *the town Ai* (prop. *the ruins*), הַגְּבֵעָה lit. *the hill*, הַרְמָה *the height* etc. and in poetry is generally omitted. (Comp. § 110, 1).

Rem. 1. If the Hebrew article ever stands for our *indefinite* article, it is because the Hebrews conceived and expressed many ideas definitely, which we are accustomed to put indefinitely. This is most common in the following cases:—

a) *In comparisons*, where the compared object is not conceived of as individual but as generic (see above No. 1), e. g. *white as the wool, as the snow, red as the scarlet* Is. 1, 18, *as the cattle* Ps. 49, 15, *he flings thee like the ball* Is. 22, 18, *the heavens are rolled up like the scroll* Is. 34, 4, comp. Is. 10, 14, 24, 20, 27, 10, 28, 8, 53, 6, Ps. 33, 7, Judg. 14, 6, 16, 9. Yet where the noun compared is already made definite by an adjective, the article does not stand any more than when a genitive follows, e. g. כֶּבֶד Is. 10, 14, but כְּבֹד מִשְׁלָח 16, 2, Job 30, 14, comp. Ps. 1, 4 with Is. 29, 5. Exceptions to the above usage are rare, as כְּבֹד Job 16, 14, כָּאֵב 31, 18.

b) *In the names of classes or of materials which are generally known*, e. g. *the gold, the silver, the cattle, the water*. Hence Gen. 13, 2 *Abraham was very rich in the cattle, the silver, and the gold* (where other languages would omit the article). Comp. Gen. 41, 42, Ex. 31, 4, 35, 32, Is. 1, 22. So שָׂרַף בָּאֵשׁ *to burn in the fire*.

c) Often also *in the expression of abstract ideas* (like τὸ ἱπικιόνη, *la modestie*), hence of physical and moral evils, as *the blindness* Gen. 19, 11, *the darkness* Is. 60, 2, *the falsehood* Is. 29, 21.

On these principles, it is easy to explain the use of the article in special cases, as in הַלְיֹהָ *the lion* 1 K. 20, 36 (comp. 1 Sam. 17, 34, Amos 3, 12 and τὸν λύκον in John 10, 12), Gen. 8, 7, 8, 14, 18, 2 Sam. 15, 3. The frequent הַיּוֹם does not stand simply as referring back to what has been related before (= *the same day*), but also directly for our *one day* (probably on the particular day in which it happened=*a certain day*) 2 K. 4, 18, Job 1, 6, 13.

2. The *vocative* also admits the *article* (as in Greek), and for the most part in those cases where it would usually stand; e.g. 2 Sam. 14, 4 *הַמֶּלֶךְ הַשֵּׁנִי הַשֵּׁנִי* *save, O King* (in the Sept. σωσον, ὁ βασιλευς, σωσον, cf. γαίρε, ὁ βασιλευς in John 19, 3), *הַיֹּשֻׁעַ הַגָּדוֹל* *O Joshua, the high priest* Zech. 3, 8, 1 Sam. 24, 9.

§ 110.

The article is regularly *omitted*¹—

1. Before the *proper name* of a *person* or a *country* (יְהוָה, מִצְרַיִם), and also of a *people*, when it coincides with the name of the founder of the race or the name of the country (יִשְׂרָאֵל, אָרָם). On the contrary, *gentilic* (p. 211) nouns admit it both in the sing. and plur., as הֵעֲבָרִים *the Hebrews* 1 Sam. 13, 3, הַכְּנַעֲנִי *the Canaanite* (collect. § 109, 1).

2. Before substantives, rendered definite by a following genitive or a suffix (§ 111, 1), which renders the use of the article unnecessary; e.g. דְּבַר אֱלֹהִים *God's word*, אָבִי *my father*.

The exceptions, in which the article stands before the *Nomen regens* (constr. state) or before a noun combined with a suffix, are either only apparent and are removed by a right syntactical analysis or there may be reasonable doubt whether the Massoretic vocalization be correct. Generally are counted here:

a) The cases, where it is alleged that the demonstrative force of the article should be rendered more prominent. This explanation seems admissible in 2 K. 23, 17, yet even there הַקֶּבֶר is not in *constr. state*, but must be explained: *this grave is* (the grave) *of the man of God*, therefore the same breviloquence (for הַקֶּבֶר קֶבֶר אֵל) as in examples below, *letter c.*—Also Ps. 123, 4 can be explained: *Our soul is filled with such scorning* (the scorning) *of those that are at ease*; comp. also Ez. 17, 15, Ezr. 8, 29, 2 Chr. 8, 16. Very doubtful are however: Josh. 8, 33; הַחֲצִי *the (other) half of it* (?), preceded by הַחֲצִי; Judges 16, 14, where הִיתָד apparently should be read הִתְהַד; 1 K. 14, 24 where the article which stands usually after כֹּל has been placed erroneously before הוֹשִׁיעָה (comp. Jer. 25, 26); in 2 K. 9, 4 the second הַנֶּעֱר has been

¹ In these particulars (relating to the omission of the definite article, viz., before proper names, before nouns in construction with a genitive or with a possessive pronoun, and before predicates), the usage of our language corresponds to that of the Hebrew. The same is true of the Keltic tongues. In Greek it is quite otherwise, the article being freely used in all these cases, except the last.—*Tr.*

caused by the preceding one; in 1 Chr. 15, 27 the text is evidently corrupt. Jer. 32, 12. הַמִּקְדָּשׁ is epexegetis (not genitive) to the absolute אֶת־הַמִּסְפָּר and in cases like הַמִּבְנֶה Is. 9, 12 we have a verbal suffix, therefore accusative. The articles in the following examples may perhaps be considered as syntactical impossibilities: הָאֶחָד Josh. 7, 21, הַיְיָ (perhaps a dittography of the *Kāph*), Lev. 27, 23, הַדְּבָרִי Micah 2, 12 (evidently the *י* as copulative to be drawn to the following) לַמַּעֲבָדִי Prov. 16, 4.

b) When the genitive is a *proper name* which does not admit the article (according to No. 1), as הַמִּזְבֵּחַ בֵּית־אֵל the altar of Bethel 2 K. 23, 17, הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל the God of Bethel Gen. 31, 13, הַמֶּלֶךְ אַשּׁוּר the king of Assyria Is. 36, 16 (but not in the parallel passage 2 K. 18, 31); comp. Gen. 24, 67, Jer. 48, 32, Ezek. 47, 15 (comp. 48, 1); so also in the *vocative*, as in הַבַּת יְרוּשָׁלַם O daughter of Jerusalem Lam. 2, 13. According to the first example (2 K. 23, 17) the Massora seems to have adopted everywhere the union of the article with the construct state. But here also it may perhaps be more correct to conceive the nouns with the article as *absolutes*, to which the genitive has been added in a loose connection, whilst, in reality, the *nomen regens* should be repeated without the article: e. g. הָאֵל בֵּית־אֵל (אֵל). This is certainly true of cases:

c) When the connection between the noun and the following genitive is somewhat loose, so that the first forms a perfect idea by itself, while the second conveys only a supplemental qualification, relating chiefly to the material, as הָאֵבֶן הַבְּרִילִי the weight, the leaden one Zech. 4, 10, הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַנְּחֹשֶׁת the altar of copper 2 K. 16, 14. But in verse 17 even the Massora seems to recognize such a relation of apposition (v. § 113 and § 116, 5) by vocalizing הַבְּקָר, the same in הַבְּרִית Josh. 3, 14.

4. Before the predicate, which from its nature is indeterminate, as in Gen. 29, 7 עוֹד הַיּוֹם גָּדוֹל yet is the day great, i. e. it is yet high day 33, 13, 40, 18, 41, 26, Is. 5, 20 הָאֲמָרִים הַטּוֹבִים who call the good evil, Is. 66, 3.

Yet there are cases where the nature of the predicate requires the article, as in Gen. 2, 11 הוּא הַכֹּסֵב it is the encompassing, i. e. that which encompasses; 45, 12 בִּימֵי הַדְּבָרִי that my mouth (is) the speaking = it is my mouth that speaketh Gen. 42, 6, Ex. 9, 27. See another case where the article stands before the predicate in § 109, beginning.

§ 111.

1. When a compound idea, expressed by a noun in the *constr. st.* followed by another in the genitive (§ 106), is to be made definite, it is done by prefixing the article to the

second noun; as **אִישׁ מִלְחָמָה** *man-of-war* Josh. 17, 1, but **אֲנָשֵׁי הַמִּלְחָמָה** *the men-of-war* Num. 31, 49; **דְּבַר שָׁקֶר** *word-of-falsehood* Prov. 29, 12, **דְּבַר הַנְּבִיא** *the prophet's word* Jer. 28, 9.

Rem. 1. The article is sometimes put in the same way when only the genitive, and not the *nomen regens*, is definite, as **חֵלֶקֶת הַשָּׂדֶה** *a part of the field* 2 Sam. 23, 11 (see on the contrary Josh. 24, 32, Gen. 33, 19), **אִישׁ הָאֶרֶץ** *a husbandman* (if not appositional, v. Delitzsch in loc.), Gen. 9, 20 (comp. on the other hand **אִישׁ שָׂדֶה** Gen. 25, 27). Yet in this case we usually find another construction chosen in order to avoid ambiguity, see § 115.

2. This explains the use of the article after **כָּל** (prop. *totality, the whole*). The article is used after it to express definitely *all, whole* (like F. *tous les hommes, toute la ville*), and is omitted when it is used indefinitely for *of all kinds, any thing*, or distributively for *every* (*tout homme, à tout prix*)¹; e. g. **כָּל-הָאָדָם** *all men*, **כָּל-הָאָרֶץ** *the whole earth*, prop. *the whole of men, the whole of earth*; but **כָּל-אֲבֵן** *stones of all kinds* 1 Ch. 29, 2, **כָּל-דָּבָר** *any thing* Judg. 19, 19, **בְּכָל-יוֹם** *in every day* Ps. 7, 12. Yet also **כָּל-חַי** *every living thing*=*all living* Gen. 3, 20 (in the same way **כָּל-עֵץ**, **כָּל-עוֹף**, etc.). In regard to the (appositional) placing behind of **כָּל** and the absolute use of **הַכָּל**=*the collective all, everybody*, e. g. Gen. 16, 12, see Davies' Hebr. Lex.

3. Even compound proper names may be resolved again into two words, and then the second takes the article; e. g. **בְּנוֹ-יָמִי** *a Benjaminite* (§ 86, 5), **בְּנוֹ-הַיְּמִינִי** *the Benjaminite* Judg. 3, 15, **בֵּית הַפְּתָחִי** *the Bethlehemite* 1 Sam. 17, 58.

2. When the substantive has the article, or (what is equivalent) is made definite by a following genitive or a suffix, then the adjective belonging to it also (including the demonstrative pronoun **זֶה**, **הוּא**, § 122, 1), takes the article; as **הַגְּדֹלָה הָעִיר** *the great city* Gen. 10, 12; **הַמָּקוֹם הַהוּא** *that place* 28, 19; **יָדָה הַחֲזָקָה** *thy strong hand* Deut. 3, 24; **מַעֲשֵׂה יְהוָה** *the great work of God* Deut. 11, 7.

Not quite rare is the use of the article also—

a) With the adjective alone, and it then serves to make the preceding noun definite, e. g. **יּוֹם הַשִּׁשִּׁי** *day the sixth*=*the sixth day* Gen. 1, 31 (on the contrary **יּוֹם שֵׁנִי** *a second day* 1, 8), 41, 26, 1 Sam. 19, 22, Is. 7, 20, Ps. 62, 4, 104, 18, Neh. 3, 6, 9, 35, Zech. 14, 10. On the other hand **יָמֵשׁ** Gen. 1, 21, 9, 10 has already been defined by **כָּל**. When the adjective is properly a participle, the omission of the article is the

¹ What is here said of **כָּל** applies also to its Greek equivalent, *πᾶς*; e. g. *πᾶσα ἡ πόλις*, *the whole city* (Mat. 8, 34)=**כָּל-הָעִיר**, but *πᾶσα πόλις* *every city* (Mat. 12, 25)=**כָּל-עִיר**.—Tr.

general rule as in Jer. 46, 16 הַיָּד הַזֵּה *the sword that oppresses*; this omission is quite necessary in cases of inversion as Is. 11, 9. Rarely stands the article

- b) With the substantive alone, as in הַמְּנוּחִים רַבִּים *the many nations* in Ez. 39, 27, 2 Sam. 6, 3 (where perhaps the article before הַמְּנוּחִים has been dropped erroneously before הַ). Somewhat more frequently the article is wanting with the pronouns הוּא, אֵלֶּה, which are sufficiently definite of themselves, and for the same reason always with זוֹ; as בְּאֵרְלָהּ הוּא Gen. 19, 33, comp. 38, 21, הַדּוֹר זֶה Ps. 12, 8, אֵלֶּה כָּל-הַנֶּחֱם 1 Sam. 2, 23, particularly when the noun is made definite only by a suffix, as in אֵלֶּה עֲבָדֶיךָ 1 K. 10, 8, comp. Ex. 10, 1, Josh. 2, 20, Ez. 43, 12, Ps. 143, 10, Judg. 16, 5, 6, 15. Designedly indefinite is רָעָה הַבָּתָּם *an evil report respecting them* Gen. 37, 2 (הַבָּתָּם הָרָעָה would be *their evil report*), compare Num. 14, 37, 1 Sam. 2, 23; in Gen. 42, 19 אֶתְיָכֶם אָחֵר means *one of your brethren*, Gen. 43, 14.

§ 112.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE SUBSTANTIVE WITH THE ADJECTIVE.

1. The adjective, which serves to qualify the substantive, stands *after* it, and agrees with it in *gender* and *number* (as אִשָּׁה יָפָה, אִישׁ גָּדוֹל). If the substantive is qualified by an intervening noun in the genitive (§ 114), then the adjective stands after such noun, e. g. עֲטֹרַת זָהָב גְּדֹלָה *a great crown of gold* Est. 8, 15.—On the setting of the article in this construction, see § 111, 2.

Rem. 1. The cases in which an adjective (according to the usual explanation, on account of special emphasis) seems to stand before its substantive are based almost entirely rather upon an appositional relation; comp. Is. 10, 30 עֲנִיָּה עֲנִיָּה *Oh! the wretch, Anathoth!* 23, 12: הַתִּשְׁשָׁקָה בְּתוּלָה בַּת-צִידוֹן *thou disgraced one, virgin daughter of Zidon!* in 28, 21 זָרָה and נְכָרִיָּה are predicates placed before; 53, 11: צַדִּיק עַבְדִּי *a righteous one, my servant*; Ps. 18, 4 הַזֶּה אֶקְרָא הַיּוֹם *The praised one I call, Jehovah*. On the other hand רַבִּים *many*, is sometimes placed before the substantive in the way of a numeral without any seeming intention to indicate appositional relation; comp. Ps. 32, 10, 89, 15, Neh. 9, 28 (in Ps. 145, 7 רַב is a governing substantive).—Rare and mostly poetic is the form of expression חֲלָטִים אֲבָנִים *smooth ones of stones for smooth stones* 1 Sam. 17, 40, Ez. 7, 24, Is. 35, 9, and with a collective noun instead of the plural, אֲבָנֵי אָדָם *the poor of men* = *the poor* Is. 29, 19, Jer. 49, 20, Zech. 11, 7, Hos. 13, 2. Similar is the Lat. *canum degeneres*. However in all these cases the adjective treated as *nomen regens* has a great stress and amounts almost to a superlative.

2. When substantives of the feminine gender take *two* adjectives, the feminine form sometimes appears only in the one which stands nearest the substantive; as *מְלָאכָה נְמִבְזָה יְנָמִס* 1 Sam. 15, 9, *רֵיחַ גְּדִלָּה* 1 K. 19, 11, Ps. 63. 2. Comp. § 147, Rem. 1.

3. In regard to *number*, it is first to be noticed, that the nouns in the dual take the adjectives or participles in the plural, as *עֵינַיִם רְמוֹת* *lofty eyes* Prov. 6, 17, Ps. 18, 28, Job 4, 3, 4, Is. 35, 3. Comp. § 88, 1. Moreover, the *constructio ad sensum* is frequent; so that collectives are construed with the plural of the adjective or participle in 1 Sam. 13, 15, Is. 9, 1, Jer. 28, 4; but the *pluralis majestatis* (§ 108, 2, *b*) on the contrary with the singular, as *אֱלֹהִים צָדִיק* Ps. 7, 10, Is. 19, 4 (but with the *plur.* in 1 Sam. 17, 26).

2. An adjective often has its meaning more nearly defined by a substantive, which then follows it in the genitive case, as *יָפֵה-רֵאָר* *beautiful of form* Gen. 39, 6, *נָקִי כַפַּיִם* *pure of hands* Ps. 24, 4, *אֲנָמִי נָפֶשׁ* *sorrowful of spirit* Is. 19, 10 (comp. L. *integer vitae scelerisque purus; tristes animi*). In the same manner are often construed the *participles* and *verbal adjectives*, if they are not accompanied by the accusative (as the case belonging to their verb); see § 135.

3. On the adjective as predicate of the sentence, see §§ 144—148.

§ 113.

APPPOSITION.

By this is meant the placing together of two substantives, so that one of them (commonly the second¹) serves to limit or qualify the other, as *אִשָּׁה אֶלְמָנָה* *a woman (who is) a widow* 1 K. 7, 14, *נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה* *a damsel (who is) a virgin* Deut. 22, 28, *אֲמָרִים אֱמֶת* *words (which are) truth* Prov. 6, 12, 22, 21, Job 20, 29, 27, 13. On cases where the first of the two substantives (before a following *constr. st.*) has the form of the *constr. st.*, see § 116, 5. Elsewhere, substantives which might be expected to be in apposition, stand also in a relation of subordination, e. g. *פָּרָא אָדָם* *a wild ass of a man*; comp. Prov. 15, 20, 21, 20.

¹ The first only in certain formulas, as *הַמֶּלֶךְ שְׁלֹמֹה, הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד* like the Ger. *der König David*, Eng. *the king David*, where the arrangement *דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ* 2 Sam. 13, 39, is of rare occurrence.

Also two adjectives may stand in apposition, in which case the first modifies the sense of the second, as *פָּהוֹת לְבָנוֹת* *pale white spots* Lev. 13, 39, in verse 19 *בְּהָרֹת לְבָנָה אֲדַמְדָּמָה* *a white red (bright red) spot*.

See more on apposition in § 116, Rem. *b*, § 118, 3, § 120, 1, 2, § 121, 3.

§ 114.

OF THE GENITIVE.

1. It has been shown above (in § 89), that the Hebrew regularly expresses the genitive-relation by making the noun in the genitive (*nomen rectum*) dependent upon, and closely connected with, the *nomen regens* in the *constr. st.* A genitive is regularly dependent upon only one governing noun.¹ The language avoids, also, letting a noun in the *constr. st.* be followed by several genitives connected by *and* (וְ), and prefers in that case to repeat the *nomen regens*; e. g. Gen. 24, 3 *אֱלֹהֵי הַשָּׁמַיִם וְאֱלֹהֵי הָאָרֶץ* *the God of the heavens and the God of the earth*, Jer. 8, 1. But there may be formed a chain of construct states by one governed noun becoming again the governing noun of a genitive depending on it. Even then the repetition of the *constr. st.* has indeed often been avoided by means of a circumlocution (see § 115), however comp. יָמֵי שָׁנֵי *יָמֵי אֲבוֹתַי* *the days of the years of the life of my fathers* Gen. 47, 9 *שְׂאֵר מִסְפַּר־קָשֶׁת גִּבּוּרֵי בְנֵי־קֶדָר* *the residue of the number of the bows of the heroes of the sons of Kedar* Is. 21, 17.

In these examples (comp. also Is. 10, 12, Job 12, 24 and others) all the nouns except of course the last genitive are in the *construct state*. Yet we find also examples where a genitive in the midst of a chain stands in the absolute forming together with its governing noun a compound idea, from which (but principally from the governing noun) depends the following genitive. Thus, in Is. 28, 1 *בְּיַם שְׁמֵינִים הַלּוּמִי לַיִן* *the fat valley (prop. valley of fatness) of the smitten of wine*, 1 Ch. 9, 13, Ps. 68, 22.

¹ It would be quite unusual to say *בְּנֵי וּבָנוֹת דָּוִד* *the sons and daughters of David*, which ought to be expressed by *בְּנֵי דָּוִד וּבָנוֹתָיו* *the sons of David and his daughters*. But see Ez. 31, 16, Is. 11, 2 *knowledge (of Jehovah) and fear of Jehovah* (compare the Biblical Greek in Mat. 6, 33 *τὴν βασιλείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν δικαιοσύνην αὐτοῦ*).

2. The governing noun may be followed not only by the so-called *subjective* genitive, indicating possessor, originator, etc., but also by the so-called *objective* genitive, e. g. Ez. 12, 19 חַמַּס הַיֹּשְׁבִים *the wrong which the inhabitants did*, but otherwise in Obad. verse 10 חַמַּס אָחִיךָ *the wrong against thy brother*¹ (comp. Gen. 16, 5, חַמַּסִּי *the wrong done to me*), Prov. 20, 2 אֵימַת מֶלֶךְ *the dread of a king*, יִרְאַת יְהוָה *the fear of the Lord*, זַעַקַת סֹדֶם *the cry concerning Sodom* Gen. 18, 20, שְׂמִיעַ צֹר *the report about Tyre*, שְׁלַל אִיבֶיךָ *the spoil of (taken from) thy foes* Deut. 20, 14; further, דֶּרֶךְ עֵץ *way of (i. e. to) the tree* Gen. 3, 24, Prov. 7, 27, Job 38, 20; דֶּרֶךְ הַיָּם *way of (by) the sea* Is. 8, 23, זִבְחֵי אֱלֹהִים *sacrifices of (pleasing to) God* Ps. 51, 19, יְהוָה שְׁבַעַת *an oath of (i. e. sworn by the name of) יה* 1 K. 2, 43.

3. The genitive construction stands also frequently in place of apposition (§ 113), as נָהָר פָּרַת *river of Euphrates*; אֶרֶץ כְּנָעַן etc. see more in § 116, 5.

Rem. 1. Between the noun in the *constr. st.* and the following genitive an insertion of a word seems to occur in Hos. 14, 3 (הַשָּׁא after -כָּל), 2 Sam. 1, 9 and Job 27, 3 (עִיר after -כָּל). In truth, however, in all these three examples the construct state has been abolished by *hypallage* (for -עִיר כָּל etc.) and therefore 2 Sam. 1, 9 may for instance be explained thus: *for as a totality my soul is still in me = my whole soul.*

2. As the genitive always gives a closer definition of the noun standing in the construct state, proper nouns cannot really stand in *stat. constr.* because by nature they are already defined. Combinations in which nevertheless proper nouns stand in *constr. st.* are based on breviloquence which suppresses the appellative idea contained in the proper noun. So especially with geographical names, as in אֵיר כַּשְׁדִּים *Ur (city) of the Chaldees* Gen. 11 28, אֲרָם נְהַרִּים *Aram (the region) of the two rivers = Mesopotamia*; so also יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *Jehovah of hosts* for אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת *Jehovah the God of hosts* (2 Sam. 5, 10 *et al.*) comp. § 116, Rem.

¹ In Latin the genitive is similarly used after *injuria* (Cæs. B. Gall. I, 30), *metus* (like *metus hostium*, *metus Pompeii*), *spes*, and other words. Comp. Aul. Gell. 9, 12. In Greek compare εὐνοια τῶν φίλων, πίστις τοῦ Θεοῦ, λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ 1 Cor. 1, 18.

§ 115

EXPRESSION OF THE GENITIVE BY CIRCUMLOCUTION.

Besides the indication of the genitive-relation by the *construct state* (see in § 89, and § 114), there are certain *periphrastic expressions*, chiefly by means of the preposition ל, which among others denotes the idea of *belonging to*, and this corresponds to the genitive relation. Accordingly, we find—

1. לְאִשָּׁרָהּ, used principally for the genitive of *possession*, as רֹעֵתָהּ לְאִשָּׁרָהּ Gen. 29, 9, 47, 4 *the flock of her father* (prop. *the flock which to her father belonged*); and also where there would be several successive genitives (to avoid the repetition of the *constr. st.*, but see § 114, 1), as אֶבְרָתָהּ הָרֹעִים לְאִשָּׁרָהּ *the chief of the herdsmen of Saul* 1 Sam. 21, 8, שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים אֲשֶׁר לְשִׁלְמֹה *the song of songs of Solomon* Cant. 1, 1 (an obvious effort to retain the usual juxtaposition of the two words שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים 2 Sam. 2, 8, 1 Chron. 11, 10 and for reasons given § 114, Note, Gen. 40, 5. (Hence came the Rabbinic sign of the genitive לְשֵׁלֵל comp. Cant. 1, 6, 3, 7; in Aramaic, the simple relative הָיָה or הָיָה serves as sign of the genitive.)

2. לְ (without אֲשֶׁר), which also denotes the genitive of *belonging to* and of *possession*,¹ as הַצִּיִּים לְשָׂאוֹל *the scouts of Saul* 1 Sam. 14, 16. This is used particularly, — a) when the governing (or first) noun is expressly regarded as *indefinite*, e. g. בֶּן לְיֵשׁוּעַ *a son of Jesse* 1 Sam. 16, 18 (whereas בֶּן-יֵשׁוּעַ signifies *the son of Jesse*), כֹּהֵן לְאֵל עֲלִיִּיזָה *a priest of the most high God* Gen. 14, 18, 41, 12, שְׂנֵי עֲבָדִים לְשִׁמְעִי *two servants of Shimei* 1 K. 2, 39, אֹהֶב לְדָוִד *a friend of David* (was Hiram) 1 K. 5, 15, לְדָוִד מְזֻמָּר *a psalm of David* (i. e. belonging to him as the author), and elliptically לְדָוִד *of David* Ps. 11, 1, 14, 1; cases like לְדָוִד מְזֻמָּר (e. g. Ps. 24, 1) cannot be considered simply as an *hypallage*, but מְ is an *epexegetis* to the generic word, omitted before לְדָוִד. Altogether the introduction of the author, poet, etc. by the so-called לְ *auctoris* is also customary in the other Semitic dialects, especially in the Arabic. — b) when several genitives depend on one substantive, e. g. הַלְבָּת הַשְּׂדֵה

¹ Philologically considered, the Gascon says no less correctly *la fille à Mr. N.*, than the written language *la fille de* —; the former expresses the idea of *belonging*, the latter that of *descent*. The Arabians distinguish a two-fold genitive, viz. one which has the force of ל, and one which has that of בֶּן. We have the latter conception of this relation in the *de* of modern languages, that are derived from the Latin (the Romance languages). In Greek we may compare the so-called συγγενεῖς Κολοφώνιον, e. g. ἡ κεφαλὴ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου for τοῦ ἀνθρώπου (see Bernhardt's *Syntax*, p. 88).

לְבִצּוֹ *the portion of the field of Boaz* Ruth 2, 3, 2 K. 5, 9, סְפֵר הַדְּבָרִי הַזֶּה *the book of the chronicles of the kings of Israel* 1 K. 15, 31, רֹאשֵׁי הָאֲבוֹת לְמִשְׁחוֹת בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל Josh. 19, 51, where the sets of more closely-connected nouns which form one conception (*chronicles, kings of Israel, heads of families, etc.*) are joined by means of the *constr. state*, while the ל stands between the sets to indicate a looser connection (yet comp. § 114, 1);—*c*) after specifications of number, e. g. בְּשִׁבְעָה יָמִים וּבְעֶשְׂרִים יָמִים *on the seven and twentieth day of the month* Gen. 8, 14, 7, 11.

§ 116.

FURTHER USE OF THE CONSTRUCT STATE.

The *construct state*, so far as it serves to put one noun in close connection with the following word or combination of words is, in the flow of speech, used not only for the genitive-relation, but also—

1) Before prepositions, particularly in the more elevated style, and oftenest when the governing word is a participle, e. g. before ב, as שִׂמְחַת בְּקִצִּיר *the joy in the harvest* Is. 9, 2 (v. also verse 1), 5, 11, 19, 8, Ps. 2, 12; before ל, as מִצְפּוֹן לְעִיר *on the north of the city* Josh. 8, 13, אֶהְיֶה לָנוֹם Is. 56, 10, 30, 18, Ez. 1, 27, Ps. 58, 5, Lam. 2, 18, Job 18, 2, 24, 5; before אַל Is. 14, 19; before מִן, as גְּמוּלִי מִחֶלֶב *weaned from milk* Is. 28, 9; before עַל in Judg. 5, 10; before the *Nota Accus.* Jer. 33, 22.

2) Before the relative pronoun (or more correctly in genitive relation with the whole phrase introduced by אֲשֶׁר, see No. 3), e. g. מְקוֹם אֲשֶׁר *the place where*—Gen. 39, 20, 40, 3, Lev. 4, 24, 33, 2 Sam. 15, 21, 1 K. 21, 19, Jer. 22, 12.

3) Before relative clauses with the אֲשֶׁר understood, e. g. קִרְיַת הָהָרָה *the castle where David pitched his tent* Is. 29, 1, מְקוֹם לֹא יָדַע אֵל *the place of him who knows not God* Job 18, 21, 29, 2, 1 Sam. 25, 15, Ps. 90, 15. Comp. § 123, 3, Rem. 1.

4) Rarely even before *Wāw copul.*, as חֲכֵמַת וְרָעָה Is. 33, 6, 35, 2, 51, 21, Ez. 26, 10.

5) In appositions (viz., as far as an actual genitive-relation does not take place, as in § 114, 3), e. g. 1 Sam. 28, 7 אִשָּׁת בַּעֲלָהּ אוֹיֵב *a woman, mistress of a soothsaying spirit* (comp.

παῖδισα ἑχούσα πνεῦμα πύθωνος Acts 16, 16; so also in צִיּוֹן בְּתוּלַת בַּת זִיּוֹן *virgin daughter of Zion* Is. 37, 22, comp. 19, 11; 23, 12, Gen. 14, 10; Deut. 33, 19, 2 Sam. 20, 19, 2 K. 10, 6, 17, 13 *Qerî* Jer. 14, 17, 46, 9, Ps. 78, 9.

Partly at least those places may also be explained in the following manner. There exists a real genitival relation, but the first *constr. state* has been left in suspense, in consequence of the insertion of a permutation in its place; elsewhere (Ps. 68, 34, Job 20, 17) probably there takes place a direct leaning on the following construct state.

6) Also in other cases of closer connection in the expression; thus, at times (even with small distinctives) we have אָחָד *one* for אֶחָד 2 Sam. 17, 22, Zech. 11, 7, Gen. 48, 22, Is. 27, 12. Compare besides the *constr. st.* in the numerals from eleven to nineteen (§ 97, 2).

Rem. When in the above cases the *absolute st.* could in general stand quite as well as the *construct*, there are yet other constructions where the *constr. st.* might be expected rather than the *absolute*. Thus, for example—

a) In geographical names like אָבֶל בֵּית מַעֲכָה *Abel Bêth-Ma'achā*¹ (i. e.

Abel of Beth-Ma^acha, to distinguish it from other places called Abel).

Comp. on the contrary, § 114, Rem. 2.

b) In some other cases, seemingly, where the connection is not close enough for the genitive-relation, so that the second noun must rather be considered as in apposition (§ 113) to the first. Here belongs Ps. 60, 5 יַיִן תַּיְעָלָה לֵי יָהּ *not wine of reeling*, but rather *wine that causes reeling*, Ez. 47, 4 מַיִם בְּרִיכִים *water up to the knees*; Is. 30, 20 מַיִם צָרָה *water of affliction*, i. e. *water in affliction* (in prison). Comp. 1 K. 22, 27, Is. 3, 24 and the thorough explanation of this specially Semitic locution by Fleischer in the treatise: „Ueber einige Arten der Nominalapposition im Arab. (Berichte über die Verhandl. der kgl. sächs. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig, 1862, S. 10 ff.).

c) In the expression אֱלֹהִים צְבָאוֹת *God hosts*, elliptical for אֱלֹהֵי צְבָאוֹת *God (the God) of hosts*, אֱלֹהִים having here the value of a proper noun; so also the same ellipsis in צְבָאוֹת יְהוָה (comp. § 114, 3, Rem. 2).

§ 117.

INDICATION OF THE OTHER CASES.

1. Since the Hebrew language has lost the living use of *case-endings* (§ 90), we must inquire what substitutes it

¹ So in English, *Bedford Street, Covent-garden*, for *near Covent-garden*. But in Latin the genitive is used in such cases, as *Augusta Vindelicorum*.

adopted for expressing the various case-relations of nouns in a sentence. The *nominative* is always to be known (as generally in English and always in Welsh) only from the syntactical construction. So also the *vocative*, which is really identical with it. On the modes of expressing the *genitive*, see §§ 114—116. Of the other cases for which the Indo-germanic languages have either throughout (as the Sanscrit) or at least in part, special forms of inflection, the *dative* is periphrastically indicated by לְ (*to*),¹ the *ablative* by מִן (*from, out of*), the *locative* and *instrumental* mostly by בְּ (*in, at, by*); but the Shemite regarded the nouns dependent on these prepositions as *genitives*, because the particles were themselves originally nouns; and in Arabic they have also the genitive-ending. Comp. § 101, 1.

On the use of the dative particle לְ, so far as it serves to express also our genitive, see § 115, 1, 2.

2. The *accusative*, when expressing *direction* or *motion* to a place, has still frequently its ending הָ (§ 90, 2). Else it is, like the nominative, to be known only from the structure of the sentence. Yet we may often know it by the אֶת or אַתְּ (before suffixes also אֶת or אַתְּ), put before it, which, however, is used only when the noun in the accusative is made definite by the article, the construct state, a suffix, or otherwise (Gen. 6, 2, 2 Sam. 13, 17, 18, 18), or is a proper name. Such is the usage in prose, but not so much in poetry; e. g. Gen. 1, 1 אֶת הָאָרֶץ וְאֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם (on the contrary, אֶרֶץ וְשָׁמַיִם Gen. 2, 4), 2, 24, 6, 10.²

¹ Just as the Lat. preposition *ad* in the Romance tongues (Ital. *a*, before vowels *ad*, French *à*, Span. *á*) and *to* in Eng. are used to indicate periphrastically the dative.

² אֶת or אַתְּ (this form prob. used only before the so-called light suffixes, § 103, 1, Rem. 1), אֶתְּ (without the accent in close connection with the following word) and אַתְּ (with a tone-long ē), Phœnician אֶת (prob. *iyath*, the Punic also pronounce *yth*), Arab. before suff. *'iyyā*, Aram. *yāth*, *yāth*, was originally a substantive, which signified *essence, substance, self* (like the Syr. ܐܬܐ, comp. Heb. אֶת *a sign*), but in construction with a following noun or suffix it stands for the pronoun *ipse*, αὐτός (comp. a similar usage in § 124, Rem. 3). But in common use it has so little stress, that it only points out a definite object. Its force is here as feeble as that of the oblique cases αὐτοῦ, αὐτῷ, αὐτόν; *ipsi, ipsum*; Germ. *derselben, demselben, denselben*; and the Hebrew אֶת הַשָּׁמַיִם prop. αὐτὸν τὸν οὐρανόν

Rem. The cases are rare in which **אֵל** stands before an indefinite noun, but more are found in the loftier style, where the article also may be omitted before a noun that is definite according to the sense (§ 109), as Prov. 13, 21 **אֵל-צַדִּיקִים**, Is. 50, 4, Job 13, 25, Ezek. 43, 10; very few occur in prose, like 1 Sam. 24, 6 (where, however, the noun is made definite by the context), Ex. 2, 1 where perhaps the proper name (Jokhêbed) has been dropped after **אֵל**.

§ 118.

USE OF THE ACCUSATIVE.

The accusative is employed—1) as the object of the transitive verbs (§ 138); but serves also—2) for what are rather adverbial expressions, where it is no longer governed immediately by the verb.

The second of these usages is undoubtedly derived from the first, and to this still belong several constructions in which the accusative is commonly supposed to be used adverbially (§ 138, 1, Rem. 3). But we are not therefore authorised at all to reject the adverbial use of the accusative.

Accordingly, the accusative is employed—

1. In designations of *place* (*accusativus loci*);—*a*) in answer to the question *whither?* after verbs of motion, as **יֵצֵא הַשָּׂדֶה** *let us go out into the field* 1 Sam. 20, 11, **לָלֶכֶת תַּרְשִׁישׁ** *for to go to Tarshish* 2 Ch. 20, 36, Ps. 134, 2, Ex. 4, 9;¹—*b*) in

(comp. **ἀπὸ τῆς Χρυσήδα** Il. i. 143) *it, the heaven*, is not stronger than **τὸν οὐρανόν**.—That **אֵל** may denote also the nominative, is from its original signification (see above) not of itself inconceivable, and it seems to occur so in Hag. 2, 17, Dan. 9, 13 (hardly however Eccl. 4, 3). Elsewhere (1 Sam. 17, 34 *and with the bear*) the preposition **אֵל** *with* is rather meant, and in Josh. 22, 17, Neh. 9, 32 (both times after an idea of want) as well as 2 Sam. 11, 25, it may be considered as a loosely governed accusative, which it certainly indicates when connected with the passive (comp. 2 K. 18, 30) see § 143, 1, *a*.—The accusative actually precedes in Ez. 35, 10; 44, 3 (in both cases **אֵל** has the sense of the Lat. *quod attinet ad*).—In Ez. 47, 17, 19 (comp. 43, 7) **אֵל** stands for **וְאֵל** and ought rather to be so emended in the text; comp. ver. 20; but the LXX already, which only in v. 18 have **ταῦτα**, know hardly any other reading than **אֵל**, and this, therefore, in all these cases has to be considered as *Nota accus.*, dependent on some word which must be supplied, as *ecce* (LXX 43, 7: **ἐώραξας**) 47, 17 ff. perhaps as much as: *there hast thou*.

¹ So in the Greek, but only poetically, Il. i, 317 **ἄλσασθ' ὃν οὐρανὸν ἔχεν**; Lat. *rus ire, Romam profectus est*, and generally so in Sanskrit.

answer to the question *where?* after verbs of rest, as בֵּית אָבִיךָ *in the house of thy father* Gen. 38, 11, Is. 3, 6, פֶּתַח הָאֹהֶל *in the door of the tent* Gen. 18, 1. Then also—*c*) with reference to *space and measure*, in answer to the question *how far?* Gen. 7, 20 *the water rose fifteen cubits*.

In the cases *a* and *b*, especially the first, the accusative-ending הַ— is often appended, on which see § 90, 2. The first relation may also be expressed by אֵל (as it commonly is with reference to persons), and the second by בְּ; but we are by no means to suppose that, where these particles are omitted, they must be supplied.

2. In designations of *time*;—*a*) in answer to the question *when?* as הַיּוֹם *the day* i. e. *on the day, then*; or *on this day, to-day or by day* (= יוֹמִים); עֶרֶב *at evening* (= לַעֶרֶב); לַיְלָה *by night*; צַהֲרָיִם *at noon* Ps. 91, 6; תְּחִלַּת קְצִיר שְׁעִירִים *at the beginning of barley harvest* 2 Sam. 21, 9 (*Kethibh*);—*b*) in answer to the question *how long?* שְׁנֵים עָשָׂר שָׁנָה *twelve years (long)* Gen. 14, 4; שֵׁשֶׁת יָמִים *six days (long)* Ex. 20, 9; עוֹלָמִים *for eternal ages* 1 K. 8, 13; also with the article and אַת in Deut. 9, 25 אַת אַרְבָּעִים הַיּוֹם וְאַת אַרְבָּעִים הַלַּיְלָה *the 40 days and the 40 nights (long)*.

3. In other adverbial expressions, where we say *in regard* or *respect to*, etc. as Job 41, 7 *in the manner of a closed seal*, Gen. 41, 40 רַק הַבֶּסֶף אֲנִיךָ מִמֶּנִּי *only in respect to the throne will I be greater than thou* (accus. of measure); 2 Sam. 21, 20 *four and twenty* מִסְפָּר *in number* (comp. τεσσαρῆς ἀριθμῶν); Job 1, 5 *he brought burnt-offerings* כְּלָם מִסְפָּר *according to the number of them all*; 1 K. 22, 13 פֶּה אֶחָד *with one mouth* i. e. *with one voice* (acc. of instrument); comp. Zeph. 3, 9 *they served God* אֶחָד שִׁכְם *with one shoulder* i. e. *with one mind*; Job 24, 7 צָרוֹם *naked* (acc. of condition) *thy lodge*. With a following genitive, *for fear of thorns* (accus. of cause) Is. 7, 25. Here belong also cases like מִשְׁנֵה-לֶסֶק *the double in money* Gen. 43, 15, שְׁנַיִם יָמִים *two years' time* Gen. 41, 1; on the other hand אִיֶּפֶה שְׁעִירִים *an ephah of barley* Ruth 2, 17 may rather be taken as a case of apposition (§ 113).

Similar cases of a more free use of the accusative in connection with verbs are explained in § 138 and § 139. By the same process, carried still farther, many substantives have come to be distinctly recognised as adverbs (§ 100, 2, *b*).

Rem. Similar reference to place, time, etc., may be denoted by a noun when it is connected with כְּ (*as, according to, after the manner of*), this prefix being originally a substantive, comp. the Lat. *instar*. Thus,—a) of *place*; כְּרֹבָרִים *as in their pasture* Is. 5, 17, 28, 21; כְּמוֹ לְבוֹשׁ *as in attire* Job 38, 14; כְּחֵלוֹם *as in a dream* Is. 29, 7, comp. 23, 15;—b) of *time*, especially in the forms כְּיוֹם *as the day—as in the day* Is. 9, 3, Hos. 2, 5; כְּיָמֵי *as in the days of—*, Hos. 2, 17, 9, 9, 12, 10, Amos 9, 11, Is. 51, 9;—c) with another reference, as in Is. 1, 25 *I will purge away thy dross* כְּבַר *as with lye*; Job 28, 5 כְּמוֹ אֵשׁ *after the manner of fire—as by fire*; כְּאֶבֶן *after the manner of the stone*, i. e. *as into stone* (the water is gathered in freezing) Job 38, 30; 29, 23 כְּמַטֵּר *as for the rain* (they waited for me).

Rarely a preposition is used after such a כְּ , e. g. כְּבָרְאֲשָׁנָה Is. 1, 26, 1 Sam. 14, 14.

In all the above cited cases the כְּ must be considered as an adverbial accusative; however a substantive with כְּ may, by virtue of the substantive signification of the latter stand either for the accusative or for the nominative relation.

§ 119.

HOW TO EXPRESS THE COMPARATIVE AND SUPERLATIVE.¹

1. The *comparative* is expressed by the adjective followed by the particle מִן (מִי) *from* prefixed to the word with which the comparison is made, e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 2 $\text{גָּבוֹהַּ מִכָּל־הָעָם}$ *taller than* (lit. *tall in distinction from*) *all the people*, Judg. 14, 18 $\text{מְרוֹחַ מִחֹךְ מִדְּבַשׁ}$ *sweeter than honey*; so also after verbs, especially those denoting an attribute, as $\text{וַיִּגְבֶּה מִכָּל־הָעָם}$ *and he was taller than all the people* 1 Sam. 10, 23; $\text{אָהַב אֶת־יוֹסֵף מִכָּל־בָּנָיו}$ *he loved Joseph more than all his (other) sons* Gen. 37, 3, Job 4, 17, 7, 6.

Upon the same signification of מִן (referring originally to space indicating the starting point, and a separation from something) is

¹ There exists in Arabic a special form of the adjective for the comparative and superlative, which would be like أَفْظَلُ . Perhaps of this origin are أَكْرَبُ *cruel*, أَكْذَبُ *deceptive* (of a drying up brook), and its opposite أَبْرَرُ (contr. from *'aithan*) *constant, perennial*. However these forms are also used without any perceptible emphasis and might, at most pass for isolated remainders of a former comparative and superlative formation, in the same way as the Lat. comparative disappears in the Italian, and still more in French, and its place is supplied by circumlocution (with *più*, *plus*).

based also its use in expressions like בָּתָּר מִן Job 7, 15, יִתְרוֹן מִן *pre-eminence over* Ec. 2, 13; comp. Deut. 14, 2, which the Hebrew conceived as a separating *from*, marking *out*. (Compare the Latin ablative with the comparative, also the etymology of the Latin words *eximius*, *egregius*, and in Homer ἐκ πάντων μάλιστα Il. iv. 96, and simply ἐκ πασέων xviii. 431). Hence the signification *more than* connects itself with the fundamental signification *out from*.

The adjective upon which מִן logically depends must sometimes, by virtue of a pregnant use of the מִן, be supplied from the connection, e. g. Is. 10, 10 פְּסִילֵיהֶם מִירוּשָׁלַם *their idols* are more numerous (mightier) *than* those in *Jerusalem*, Micah 7, 4 מִמְּסִכָּה (sharper) *than* a *thornhedge*, Job 11, 17 מִצְהָרִים *clearer than noon*.

The correlative comparatives, such as *greater*, *less*, are expressed simply by *great*, *little*, Gen. 1, 16.

2. The several modes of expressing the *superlative*, amount all to this, that, in all of them the *positive form*, by means of the article, or a suffix, or a following genitive, is made to designate an *individual* as preeminently *the* possessor of the quality expressed (comp. Fr. *le plus grand*); e. g. 1 Sam. 9, 21 (הַצֶּעֱרָה), 17, 14 *and David was הַקָּטָן the small (one)*, i. e. *the smallest*, *and the three great (ones)*, i. e. *the greatest*, etc., Gen. 42, 13, Jon. 3, 5, מִגְדָּלָם וְעַד קָטָנָם *from the greatest among them*. (lit. *their great one*), *even unto the least among them* (lit. *their little one*), 2 Ch. 21, 17 קָטוֹן בְּנֵיו *the youngest of his sons*; prob. also Gen. 9, 24.

Rem. To the periphrasis of the superlative belongs also the connecting of a noun with the following partitive genitive of the same word in the plural as: קָדֹשׁ קְדוֹשִׁים *the holiest of all*, prop. *holiness of holinesses*; שִׁיר הַשִּׁירִים *the song of songs (the choicest song* i. e. the Canticles). Comp. Gen. 9, 25 (*the lowest servant*) Num. 3, 32 the same with a participle Jer. 6, 28 and with the gen. sing. Hos. 10, 15. So sometimes an adjective combined with a partitive genitive has a superlative signification; comp. Judges 5, 29, 1 Sam. 9, 21, Job 30, 6 (= *in the most frightful valleys*) 41, 22. Comp. § 112, 1, Rem. 1.—Finally belongs here the placing together of two substantives, being related either etymologically, or at least by sound, as Ez. 6, 14; 33, 29, Nah. 2, 11, Zeph. 1, 15, Job 30, 3.

§ 120.

SYNTAX OF THE NUMERALS.

1. The numerals from 2 to 10 (originally abstract substantives, § 97, 1), may be connected with substantives in three different ways. They may stand either,—*a*) in the *constr. st. before* the substantive (the object numbered being accordingly in the genitive), *שְׁלֹשָׁת יָמִים* *three days*, prop. *triad of days*, *שְׁנֵי הָאָנָשִׁים* *the two men*; or—*b*) in the *absol. st. before it* (the thing numbered being then considered as in apposition), *שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים* *three sons* (prop. *a triad viz. sons*), *שְׁנַיִם אָנָשִׁים* *two men*; or—*c*) in the *absol. st. after it*, as in apposition with the object numbered e. g. *בָּנוֹת שְׁלוֹשׁ* *three daughters* 1 Ch. 25, 5; the latter especially in the later books, because the substantive conception of the numeral yielded more and more to the adjective.

Accordingly, the constructions *מֵאָה שָׁנָה* (Gen. 17, 17) and *מֵאָה שָׁנָה* (25, 7, 17) *hundred years*, are equally common.

2. The numerals from 2 to 10 are joined, with very few exceptions (e. g. 2 K. 22, 1) with the plural. But the tens (from 20 to 90) when they precede the substantive, are generally joined with the singular (in the accusative), and when they follow it in apposition, they take the plural, e. g. Judg. 11, 33 *עֶשְׂרִים עִיר* *twenty cities*; on the contrary, *אַמּוֹת עֶשְׂרִים* *twenty cubits* 2 Ch. 3, 3, seq. The plural *may* be used in the first case (Ex. 36, 24, 25), but the singular never occurs in the second case, which is altogether rarer.

Rem. The numerals from 11 to 19 are generally joined to the singular form (in the accusative) only with certain substantives, which there is frequent occasion to number, as *יוֹם* *day*, *שָׁנָה* *year*, *אִישׁ* *man*, *שִׁבְט* *tribe*, also *בָּקָר* collective *cattle*, etc. (comp. our *four year old, a thousand man strong*); e. g. *אַרְבָּעָה עָשָׂר יוֹם* prop. *fourteen day* Ex. 12, 6 (comp. however Deut. 1, 23, Josh. 4, 2). With this exception, they are joined to the plural; and then, especially in the later books they stand after the substantive (Num. 7, 87, 1 Ch. 4, 27, 25, 5).

3. Numerals compounded of tens and units (like 21 or 62) take the object numbered either after them in the singular (in the accusative), as *שְׁנַיִם וְשִׁשִּׁים שָׁנָה* *two and sixty years*

Gen. 5, 20 (according to No. 2, שָׁנָה having special reference to the preceding *tens*); or before them in the plural, as especially in the later books (Dan. 9, 26); or the object is repeated, with the units in the plural (acc. to No. 1), with the tens (acc. to No. 2) and hundreds in the singular, as in Gen. 12, 4 מֵאָה שָׁנָה *seventy-five years*, Gen. 23, 1 מֵאָה שָׁנָה וְעֶשְׂרִים שָׁנָה *one hundred and twenty-seven years*; comp. Gen. 5, 6.

4. The *ordinals* beyond 10 have no peculiar forms, but are expressed by those of the cardinals, which then stand either before the object numbered, or after it, as בַּשְּׁבַע עָשָׂר יוֹם *on the seventeenth day* Gen. 7, 11; בְּאַרְבָּעִים שָׁנָה *in the 40th year* Deut. 1, 3, 2 K. 25, 27 with the repetition of שָׁנָה in a compound number, 1 K. 6, 1, or בְּשָׁנָה עֶשְׂרִים וְשֶׁבַע *in the year twenty-seven* 1 K. 16, 10. In the latter case, the word שָׁנָה is likewise frequently repeated, as in Gen. 7, 11, 2 K. 13, 10.—In numbering days of the month and years, the cardinals are used frequently also instead of the ordinals even for the numbers from 1 to 10, e. g. בְּשָׁנָה שְׁתֵּי *in the year two*, בְּשָׁנָה שְׁלוֹשׁ *in the year three* 1 K. 15, 25, 2 K. 18, 1 בַּחֲשַׁעַה לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the ninth of the month*, בְּאַחַד לַחֹדֶשׁ *on the first of the month* Lev. 23, 32, Gen. 8, 13.

Rem. 1. The numerals take the article when they stand without immediate connection with the thing numbered, referring back to a preceding substantive, as הַשְּׁלֹשָׁה *the three* 1 Ch. 11, 20, 21 comp. 25, 19 *the twelve*; (with the tens) Gen. 18, 29, 31, 32. Such a case as שִׁבְעִים הַיָּמִים *the seven days* (Judg. 14, 17) is to be explained on the principle stated in § 111, 1.

2. Certain substantives employed in designations of *weight*, *measure*, or of *time*, are commonly omitted after numerals; e. g. Gen. 20, 16 אֶלֶף כֶּסֶף *a thousand (shekels) of silver*; so also before זָהָב *gold* 1 K. 10, 16; Ruth 3, 15 שֵׁשׁ עֶשְׂרִים *six (Ephah) of barley*; 1 Sam. 17, 17 עֶשְׂרֵה לֶחֶם *ten (loaves) of bread*. Thus יוֹם is omitted in Gen. 8, 5, and חֹדֶשׁ in 8, 13.—The number of *cubits* is often stated thus, מֵאָה בְּאַמָּה *a hundred cubits*, prop. *a hundred by the cubit* Ex. 27, 18.

5. Distributives are expressed either by repetition of the cardinals, as שְׁנֵים שְׁנֵים *two by two* Gen. 7, 9, 15. Comp. שֵׁשׁ שֵׁשׁ *six by six* 2 Sam. 21, 20 or periphrastically by a following לְ, אַחֵר Deut. 1, 23, comp. Is. 6, 2 (לְאַחֵר after the

repetition of the words *six wings*). *One time, once*, is expressed by *פָּעַם אַחַת* (prop. *a tread*), comp. *הַפֶּעַם* *this time*, *שְׁנַיִם* *two times, twice*, *שְׁלוֹשׁ פְּעָמִים* *thrice* (also *שְׁלוֹשׁ רְגָלִים* *three times* Num. 22, 32). The same may be denoted also by merely the fem. forms of the cardinals, as *אַחַת* *once*, *שְׁתַּיִם* *twice*, *שִׁבְעַ* *seven times*, comp. also *בְּאַחַת* *once* Num. 10, 4. The ordinals too are employed in the same way, as *שְׁנִית* *second time* Gen. 22, 15, Jer. 13, 3. Comp. L. *tertium consul*.

CHAPTER II.

SYNTAX OF THE PRONOUN.

§ 121.

USE OF THE PERSONAL PRONOUN.

1. When a personal pronoun is the subject of a sentence, like a noun in the same position, it does not require for its union with the predicate a distinct word for the copula (§ 144), e. g. *אֲנִי הַרְאָה* *I (am) the seer* 1 Sam. 9, 19, *אֲנֹחֲנִי כֹנִים* *honest (are) we* Gen. 42, 11, *אַתָּה תָּמִים* *upright (wast) thou* Ez. 28, 15, *כִּי עִירְמִים הֵם* *that naked they (were)* Gen. 3, 7, *אֶתֶר הוּא* *one dream it (is)* Gen. 41, 26.

2. The pronoun of the *third* person frequently serves to connect subject and predicate, and is then a sort of *substitute* for the copula; to speak more exactly: the predicate is joined in the form of an independant nominal sentence (§ 144, a), e. g. Gen. 41, 26 *הַשֶּׁבַע שָׁנִים הֵנָּה* *seven years (are) they*, Ec. 5, 18 *זֶה מַתָּת אֱלֹהִים הוּא* *this a gift of God it (is)*. Sometimes such a pronoun in the *third* person refers to a subject which is of the *first* or *second* person, e. g. Deut. 32, 39: *כִּי אֲנִי הוּא* *that I, I (am) he*; Ps. 102, 28 (*thou art the same*); 1 Chron. 21, 17; comp. the French: *c'est moi, c'est vous*. Of a different kind however are cases like: *אַתָּה*

מֶלֶכִּי הוּא thou art my king Ps. 44, 5, where הוּא at the same time points to the predicate and makes it prominent (prop. thou art he, my king); comp. Is. 43, 25, Neh. 9, 6, 7, and in Aram. Ezr. 5, 11.

3. To the general rule (§ 33, 1), that the *separate pronouns* are in the *nominative* and the *suffixes* in the *oblique cases*, there is but one seeming exception, viz. when the personal pronoun in an oblique case is to be repeated for the sake of emphasis (*me, me; thy, thy*), it is expressed the second time by the separate form of the same person. But this stands by no means in the oblique case, but is to be considered as the subject of an independent phrase, whose predicate may be completed from the connection. Thus to strengthen the *accusative* suffix of the verb, Gen. 27, 34 בְּרַכְנִי גַם אָנִי bless me, even me, really: also I want to be blest, comp. Zech. 7, 4, Prov. 22, 19; and even by placing the separate pronoun before, Gen. 49, 8; more frequently to strengthen the *genitive* suffix of the noun, e. g. אֶת־דָּמָךְ גַּם אֶתָּה 1 K. 21, 19 thy blood, yea thine (prop. sanguinem tui, utique tui), Num. 14, 32, 1 Sam. 20, 42, Ez. 34, 11, Prov. 23, 15, Ps. 9, 7. In the same way the separate pronoun may strengthen a suffix which is governed by a preposition (i. e. standing in the genitive, according to § 101, 1), as Hag. 1, 4 אֵתָּם לָכֶם for you, you, 1 Sam. 25, 24 בִּי אָנִי in me, me, 1 Sam. 19, 23 הוּא גַם עָלָיו also on him; 2 Chr. 35, 21 אֶתָּה לֹא עָלָיָהּ not against thee. On the same principle is to be explained Gen. 4, 26 הוּא גַם לְשֵׁת to Seth, even to him, (not גַּם־לוֹ) Gen. 10, 21.

4. The *suffix to the verb* is properly always in the *accusative* (§ 33, 2, a, § 57), and is the most common form of expressing the accusative of the pronoun governed by a verb (see however Rem. below). In certain cases, however, it is used through an almost inaccurate brevity of expression for the dative, as Zech. 7, 5 הִצַּמְתָּנִי did ye fast for me? i. e. to my advantage, for הִצַּמְתָּם לִי Job 31, 18 גִּדְּלָנִי כָאֵב he (the fatherless) grew up to me as to a father, Is. 44, 21, Ez. 29, 3, comp. verse 9.

Rem. The accusative of the pronoun *must* be indicated by אֵת (§ 117, 2),—a) when the pronoun, for the sake of emphasis, precedes

the verb, as אֶתְּךָ הָרַגְתִּי *thee had I killed* Num. 22, 33;—b) when the verb has two pronouns in the accusative, only one of which can be a verbal suffix, as וְהִרְאֵנִי אֹתוֹ *and he will make me see it* 2 Sam. 15, 25; it is found, also in other cases, as in Gen. 4, 14, (where הַבּוֹרֵחַ alone might signify: *that he might not smite*) 15, 13.

5. The suffix to nouns, which are properly *genitives* (§ 33, 2, b) and supply the place of *possessive pronouns*¹, express, like nouns in the genitive (§ 114, 2), not only the subject but also the object; e. g. הַמִּסִּי *my wrong* (i. e. done to me) Jer. 51, 35, Gen. 16, 5, Job 20, 29, 23, 14 and 34, 6, יִרְאַתּוֹ *his fear* (i. e. caused by him) Ex. 20, 20.

6. When one noun in the *constr. st.* is so connected with another in the genitive, as together to express periphrastically an adjective by means of the second substantive (§ 106, 1) then the suffix which really refers to this complex idea is appended to the second of the two nouns (compare the analogous position of the article, § 111, 1), e. g. הַר קָדְשִׁי *the mount of my holiness*, i. e. *my holy mount*, עִיר קָדְשָׁהּ *the city of thy holiness* (i. e. *thy holy city*) Dan. 9, 24, אֱלִילֵי כֶסֶף *his silver idols* Is. 2, 20, 31, 7, צַעְדֵי אֹנִי *his firm steps* Job 18, 7.

Only seeming exceptions are constructions like מַדְרֵכָּה זָמָה in Ez. 16, 27 *thy conduct*, (thy) *lewdness*, or *thy conduct in lewdness* (זָמָה being in apposition or in adverbial accusative), Ps. 35, 19 אֵיבֵי שָׁקֶר *my enemies for a falsehood* i. e. *without real cause* (שָׁקֶר adverb. acc., cf. שִׁנְאֵי הַנֶּסֶם in parallel clause). Comp. Ps. 71, 7, 2 Sam. 22, 33, Prov. 23, 29.

Rem. 1. Through a certain inaccuracy, which probably passed from the colloquial language to that of books, *masculine* pronouns are sometimes used in reference to *feminine* substantives, Gen. 31, 9; 32, 16; 41, 23, Exod. 1, 21; Amos 4, 1 (comp. in regard to the masc. as the more common gender, § 107, 1, Rem.).

2. The accusative of the pronoun, as object of the verb, is often *omitted*, where it can be easily supplied from the context, specially the accusative *it*, after verbs of saying as וַיֹּדֶר *and he told (it)* Gen. 9, 22; but also after other verbs, e. g. Gen. 38, 17 *till thou send (it)*, 24, 12 *let (it) meet me*.

¹ The possessive pronoun may be expressed by circumlocution, after the manner of the Aramæan, as in Ruth 2, 21 לִי הַיָּדָוִים אֲשֶׁר לִי *the youths who (are) to me*, i. e. *my servants*; especially after a substantive, which is followed by another in the genitive, as in 1 Sam. 17, 40 (comp. the analogous circumlocution for the genitive, § 115).—In this case there is sometimes a pleonastic use of the suffix, as מִשְׁחֵי שְׁלֹמֹה מִשְׁחֵי מִשְׁחֵי מִשְׁחֵי *prop. his palanquin, Solomon's*, Cant. 3, 7, comp. 1. 6.

3. There is, on the contrary, a redundancy of expression, when the noun, for which the pronoun stands, is itself employed in apposition after it, e. g. Ex. 2, 6 *she saw him, the child*, 1 Sam. 21, 14, Prov. 5, 22. Similar are the cases in which, to a nominal suffix is joined its corresponding substantive (with or without the article) as an explaining permutative, e. g. Ez. 10, 3 בָּבֶאוֹ הָאִישׁ *when he went in, the man*, Is. 17, 6, Prov. 13, 4; 14, 13. So also Gen. 2, 19 לָלוּ . . . נֶפֶשׁ חַיָּה *to them, the living creatures*; and with repetition of the preposition Josh. 1, 2. Of another kind are the cases where the permutative with its own suffix is, in a certain way, a correction to the preceding suffix, e. g. Is. 29, 23: *when he, or rather, his children see*; comp. Ps. 83, 12, perhaps also Job 29, 3.

4. In some instances the force of the nominal suffix or possessive pronoun has become so weak, that it has almost ceased to be felt; e. g. אֲדֹנָי *my Lord* (prop. *my lords*, see § 108, 2, b), namely in addressing God (Gen. 15, 2, 18, 3, Ps. 35, 23), but then without regard to the pronominal suffix, *the Lord*, meaning God¹ (always with *Qāmēš* to distinguish it from אֲדֹנָי *my Lord*, yet never,—on account of its original signification,—with the article). A similar rigidity of the suffix signification is seen in יַחְדָּו (prop. *his or its conjunctions=he, it together*), e. g. כְּלִי-יָדָם *Ex. 19, 8*, then even after the *first* person, without regard to the suffix, as אֶנְחֵנוּ יַחְדָּו 1 K. 3, 18, comp. Is. 41, 1, after the *second* person in Is. 45, 20. Thus we find in 1 K. 22, 28, Mic. 1, 2 *hear, ye nations* בְּלָם; and sometimes even by placing בְּלָם before, Job 17, 10.

§ 122.

OF THE DEMONSTRATIVE AND INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS.

1. The *personal* pronoun of the third person הוּא, *fem. היא*, *plur. הֵמָּה*, *fem. הֵנָּה* (L. *is, ea, id or ille* etc.; *ii, eæ, ea or illi* etc.) is also used as a *demonstrative pronoun*. In connection with a definite substantive it has then (by virtue of its adjectival use, § 111, 2) regularly the article (see exceptions § 111, 2, b), הָאִישׁ הַהוּא *that man*, בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא *in that day* (on the other hand: הוּא הַדְּבָר *this is the word, which* etc. Gen. 41, 28).—הוּא stands sometimes almost *enclitic*, to emphasize the interrogative pronoun (like זֶה No. 2, Rem.) e. g. מִי הוּא זֶה *who indeed is this* king of glory? Ps. 24, 10.

¹ See *Gesenii Thesaurus Linguae Hebraeae*, p. 329. Comp. the Phœnician name of the idol *Adonis* (אֲדֹנִי), also the French *Monsieur, Monseigneur, Notre Dame*, Eng. *Our Lady* (the virgin Mary).

The demonstrative הַזֶּה is to be distinguished from זֶה; for זֶה=ὁδε, L. *hic*, always points to a (fresh) person or thing present, but הַזֶּה=αὐτός, *is, ille, ἐκεῖνος* indicates (like the article, § 109) a person or thing already mentioned or known. The distinction is clearly seen in Judges 7, 4, of whom I say to thee, „this (זֶה) shall go with thee“, that one (הַזֶּה) shall go with thee; and of whomsoever I say to thee, „this (זֶה) shall not go with thee“, that one (הַזֶּה) shall not go. Hence הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *this day*, means the day in which any one speaks or writes (Gen. 26, 33), but הַיּוֹם הַהוּא (*that day*) means the day or time, of which the historian has just made mention (Gen. 15, 18, 26, 32), or the prophet just predicted (Is. 5, 30, 7, 18, 20), and goes on to relate or to predict.

2. The demonstrative זֶה (also זוּ, זֶה) occurs in poetical speech, also (זֶה even habitually) for the relative אֲשֶׁר, as in English *that* for *which*; e. g. Prov. 23, 22 *hearken to thy father זֶה that begat thee*; Ps. 104, 8 *to the place זֶה יִסְדָּתָהּ לָהֶם which* (prop. *this which*) *thou hast appointed for them*. זֶה may in such a case be still more nearly defined by a following pronominal suffix (like אֲשֶׁר, § 123, 1); e. g. Ps. 74, 2 *Mount Zion זֶה שְׁכֻנָּתְךָ בּוֹ in which thou dwellest* (prop. *this thou dwellest in it*. Comp. Luther's *da du auf wohnest*); for the plural, Job 19, 19.

The Aram. הִי, הִי, which corresponds in sound to זֶה is always relative.

זֶה is used adverbially,—a) in reference to place, *there*, Ps. 104, 25 הַיָּם זֶה *the sea there*; זֶה הֵיחָהּ *see there!*—b) in reference to time, for *now*, as זֶה פַּעַמַּיִם *now* (already) *twice* Gen. 27, 36, Zech. 7, 3 זֶה עֲתָהּ *by this time*; c) to emphasize words of interrogation of all kinds e. g. מִי זֶה Job 38, 2: *who darkeneth there . . .*, מִהֲזֶה (also מִהֲזֹאת Gen. 12, 18) *what there?*, Gen. 27, 20 *how is it that?* (Judges 18, 24); לָמָּה זֶה *why then?*; comp. also Gen. 27, 21 הֲאֵתָהּ זֶה *whether thou be my son Esau or not*. (Analogous to the זֶה מִי etc. is the enclitic use of *nam* in *quisnam*; comp. likewise *quis tandem*).

3. The interrogative מִי *who?* is used in reference to *persons* (male or female Cant. 3, 6), to a *singular* or to a *plural*, as מִי אַתֶּם *who are ye* Josh. 9, 8, מִי אֵלֶּה Gen. 33, 5, Num. 22, 9 (for which, however, מִי וְמִי is also used in Ex. 10, 8), also in reference to *things*, yet only when the idea of persons is implied, e. g. מִי שְׁכֵם *who are the Shechemites?* Judg. 9, 28, 13, 17; comp. Gen. 33, 8, and already bolder, with the repetition of a personally used מִי 1 Sam. 18, 18, 2 Sam. 7, 18.—מִי may also stand in the genitive, as בַּת מִי אֵת *whose daughter*

art thou? Gen. 24, 23, 1 Sam. 17, 55, 56, 58, **מִי דָּבַר** *whose word?* Jer. 44, 28, 1 Sam. 12, 3; in the accusative, as **אֶת־מִי** *whom?* 1 Sam. 28, 11, Is. 6, 8; and with prepositions, as **בְּמִי** 1 K. 20, 14; **לְמִי** Gen. 32, 18, **אַחֲרֵי מִי** 1 Sam. 24, 15.—**מָה**, **מָה־** *what?* stands as nominative and as accusative (see examples in § 37), as genitive (Jer. 8, 9), with prep. e. g. **עַל־מָה** *upon what?* Job 38, 6; **עַד־מָה** *till when?* Ps. 74, 9.—Both **מִי** and **מָה** stand in a direct and in an indirect question (according to the Ind.-Germ. logic of the language, for acc. to the Semitic that distinction does not exist) and at times also as *indefinite* pronouns *whoever* and *whatever* (Lat. *quisquis*, *quodcunque* or *quicquam*), as in Judg. 7, 3, 2 Sam. 18, 12, **מִי** placed after = *whoever it be*; likewise **מָה** = *anything else* Job 13, 13, 2 Sam. 18, 22. 23, comp. **דָּבַר מָה** Num. 23, 3 *whatever*. For the neuter *quidquam*, *anything whatever*, the language has besides the word **מֵאוּמָה**.

§ 123.

RELATIVE PRONOUN AND RELATIVE CLAUSES.

1. The indeclinable **אֲשֶׁר**¹ often serves merely as a *sign of relation*, i. e. to give a relative sense to adverbs or pronouns; e. g. **שָׁם** *there*, **אֲשֶׁר—שָׁם** *where*; **שָׁמָּה** *thither*, **אֲשֶׁר—שָׁמָּה** *whither*; **מִשָּׁם** *thence*, **אֲשֶׁר—מִשָּׁם** *whence*. In the same manner, the Hebrew mostly forms the *oblique cases* of the relative pronoun, *who*, *which*, viz.—

Dative, **לּוֹ** *to him*, **אֲשֶׁר לּוֹ** *to whom*; **לָהֶם**, **לָהֶן** *to them*, **אֲשֶׁר לָהֶם**, **אֲשֶׁר לָהֶן** *to whom*.

Accusative, **אֹתוֹ**, **אֹתָהּ** *him, her*; **אֲשֶׁר אֹתוֹ**, **אֲשֶׁר אֹתָהּ** *whom*.

With *prepositions*, **בּוֹ** *in him* or *in it*, **אֲשֶׁר בּוֹ** *wherein*, **מִמֶּנּוּ** *from him* or *from it*, **אֲשֶׁר מִמֶּנּוּ** *wherefrom*.

¹ **אֲשֶׁר** is probably a substantive (comp. Arab. 'atar, Aram. אַחַר *trace, place*; according to others it is really a demonstrative, or a composition from several pronominal roots. Comp. *Sperling* „Die Nota relationis im Hebräischen“ Lpz. 1876), but at present it serves as *Nota relationis*, or (as sometimes also **זֶה**, **זֶה** § 122, 2) directly a *relative pronoun*, often even including the demonstrative (v. No. 2). By virtue of its original sign character (as simple *nota relationis*) **אֲשֶׁר** may relate to persons as well as to things.

Genitive, אֲשֶׁר לְשׁוֹ whose language Deut. 28, 49.

The accusative *whom* (Lat. *quem, quam*) may, however, be expressed by אֲשֶׁר alone, as in Gen. 2, 2.

Rem. 1. The Hebrew is able in this way, to give a relative sense to the pronoun of the first and second persons in the oblique cases; e. g. Gen. 45, 4 אֲשֶׁר אָזַרְתִּי, Num. 22, 30 אֲשֶׁר עָלִי, Is. 41, 8 אֲשֶׁר יָבֹחַ בְּהַרְרֵיךָ (*thou*) *whom I have chosen*, Hos. 14, 4. In the nom. of the 1st and 2nd persons, this is admissible also in German, e. g. *der ich, der du, die wir*, where *der* stands for *welcher*, and (like the Heb. אֲשֶׁר) receives its definite sense from the following pronoun.

2. The word אֲשֶׁר is commonly separated by one or more words, from the pronoun or adverb to which it gives a relative sense, as אֲשֶׁר הָיָה שָׁם *where was* Gen. 13, 3. Only seldom are they written closely together, as in Deut. 19, 17, 2 Ch. 6, 11.

2. The pronoun אֲשֶׁר often includes the demonstrative which in our construction precedes the relative as *who* for *he* *who* or as *qui* in Lat. stands for *is qui*; e. g. Num. 22, 6 וְאֲשֶׁר הָאָרֶץ and (he) *whom thou cursest*, Is. 52, 15 אֲשֶׁר לֹא שָׁמְעוּ (that) *which they have not heard*. This is almost always the case where a preposition stands before אֲשֶׁר, the preposition being then construed with the supplied pronoun, and the relative taking the case which is required by the following part of the sentence; e. g. לְאֲשֶׁר (Lat. *ei qui, quæ, quod, or ei quem, quam, etc., and iis qui, quæ, quæ, etc.*) *to him who, or to them who*; מֵאֲשֶׁר *from him who, from those who or which*; בְּאֲשֶׁר prop. *according to that which*; but also according to the circumstance that, hence: *as just as* (as conjunction before the verb at the head of comparative clauses, § 155, 2, *h*); אֶת־אֲשֶׁר *him, her who, that which, or those who*,¹ comp. finally, cases like בְּיַד־אֲשֶׁר *in the hand of him, whom* (thou hatest), Ez. 23, 28.

To the relative sense lying in אֲשֶׁר sometimes the idea of place or time is also to be supplied; as בְּאֲשֶׁר *in* (that place) *where*; מֵאֲשֶׁר *from* (that time) *when*. On אֲשֶׁר as conj. v. 155, I, *e*.

3. In all the cases treated under No. 1 and 2 the relative can be expressed also, without אֲשֶׁר by a simple addition (subordination) of the relative clause (comp. the English,

¹ Very rare are the examples in which a preposition is connected immediately with אֲשֶׁר as a relative pronoun, viz. עִם אֲשֶׁר Gen. 31, 32 (Sept. *παρ' ᾧ*) for עִם אֲשֶׁר *with whom* (44, 9, 10); בְּאֲשֶׁר Is. 47, 12, for בְּהֵם אֲשֶׁר *in which*.

the friend I met, the book I told you of). This omission (most frequent in poetry) takes place, when the **אֲשֶׁר** would stand, —

- a) As a pronoun in the nominative or accusative; e. g. Gen. 15, 13 **בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם** *in a land (which belongs) not to them*, Ps. 7, 16 **וַיִּפֹּל בְּשַׁחַת וַיַּעַל יִפְעַל** *and he falls into the pit (which) he makes*, Gen. 39, 4 **כָּל-יְשֻׁרָיו** *all (which) was i. e. belonged to him* (comp. vs. 5, where **אֲשֶׁר** is inserted), Ec. 10, 5 (comp. 6, 1, where with the same words **אֲשֶׁר** is employed), Job 31, 12.¹
- b) As a sign of relation, e. g. Ps. 32, 2 **לֹא יִחַשֵׁב יְהוָה לוֹ עוֹן** *to whom the Lord imputeth not iniquity*, Job 3, 3, Ex. 18, 20, Is. 41, 2, 3, Ps. 49, 14. Frequently in specifications of time, when it would mean *when*, 2 Ch. 29, 27 **בְּעֵת הַחֹל הַעֹלָה** *at the time (when) the sacrifice began*, Jer. 36, 2 **מִיּוֹם דִּבַּרְתִּי אֵלֶיךָ** *from the day (when) I spoke to thee*, Ps. 4, 8 **עַתָּה דִּנְגָם וְתִירוֹשָׁם רַבִּי** *in the time (when) their corn and their new wine are abundant*, Ps. 49, 6, 56, 10 **יּוֹם אִירָא בְיוֹם** *in the day (when) I call*, in v. 4 **אִירָא יּוֹם** *the day (when) I fear*, Ex. 6, 28 **יְהוָה דִּבֶּר בְּיוֹם** *in the day (when) the Lord spoke*; Ps. 18, 1; with the utmost brevity in Is. 51, 1 **הַצִּבְתָּם** *(from which) ye were hewn*.
- c) Also as including the antecedent personal or demonstrative pronoun (No. 2); e. g. Is. 41, 24 **תּוֹעֵבָה יִבְחַר בָּכֶם** *an abomination (is) he who chooses you*, Job 30, 13 **לָהֶם** *(they) to whom there is no helper*, Job 24, 19 **שְׁהוֹל** *(snatches away) (those who) sin*, comp. v. 9. The pronoun thus omitted may include the idea of place or time, as 1 Ch. 15, 12 **אֶל-הַכִּינּוֹתָיו לּוֹ** *to (the place which) I have prepared for it* (comp. however Ex. 23, 20); Job 38, 19.

Rem. 1. The substantive governing such a simply subordinate relative clause may, as with **אֲשֶׁר** (No. 2 at the end) stand in the *constr. st.* so that the relative clause stands virtually in the genitive e. g. Ex.

¹ The Arabic omits the relative when the substantive to which it refers is indefinite, as above; but inserts it when the substantive is definite. In the latter case, the Hebrew commonly inserts it in prose (see Jer. 23, 29, Ex. 14, 13); though it is sometimes omitted (Ex. 18, 20), especially in poetry (Ps. 18, 3, 49, 13, 21, Deut. 32, 17, Job 3, 3).

4, 13 בְּיַד הַשֵּׁלֶחַ *by the hand* (of him whom) *thou wilt send*, Hos. 1, 2
 תְּחִלַּת הַדְּבָרִיחָהּ *the beginning* (of that which) *God spoke*, Ps. 81, 6 טַפְחֵי
 לֹא יָדַעְתִּי לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *the speech* (of one whom) *I knew not* 65, 5, Job 29, 16, Lam.
 1, 14, Jer. 48, 36. Comp. § 116, 3.

2. Relative clauses are joined on also by means of the *copula* (וְ),
 e. g. Job 29, 12 הָיָה לוֹ עֲזָרָה וְלֹא עֲזָרָה *and he that hath no helper*, if it
 ought not to be translated: *and the thus helper-less orphan*; comp.
 Ps. 72, 12.

§ 124.

HOW TO EXPRESS THOSE PRONOUNS FOR WHICH THE HEBREW TONGUE HAD NO PROPER FORMS.

1. The *reflexive pronoun*, *se, sibi, myself, thyself, him-
 self*, etc., is expressed,

a) by the conjugations *Niph'al* and *Hithp'al*, see § 51, 2,
 § 54, 3;

b) by the pronominal suffix of the 3d pers. (specially after
 prepositions),¹ e. g. Judg. 3, 16 וַיַּעַשׂ לוֹ אֶהוּד הַרָב *and
 Ehud made for him (himself) a sword*, Gen. 22, 3 Abraham
 took two of his servants אִתּוֹ *with him* i. e. *with himself*, Gen.
 8, 9 (אִתּוֹ), 33, 17, 1 Sam. 1, 24 she took him up עִמָּה *with
 her*, for *with herself*; Jer. 7, 19 אוֹתָם *themselves*, Ez. 34, 2,
 8, 10; also apparently pleonastic as a so-called *Dativus
 ethicus* Job 12, 11; 13, 1.—In the like manner is the
 pronoun *suus, sua, suum* expressed by the pronominal
 suffix of the 3d pers. with the noun, since סוּסוֹ signifies
 either *equus suus* (prop. *sui*, genit.) or *equus ejus*;

c) partly by suffixes, אוֹתִי, אוֹתָהּ, אוֹתָם (comp. under *b* above).
 partly by circumlocation with substantives, especially נַפְשִׁי,
 e. g. לֹא יָדַעְתִּי נַפְשִׁי *I know not myself* (prop. *my soul*)
 Job 9, 21, Jer. 37, 9; בְּקִרְבָּהּ *within herself* (prop. *in her
 inner part*) Gen. 18, 12. Comp. Rem. 3.

As קִרְבּוֹ in the last example, so also נַפְשִׁי is nowhere (not even Is.
 46, 2 נַפְשָׁם *themselves*) a merely idle circumlocation, but points towards
 the mental substratum of the personality, which is affected by the
 actions, thoughts, etc. springing from it. The Arabic, in a similar
 manner, expresses the idea *self* by *soul, spirit*, and so the Sanskrit

¹ So also often in Luther's Bible, where *ihm, ihr*, stand for *sich*, and in
 the English Bible, where *him, her* stand for *himself, herself*.

(*ātman*); the Arabic also by *eye*; the Rabbinic by עֵינָם, v. below Rem. 3, אֶרֶם *bone*, גִּידָם *body*; the Ethiop. and Amharic by ראש *head*; the Egyptian by *mouth, hand*, etc. Comp. middle High German *mûn lîp*, *dîn lîp*.

2. The *personal* or *demonstrative* pronoun is generally included (comp. § 123, 2) in אֲשֶׁר in all the cases, both singular and plural. The use of the interrogative מָה with a similar sense is based on a further weakening of the *indefinite* use of מָה (§ 122, 3 at the end) and is already more like the Aramaic, as מַה-שֶּׁ *that which* Ec. 1, 9, 3, 15 (Syr. מַא ד).

Rem. 1. *Each, every one*, with reference to a person, (and even to animals Gen. 15, 10) is expressed by אִישׁ *a man* Gen. 42, 25, Num. 17, 17, sometimes repeated אִישׁ אִישׁ Ex. 36, 4, אִישׁ אִישׁ Ps. 87, 5; with reference either to persons or things, by כָּל (§ 111, 1); by repetition of the substantive as בֹּקֶר בֹּקֶר *every morning*; also by the plural לְבָקָרִים *every morning* Ps. 73, 14, Job 7, 18 (with so-called לְ distributive).

2. *Any one, some one*, is expressed by אִישׁ Ex. 16, 29, Cant. 8, 7; and by אֶחָד Lev. 1, 2; *anything, something* (especially in connection with a negation) by כֹּל-דָּבָר, דָּבָר without the article, Gen. 18, 14; Lev. 5, 2; Num. 31, 23; after a negative Gen. 19, 8; Eccl. 8, 5; comp. אֵין-דָּבָר Num. 20, 19=*nothing*. Comp. also § 122, 3.

3. *Self* is expressed (besides the way in No. 1, c, above), in reference to persons or things, by הוּא, הִיא, as הוּא אֲדֹנָי *the Lord he*, i. e. the Lord *himself* Is. 7, 14, הֵמָּה הַיְּהוּדִים *the Jews themselves* Est. 9, 1.—*The same* is הוּא, הִיא with the article; e. g. הָאִישׁ הַהוּא Job 1, 1 *the same man*, בְּנֵי הַיָּמִים *at the same time* (but this signifies also *that man, at that time*, comp. § 122, 1). In reference to things the noun כֶּצֶם prop. *bone, body* (in this case fig. for *essence, substance*) is also employed as a periphrasis for the pronoun; e. g. בְּכֶצֶם הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה *on the self-same day* Gen. 7, 13, Josh. 10, 27, Ez. 24, 2, Ex. 24, 10 כֶּצֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם *as the very heavens*, בְּכֶצֶם חַמּוֹ *in his very prosperity* (i. e. in the midst of his prosperity) Job 21, 23.

4. *The one—the other* (*alter—alter*) is expressed by repeating הוּא (Is. 6, 3) or אֶחָד (2 Sam. 14, 6, cf. 1 Sam. 14, 10), or by אִישׁ *one* with אָחִיו *his brother* or with רֵעֵהוּ *his friend*; and where the feminine is required, by אִשָּׁה *woman* with אֲחוֹתָהּ *her sister* or רֵעִיתָהּ *her friend*; both the *masc.* and *fem.* forms are used also with reference to inanimate things. See the Lex. under these words. The same form is used to express *one another*, as Gen. 13, 11 *and they separated* אִישׁ מֵעַל אָחִיו *the one from the other* (i. e. *from one another*), Ex. 26, 3 *five curtains shall be joined* אֶל-אֲחוֹתָהּ *to one another*.

5. *Some* is often expressed simply by the plural form, as יָמִים *some days* Gen. 24, 55; 40, 4, Is. 65, 20, Dan. 8, 27; שָׁנִים *some years* Dan. 11, 6, 8; and sometimes by אֲשֶׁר יֵשׁ (ἔστιν οὖν, L. *sunt qui*) Neh. 5, 2—4, or by אֲחֵרִים Gen. 27, 44.

CHAPTER III.

SYNTAX OF THE VERB.

§ 125.

USE OF THE TENSES IN GENERAL.¹

From the poverty of the Hebrew language in the means of expressing the absolute and relative divisions of time (§§ 40, 48), we may naturally expect some *vagueness* in their use.

We are not to infer from this, however, that there was scarcely any well-defined and regular use of the two existing tenses; on the contrary, each of them has its distinct sphere, as already intimated in Note ² on page 118, and as will be explained more in detail in the following sections. Besides this the Imperfect is especially used in a modified form (see § 48) for expressing the relations of the Optative, the Jussive, and the Subjunctive (v. § 128). We must further add the peculiarity of the Hebrew diction already mentioned in § 49, viz. that of joining by means of *Wāw consecutive*, Imperfects to a Perfect and Perfects to an Imperfect (§ 126, 6, § 129).

As examples where the *Perfect* and *Imperfect* stand in plainly expressed opposition of time, we refer to Josh. 1, 5 פִּאֲשֹׁר הָיִיתִי עִם מֹשֶׁה as *I was with Moses (so) will I be with thee* v. 17; Is. 46, 4 אֲנִי עָשִׂיתִי וְאֲנִי אֲשָׂא *I have done it, and I will (still) bear (you),* and v. 11 דִּבַּרְתִּי אֶם אֲבִיאָהּ וְצִרְתִּי אֶם אֲעֲשֶׂהָ *I have spoken it, and will bring it to pass; I have purposed, and will accomplish it;* Ex. 10, 14, Deut. 32, 21, 1 K. 2, 38, Joel 2, 2, Ec. 1, 9.

¹ Comp. *Driver*, A Treatise on the use of the tenses in Hebrew (Oxf. 1874), with the criticism on it by A. Müller in the *Zeitschr. f. luth. Theol.* 1877, I, S. 198 ff.

§ 126.

THE USE OF THE PERFECT.

The Perfect stands—

1. In itself and properly, for *absolutely* and *fully* past time (*Præteritum perfectum*), e. g. Gen. 40, 8 חָלַמְנִי הַלֹּאִם *we have dreamed a dream*, Gen. 3, 10, 11 מִי הָגִיד לָךְ *who has declared to thee?* v. 13 *why hast thou done this?* Comp. verses 14, 17, 22. Hence it is used in reports and narrations of past things, Job 1, 1 וְהָיָה הָאִישׁ הַהוּא . . . וְהָיָה בְּאֶרֶץ עֵיץ *there was a man in the land of Uz . . . and this man was*, etc., v. 4 *and they went* (וַיֵּלְכוּ) . . . *and made* (וַיַּעֲשֶׂה) *a feast*; Dan. 2, 1 *in the 2d year of his reign, Nebuchadnezzar dreamed* (חָלַם) *dreams*, Ruth 4, 7, Judg. 6, 3.

In this narrative style, the Perfect is commonly followed by the Imperfect with *Wāw consecutive*, see § 129, 1.

2. For an action completed in the past (the *Pluperfect*). So especially (as a matter of course) in relative clauses preceded in the governing clause by a tense relating to the past (*perfect* or *imperfect consecutive*) the *Pluperfect*, e. g. Gen. 2, 2 *and he rested* עָשָׂה אֲשֶׁר מְכַלְמֶלְאֲכֶתּוֹ *from all his work which he had done*, v. 5 *the Lord had not yet caused it to rain* 7, 9, 19, 27, 20, 18, 27, 30, 29, 10, 31, 19, 1 Sam. 6, 19.

3. For our abstract *Present*, where this denotes,—*a*) a condition or attribute already long continued and still now existing, as יָדַעְתִּי *I know* (prop. *I have discerned*) Job 9, 2, 10, 13; לֹא יָדַעְתִּי *I know not* Gen. 4, 9 (yet also, acc. to No. 2, with a reference to the past, *I knew not* Num. 22, 34); שָׂנְאֵתִי *I hate*¹ Ps. 31, 7; צְדִיקָתִי *I am righteous* Job 34, 5; גְּדֹלָתְךָ *thou art great* Ps. 104, 1; קָטְנִיתִי *I am little* Gen. 32, 11; or—*b*) a past but still ever recurring action (often in statements of general experience) e. g. אָמַרְתִּי *I say* (*I mean*) Ps. 31, 15, Job 7, 13; Ps. 1, 1 *happy the man who walks* (הֹלֵךְ) *not in the counsel* of the ungodly, nor stands (עֹמֵד) *in the way of sinners*, nor sits (יֹשֵׁב) *in the seat of scorers*. 10, 3, 119, 40;—*c*) a present

¹ Similar in Latin are *novi, meminī, odi*; in Greek οἶδα, μέμνημαι, δέδορκα, ξοικα, κέρραγα, etc., in N. Test. ἡλιπτα, ἡγάπηκα.

action to which the idea of firm assurance is attached (comp. No. 4 below) e. g. נִשְׁבַּעְתִּי *I swear* Jer. 22, 5, הִרִמֹּתִי *I raise* (my hand in ratifying an oath) Gen. 14, 22.

Here (in the sphere of our Present) the Perfect and the Imperfect meet together and are used with equal propriety, according as the speaker views the action or state expressed by the verb as already existing before, but still continuing or perhaps just now ended, or as then first about coming to pass, in progress, or perhaps occurring at the instant (comp. § 127, 2). Accordingly, we find in nearly the same sense לֹא רָבֵלְתִי (Ps. 40, 13) and לֹא אֶכַּל (Gen. 19, 19, 31, 35). In such cases the two tenses often stand side by side as interchangeable, e. g. Is. 5, 12, Prov. 1, 22, Job 3, 17, 18.

4. Even for our *Future*, in *protestations* and *assurances*, in which the mind of the speaker views the action as already accomplished, being as good as done. In German and English the Present is often used, in this case, for the Future. So in stipulations or promises in the way of a contract, Gen. 23, 11 *I give* (נָתַתִּי) *to thee the field*, v. 13 *I give* (נָתַתִּי) *money for the field*; particularly in promises made by God, Gen. 1, 29, 15, 18, 17, 20. Also in confident discourse (*Perfectum confidentiæ*) especially when God is said to be about to do something (with reference to the divine counsel, where it is already present as an accomplished fact), e. g. פָּרִיתָהּ אֹתִי יְהוָה *thou deliverest me, O Lord* (Ps. 31, 6); hence frequently used in lively representations of the future, and in *prophecies* (*Perfectum propheticum*), e. g. Is. 9, 1 *the people who walk in darkness see* (רָאִי) *a great light*, 5, 13 *therefore my people goes into captivity* (נָלָה).

The Arabs likewise employ the Perfect, generally made still stronger by the particle כִּי, in emphatic promises, etc. They say, *I have already given it to thee*, meaning, it is as good as done.¹—A similar usage is that of the Lat. *perii*, Gr. ὀλέσθαι, διέφθορας II. 15, 128.

¹ The assurance that something will happen, can also serve to express the wish that something may happen. So Gen. 40, 14 וְנִשְׂתַּחֲוֶהָ נָא עִמָּדִי הָסֵד *and do thou a kindness, I pray, with me* (prop. thou surely doest kindness with me, I hope), *and make mention of me to Pharaoh*. The addition of נָא makes this sense of the Perf. here unquestionable. In Arabic, likewise, the Perf. is employed in wishes and obtestations. In Heb. further, Job 21, 16 *the counsel of the wicked* מִן הַתְּהִיָּה מֵעַתָּה *be far from me!* 22, 18. Comp. the use of the Perfect consecutive when following the Imperative, in No. 6, c.

5. For the so-called *relative tenses*, in which the past is the principal idea, viz.—*a*) for the *Imperfect* or *Pluperfect subjunctive* (for which the Imperfect too can stand, § 127, 5), as in Is. 1, 9 *except the Lord of Hosts had left* (הוֹחִיר) *unto us* לְעִמּוּקָהּ דְּמִינוּ (הָיִינוּ) בְּסֹדֶם as *Sodom were we, to Gomorrah were we like*, Gen. 21, 7 מִי מֵלֵל *who would have said?* (Quis dixerit?); —*b*) Num. 14, 2 לֵאמֹר לֹא מָתָהוּ *would that we had died!* (לֵא with the Imperfect would be, *would that we should die!* § 136, 2), Judg. 13, 23, 1 Sam. 13, 13 (הָיִינוּ) Job 3, 13, 10, 18, 19 כִּי־אֵשֶׁר לֹא־הָיִיתִי *I should be as if I had not been*, 23, 10, Ruth 1, 12, *if I thought*, etc.;—*c*) for the *Future Perfect* (*futurum exactum*) e. g. Is. 4, 4 אִם־רָחַץ *if he shall have washed away*, prop. *if he has washed away*, 6, 11.—Gen. 43, 14 כִּי־אֵשֶׁר שְׂכַלְתִּי שְׂכַלְתִּי *as I am bereaved* (for, if I shall be, *ubi orbus fuero*) *then I am bereaved* (the language of despondent resignation), Est. 4, 16.

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6. In all the foregoing cases we have considered the Perfect independently of logical connection with preceding verbs. Not less diversified however is the use of the so-called *perfectum consecutivum* which is joined to a preceding clause by ׀ (*Waw consecutive of the Perfect*); it is then coordinate with another *perf. consec.*, or represents a consequence from such actions as have preceded in the *Imperfect* or any of its equivalents (*Imperative, Participle*). The consequence may be an immediate and necessary one (consecutive in the stricter sense) or merely external, based upon the simple succession of time (v. examples). On the distinction in the form of the *perf. consec.* through the shifting of the tone v. § 49, 3.

This exchange of the *perf.* with the *impf.* or its equivalents, and vice-versa, the *impf.* with the *perf.* is a prominent peculiarity of the Hebrew *consecutio temporum*. It not only offers a certain compensation for the lack of tenses and moods, but it also yields to the Hebrew style, the charm of an important articulation, the action which is going on, coming soon to a quiet stop in the perfect, and later again continuing anew. The regularity of this change, it is true, belongs rather to the higher style, and even there it depends more upon the view of the speaker, viz. whether he considers an action as the logical consequence of the preceding one, or simply as coordinate. (In the latter case he would use the same tense).—The former custom of giving to the *Waw*

consecutive the designation of *Wāw conversive* (v. p. 118 Note 2) misinterprets the real nature of the Hebrew tenses. It is not the transformation of a preterite into a future, or vice-versa, but a logical sequence. Therefore a *perf. consec.* may belong to the sphere of our present or past (v. below, letter *d*).

The perfect consecutive represents:

a) Future actions or conditions as consequences of actions that have preceded in the imperfect (in the sense of our future), e. g. Gen. 24, 40 *the Lord will send his angel וְהַצִּלִּיתָ דָּרְכָהּ and prosper thy way* (prop. *and thus he prospers* = *that he may prosper*; comp. v. 7, *that thou mayest take*), Judges 6, 16, 1 Sam. 17, 32, Job 22, 30. Likewise after a *participle* (as equivalent to the imperfect) Gen. 41, 29 ff., 1 Kings 2, 2, Ruth 3, 2 ff.

b) Actions conceived as possibly occurring in the future (*conjunctions praesentis* or *imperfecti*) after imperfects of a similar signification, comp. § 127, 3; e. g. Gen 3, 22 *פְּרוּשָׁלָה יָדוֹ וְלָקַח וְאָכַל lest he put forth his hand and take and eat* (prop. *and thus takes and eats*) 19, 19, 32, 12, Num. 15, 40, 2 Sam. 15, 4, Is. 6, 10, Ez. 14, 13, 14.

c) Commands in connection with a preceding *Imperative* and as a further sequence from the same, e. g. Gen. 6, 21 *וְאָסַפְתָּ . . . קַח־לָּהּ take for thyself . . . and gather* (prop. *and thou gatherest*) Gen. 27, 43, 44, 1 K. 2, 36. As with the announcement under letter *a*, so here the command passes over into a description of that which is to be done.

d) Present or past actions after *Imperfects* (or their equivalents) moving in that sphere of time, e. g. Gen. 2, 6, 10, 1 Sam. 2, 19, Amos 5, 19, Nahum 3, 12; after participles e. g. John 6, 13.

Rem. 1. The equivalent of an *Imperfect* which then is followed by a *Perf. consec.* may consist also in an abruptly stated expression of time, e. g. Ex. 16, 6, 7 *וַיֵּדְעוּם אֶת־עֶרֶב וַיֵּדְעוּם אֶת־עֶרֶב at even* (prop. *when it will be even*) *ye shall know*, Ex. 17, 4 *וְעַתָּה יָדְעוּם אֶת־עֶרֶב וַיֵּדְעוּם אֶת־עֶרֶב yet a little while* *וְעַתָּה יָדְעוּם אֶת־עֶרֶב they will stone me*, 1 Sam. 20, 18, 1 K. 2, 42, Ez. 39, 27, Prov. 24, 27.

The *Perf. consec.* stands likewise as logical sequence for our *fut.*, or in the sense of an *Imperative*, or *Optative* after antecedent clauses which imply,—*a*) a cause, or—*b*) a condition. Comp. for letter *a*, Num. 14, 24 *בְּכִינָה אֲנִי בְּיָדָיו וְעַתָּה יָדְעוּם אֶת־עֶרֶב and (therefore) I will*

bring him; Gen. 20, 11 *there is no fear of God in the place* יִהְיֶה גִּבּוֹרִי *and (therefore) they will kill me* (i. e. there is etc., so they kill me), 45, 12, 13, Ex. 6, 6. Comp. Ps. 25, 11 *for thy name's sake* יִסְלַחֲהֶם *so forgive (or thou wilt forgive)*. For letter b, Gen. 33, 10 *if I have found favour* יִלְבַּחֶנּוּ *then take*; and without the conditional particle (§ 155, 4, a), Gen. 44, 22 *should he leave his father* יָצִיחַ *then he (the father) would die*, verses 28, 29; 33, 13, 42, 38, 1 K. 3, 14.—Also to other very various specifications of the present we find appended those of the future by means of י with the *Perf.* (e. g. Judg. 13, 3 *thou art barren* יִהְיֶה יִלְדֶּיךָ *but thou shalt conceive and bear*, 1 Sam. 9, 8 *here is the fourth part of a shekel* יִתְּנֶהּ *and I give it*), or commands and wishes (e. g. Ruth 3, 9 *I am Ruth* יִפְרֹשֶׁת *and spread thou*), or also of interrogation (e. g. Ex. 5, 5 *the people are many in the land* אֲתֵם וְהַשְׁבַּתֶּם אֹתָם *and will you let them rest?* Gen. 29, 15, 1 Sam. 25, 10, 11).

2. A very frequent formula in prophetic language (like וַיָּהִי *and it came to pass* in the historic style) is וְהָיָה *and it will come to pass*. This is found as well in coordination with other consecutive perfects, as after imperfects (or their equivalents, see Rem. 1), especially when a particular time is named, as Is. 7, 18 *in that day* יְהוּדָה בְּיוֹם הַהוּא יִשְׂרָאֵל.

§ 127.

USE OF THE IMPERFECT.

Although the signification of the Imperfect is almost more comprehensive still than that of the Perfect, yet the language has here a more definite expression for certain modal relations which lie in the sphere of the *Imperfect*, inasmuch as it has (as shown, in § 48) a shortened and a lengthened form of the Imperfect, the former as the *Jussive* and the latter as the *Cohortative* (see § 128). The *Wāw consecutive* also has a very extensive and important influence on this tense (§ 129). Yet the shortening, as has been shown in treating of the verb (§ 48), is not obvious, at least orthographically, in all the forms; and in other respects, also, there is some uncertainty, so that the common form occurs occasionally in almost all the relations, for which the shortened form is especially designed.

The Imperfect forms, in general, the contrary of the Perfect, and expresses, accordingly, what is unfinished or just incoming, what is taking place and future, but also what re-

peatedly happens and is continued at any point of time, even of the past (see Note ² on p. 118).

Hence the Imperfect stands—

1. For *future time* simply Gen. 9, 11 לֹא־יִהְיֶה עוֹד מַבּוּל there shall not again be a flood, Ex. 4, 1 הֵן לֹא־אֲמִינִי לִי וְלֹא I will not believe me nor hearken to my voice, for they will say, etc.; Gen. 6, 1, 9, 5, 1 K. 1, 13, 24, 30 וְיִמְלֹךְ אַחֲרַי he will (or shall) reign after me. Also in speaking of the future from some point of view in the past, as 2 K. 3, 27 the first-born who was to reign (*regnaturus erat*), Gen. 43, 25 they had heard that they should eat (יֹאכְלוּ) there, Ps. 78, 6 so that יִוָּלְדוּ בָּנִים sons who (in the future) should be born (*qui nascituri essent*, at the same time with the secondary idea of an action repeated in the future) should know it. For *Fut. Perfect* only in connection with a *Perf.* in the same sense (§ 126, 5, b) Is. 4, 4, 6, 11.

2. For *present time* (very often), comp. § 126, 3, Rem. e. g. 1 K. 3, 7 לֹא אֲדַע I know not, Is. 1, 13 לֹא אֶשְׂבֵּל I cannot bear, Gen. 19, 19, 31, 35, 37, 15 מַה־תִּבְקֶשׁ what seekest thou? Gen. 44, 7, Ex. 5, 15, 1 Sam. 1, 8, Ps. 1, 2, 3.—In almost all these examples the *Imperfect* presents at the same time an action lasting to the present; this idea of an action continuing or constantly recurring is still stronger when permanent facts are concerned which take place now and always shall take place, or generally recognized experiences, e. g. Gen. 43, 32 the Egyptians may not eat with the Hebrews, Job 4, 17 is man just before God? 2, 4, Prov. 15, 20 בֶּן־חָכָם יִשְׂמַח אָב a wise son gladdens a father; and very often so in Job and Proverbs. Comp. also the phrase לֹא־יִעָשֶׂה כֵּן it is not the custom to (must not) be done so (v. No. 4, d), Gen. 29, 26, 34, 7, 2 Sam. 13, 12. More rarely also the *perfect* stands in the above cases. § 126, 3, a, b.

In the same formula we find at one time the *Perfect* and at another the *Imperfect*, but not necessarily without difference of meaning, e. g. Job 1, 7 מֵאַיֵּן תָּבֹא whence comest thou? (because here the coming is conceived as being still in its latest stadium; on the other hand) Gen. 16, 8 אֵימָּהָ בָּאת whence art thou come?

3. For a number of relations which in Latin are expressed by the *Subjunctive*, especially by the *Present Subjunctive*. In this way is expressed what is future or what is expected to occur, according to a subjective view such as the will of the individual or according to some other presupposition. It stands—

- a) For the Subjunctive in cases like Job 10, 18: אָנֹכִי *I should have given up the ghost*, etc.; vs. 19, אֶחֱיָה *I should have become*. Then frequently after particles signifying *that, that not (ut, ne)*, as אֲשֶׁר, specially לִמְעַן אֲשֶׁר and לִמְעַן (without אֲשֶׁר), also יֵנֶן אֲשֶׁר *that, in order that*, thus in consecutive and final clauses;¹ e. g. Gen. 11, 7 אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִשְׁמְעוּ *that they may not understand*, Num. 17, 5 לֹא יִקְרַב אֲשֶׁר לִמְעַן *that there come not near*, Deut. 4, 1 לִמְעַן תַּחֲיוּ *that ye may live*, Ps. 78, 6, Ez. 12, 12 יֵנֶן אֲשֶׁר לֹא יִרְאֶה *that he see not*; and after אֲפֹן *that not, lest* e. g. Gen. 3, 22 פֶּן יִשְׁלַח יָדוֹ *that not, lest*. Also after a simple וְ, e. g. Lam. 1, 19 יִשְׁאוּ לָנֶפֶשׁ אֶת־נַפְשָׁם *that they might sustain their life*.
- b) For the Optative. As a rule this is expressed by the *cohortative* (in the first person) or *Jussive* (2d and 3d person) § 128, 1, and to the latter word belong also all those examples in which the form of the *Jussive* is not distinguished from the usual form of the *Imperfect*. Sometimes the optative signification may be known then from the added particle נָא² (§ 128, 1, 2); e. g. Ps. 7, 10 יִגְמַר־נָא *O that might cease—!* Gen. 44, 18 יִדְבַּר־נָא עַבְדְּךָ *might thy servant speak! i. e. let me speak*, v. 33 יֵשְׁב־נָא *may he now abide!* Yet, at times, the full form is employed, even when the shortened one might have been possible, e. g. תֵּרָאֵה *let appear* Gen. 1, 9 (and so frequently with the Imperfects לֹא־הָיָה, comp. 41, 34), תִּשְׁתָּה *let be* Prov. 22, 17.
- c) For the Imperative, as soon as it would have to be joined to a negation (which acc. to § 46, 1 is impossible), there-

¹ When these particles have causal signification, the Perfect takes the place of the Imperfect; e. g. יֵנֶן אֲשֶׁר *because* with the *Perf.* in Judg. 2, 20, אֲשֶׁר *because* in Gen. 34, 27.

² The particle נָא (§ 105) gives to the optative the force of a modest request. On its use with the first person, see § 128, 1.

fore to express negative commands (prohibitions) then *either* לֹא is joined with the pure imperfect in the sense of a certain expectation (comp. Ger. *das wirst du nicht thun!* "that wilt thou not do!" as the strongest form of command) therefore especially with divine commands, e. g. לֹא תִגְנוֹב *thou shalt* (prop. *wilt*) *not steal* Ex. 20, 15 (also verses 3, 4, 5, 7, 10); or אַל with the *Jussive* in the sense of disuasion or of deprecatory wish, or (with the third person) opinion that something ought not to occur, as אַל-תִּירָא *fear not* Gen. 46, 3. As in this example, so also elsewhere, the *Jussive* after אַל coincides frequently with the usual form of the Imperfect (comp. above, letter *b*); however also here occurs sometimes the shortened form after אַל especially after verbs (ל"ה) e. g. אַל-תִּעֲשֶׂה 2 Sam. 13, 12; with the third person to express a negative wish Job 3, 9 אַל-יִרְאָה; however also אַל-תִּבְרִיט Gen. 19, 17; אַל-יָנוּחַ Ps. 121, 3 (comp. § 128, 2, *b*).—Finally belong here the cases in which the *Impf.* in the 1st person expresses an obligation or necessity of the action as Job 9, 29 אֲרֻשֶׁעַ if I (needs must) *be wicked*; 12, 4 אֶהְיֶה comp. 9, 15, 19, 16.

- d*) For the so-called Potential, where we use *may, can, might, could, ought, etc.*; e. g. Gen. 2, 16 אָכַל תֹּאכֵל *thou mayest surely eat*, Gen. 3, 2, 3, Prov. 20, 9 מִי יֹאמֵר *who can say?* Gen. 43, 7 הֵיכֵן יָדָע *could we really know?* Gen. 20, 9 אֲשֶׁר לֹא יַעֲשֶׂה (deeds) *that may (or should) not be done*; comp. with this No. 2 above, at the end.

4. Even within the sphere of the *past* the Imperfect has scope; and it is so used chiefly in these cases:—

- a*) After the particles אז *then*,¹ טָרָם *not yet*, בְּטָרָם (*in not yet*) *before*; e. g. Josh. 10, 12 אֲזַי יְדַבֵּר יְהוֹשֻׁעַ *then spake Joshua*, Ex. 15, 1, Num. 21, 17, 1 K. 3, 16, Gen. 2, 5 טָרָם יְהִיָּה *there was not yet*, 19, 4, 24, 45 (on the other hand, verse 15 *Perfect*) 1 Sam. 3, 7, everywhere in the sense of our *Pluperfect*; 37, 18 for our *Imperfect*; הֵצֵא בְטָרָם *before thou camest forth (priusquam exires)* Jer. 1, 5 (compare the use

¹ After אֲזַי signifying *then* in respect to future time, the Imperfect has the force of our Future (Ex. 12, 48, Ps. 2, 5).

of the Perf. and Impf. in the same sentence after טָרַם in 1 Sam. 3, 7).

- b) Often also of constantly repeated actions, of what is customary and habitual, like the Imperfect of the Latin and French. Repeated or customary action, as it involves the conception of something ever recurring or unfinished, is fitly expressed by the Imperfect; Job 1, 5 *thus did* (יַעֲשֶׂה) *Job continually*, 22, 6, 7, 29, 12, 13, Ex. 1, 12, Judg. 6, 4, 14, 10, 1 Sam. 1, 7, 2 Sam. 13, 18 *for so the king's daughters used to clothe themselves* (תִּלְבָּשָׁה), 1 K. 5, 25, Ps. 42, 5, 78, 40, Job 23, 11. No less belong here cases where the Impf. represents the longer duration of an action in the past, etc., e. g. Gen. 2, 6: *there went up* (continually) *a mist* (יַעֲלֶה); Judges 2, 1 (אָעִלָּה); Is. 6, 4 (יִמָּלֵא); Ps. 32, 4 (תִּכְבֵּד), 18, 31 (אֶרְדּוּהָ); Job 15, 8 (תִּשְׁמַע).
- c) Of momentary actions, where the Perfect might be expected. This takes place, especially in poetry, on the same principle as we employ the Present tense in lively representations of the past (v. above letter b), e. g. Is. 51, 2, Job 3, 3, 11, 4, 12, 15, 16, 10, 10, 11, 15, 7, Ps. 18, 7; in prose probably 1 K. 3, 4 (יַעֲלֶה).

5. For the Lat. Imperfect (or Present) Subjunctive, especially in conditional sentences (the *modus conditionalis*), in both the protasis (antecedent clause) and the apodosis (consequent clause), or only in the latter, Ps. 23, 4 גַּם כִּי־אֵלֶךְ *even if I should go I should not fear*, Job 5, 8 *I would apply unto God* (were I in thy place), 9, 20 אִם אֶצְדֵּק *if I were just*, 3, 13, 16, 14, 14, 15, 23, 10, Ruth 1, 13 (after perfects in the antecedents, v. 12). However the imperfects of the examples will have to be taken in part as jussive forms. Comp. § 128, 2, c.

§ 128.

USE OF THE COHORTATIVE AND JUSSIVE.

1. The Imperfect as lengthened by the ending ה־ (the *Cohortative*, § 48, 3) is used almost exclusively in the first person; and is expressive of *resolve* or *endeavour*. Hence this form is employed,—

- a) to express excitement of one's self, or a determination, spoken with some degree of emphasis; Ps. 31, 8 **אֲנִילָה וְאֶשְׂמְחָה** *let me be glad and rejoice!* 2, 3. **נִתְחַקֵּה** (*come!*) *let us break asunder*, Gen. 11, 3. With less emphasis, in soliloquy and simple expressions of will; Ex. 3, 3 **אֶסְרֶה-נָּא וְאֶרְאֶה** *I will turn aside now and see*, Gen. 18, 21, 32, 21;
- b) to express a wish, a request (for permission); Deut. 2, 27 **אֵעֱבֹרָה** *let me pass through*, Num. 20, 17 **נַעֲבֹרָה-נָּא** *let us, pray, pass through*;
- c) when a purpose is expressed, the tense being then commonly joined by **וְ** to a preceding Imperative; Gen. 27, 4 *bring it hither* **וְאֹכְלָה** *and I will eat*=that I may eat, 29, 21, 42, 34, Deut. 32, 1, Job 10, 20, Ps. 2, 8, 39, 14;
- d) less frequently it stands in conditional sentences with *if, though*, expressed or implied, Job 6, 10, 16, 6 *though I speak . . . and (though) I forbear*; 11, 17, 19, 18, 30, 26, Ps. 139, 8; so perhaps also **אֶרְדֹּפָה** 2 Sam. 22, 38: *when I pursued*, but comp. Ps. 18, 38;
- e) moreover, it stands, frequently after *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2).

2. The shortened Imperfect (the *Jussive*, § 48, 4) stands principally,—

- a) in the expression of command, wish and request, as **תִּזְצֵא** *proferat* Gen. 1, 24 (on the contrary, as Indicative **תִּזְצֵא** *profert* Is. 61, 11), **יִקַּם** *stabiliat* Jer. 28, 6, Num. 6, 25, 26, Gen. 33, 9 **יְהִי לָּךְ** *be it to thee*, **יְהִי לִי** *utinam fiat* Gen. 30, 34; also joined to a preceding Imper. by **וְ** (comp. No. 1, c), as in Ps. 27, 14 **חֹזֶק וְיִאֲמֹץ לִבְּךָ** *take courage and let thy heart be strong*, Ex. 8, 4 **וְיִסָּר** *intreat the Lord and may he take away*=that he may take away, 10, 17, Judg. 6, 30, 1 Sam. 7, 3, 1 K. 21, 10, Prov. 20, 22, Est. 7, 2 **וְהָעֵשׂ** *and it shall be done*;
- b) with a negative in prohibition, etc. Generally after **אַל**, acc. to § 127, 3, c, e. g. **אַל-תִּשְׁחַת** Ex. 23, 1; in the tone of entreaty: **אַל-תִּשָּׁב אֶת-פְּנֵי** *destroy not* Deut. 9, 26, **אַל-תִּשָּׁב אֶת-פְּנֵי** *turn not away my face* 1 K. 2, 20, Ps. 27, 9, 69, 18, or of warning, as **אַל-יִאֲמֵן** *let him not trust* Job 15, 31, **אַל-יִתְּהִי**

be thou not Prov. 3, 7; sometimes in the sense of a negative assurance, the contents being put as something that must not happen e. g. Is. 2, 9, Ps. 41, 3, 50, 3, 121, 3, Prov. 3, 3, 25, Job 5, 22, 20, 17. Rarely the *Jussive* stands also after לֹא (Gen. 24, 8, 1 K. 2, 6), the strict command as originally intended having been softened subsequently by the *Jussive* (for לֹא with the *Indic. Impf.*, comp. § 127, 3, c);
 c) frequently in conditional sentences (like the Arabic usage) in both the protasis and the apodosis (comp. § 127, 5); thus in Ps. 45, 12 (יִרְאֶה desires he . . . then), 104, 20 (תִּשְׁתָּה and יִרְהִי settest thou darkness . . . then it becomes night), Hos. 6, 1 (יִהְיֶה), Is. 41, 28 (וַיֵּאָרָא), Gen. 4, 12 (לֹא-תֵחָסֶה), Ex. 7, 9 (יִהְיֶה), Lev. 15, 24 (תִּהְיֶה . . . אִם), Job 10, 16, 13, 5, 22, 28.

Undoubtedly the use of the *Jussive* in conditional sentences is based on its original signification of volition: something may be so and so, then this and that must occur as consequence. Examples however as Job 9, 33: *there is no arbiter between us who may lay* (יִשֹּׁר being plainly a subject=*qui ponat*) show that in such cases the voluntative has been weakened almost to a *potential* mood, and thus the *Jussive* serves to express such facts as may *eventually* occur. To this must be added frequent cases where the *Jussive* stands without any secondary meaning instead of the usual *Imperfect* and this occurs not only in the place where a mistaking of the form may spring from the defective writing (Ps. 25, 9, 47, 4, Job 13, 27, 20, 23 b, 27, 22) but also in shortened forms as יִהְיֶה Job 18, 12, 20, 23, 28 (יִהְיֶה). This use of the *Jussive* can hardly come from a poetical license, but rather from rhythmical reasons. All the above cited examples show the *Jussive* at the head of the sentence (i. e. the farthest removed from the principal tone), others immediately before the principal pause (Job 24, 14, 29, 3, 40, 19), even in the pause (Job 23, 9, 11) as a pure shortening of sound in consequence of the intense attraction of the tone.—Moreover as the *Jussive* in numerous cases does not differ from the usual form of the *Imperfect* (§ 48, 4. § 127, 3, b. c) it is frequently doubtful which of the two the author has intended.

§ 129.

USE OF THE IMPERFECT WITH WĀW CONSECUTIVE.

1. The Imperfect with *Wāw consecutive* (§ 49, 2), stands only in close connection with something preceding. Most commonly a narrative begins with a *Perfect*, and then goes

on in the *Imperfect* with *Wāw* consecutive; e. g. Gen. 4, 1 and Adam knew (וָיָדַע) Eve his wife, and she conceived and bare (וַתַּהַר וַתֵּלֶד) Cain, 6, 9, 10, etc., 10, 9, 10, 15, 19, 11, 12—15, 27, 28, 14, 5, etc., 15, 1, 2, 16, 1, 2, 21, 1, etc., 24, 1, 2, 25, 19, 20, etc., 36, 2—4, 37, 2.¹

If there be, however, any connection however loose with an earlier event, the *Impf.* with *Wāw* cons. may even begin a narrative or a section of one; in which case we find a most frequent use of וַיְהִי (καὶ ἐγένετο) and it happened Gen. 11, 1, 14, 1, 17, 1, 22, 1, 26, 1, 27, 1.²

Representing a temporal or logical sequence the *Impf. consec.* may be placed after quite various antecedent clauses. Thus it stands—
a) after a causal clause, e. g. 1 Sam. 15, 23 because thou hast rejected the Lord's word וַיִּמָּאֶסֶה so he too rejected thee,—b) after an absolute noun, e. g. 1 K. 12, 17 as to the children of Israel, וַיִּמְלֹךְ עֲלֵיהֶם רְחֹבְעָם so Rehoboam reigned over them, 9, 21, Jer. 6, 19, Dan. 8, 22.³

The *Imperfect* with ו stands purely as a consecutive also after interrogative sentences like the following: Ps. 144, 3 what is man וַתִּרְצֶהוּ that thou takest knowledge of him! (comp. Ps. 8, 5, where כִּי is used), Job 7, 17, Is. 51, 12 who art thou וַתִּירָא that thou shouldst be afraid?

2. As to the relations of time indicated by this *Imperfect of consecution*, we may remark that, in accordance always with the preceding tense, it may refer—

- a) to the present time, as being a sequent, and continued representation of actions and conditions reaching down from the past (lasting in their effects), often with the secondary idea of an intended sequence. Thus after a

¹ The preceding *Perf.* is, at times, only implied in the sense, particularly in specifications of time, e. g. Gen. 11, 10 Shem (was) 100 years old וַיֵּלֶד and he begat, 10, 1. So also in Gen. 22, 4 on the third day וַיִּשָּׂא אֶת־עֵינָיו then (prop. and) he lifted up his eyes, which in full would be, it happened on the third day that—, 1 Sam. 4, 20, Is. 6, 1, 37, 19.

² This connection is customary when a specification of time is to be made, e. g. Gen. 22, 1 וַיְהִי אַחֵר הַדְּבָרִים הָאֵלֶּה וַיִּחְלֶה אֱלֹהִים נֶפֶשׁ אֶת־אַבְרָהָם and it happened after these things, that God tried Abraham, וַיְהִי כִּי אָרְכּוּ לִי שָׁם הַיָּמִים, וַיִּשְׁבֶּה 39, 13, 15, 18, 19; Judg. 15, 16, 25. See the numerous passages in Gesenius, Thes. Ling. Hebr. p. 372. Comp. וַיְהִי used of futurity (§ 126, Rem. 2).

³ On the sentences which begin with the *Infinitive* or *Participle*, and then proceed with this *Imperfect of consecution*, see § 132, Rem. 2, and § 134, Rem. 2.

Perfect, Gen. 19, 9 (*to judge continually*), Is. 2, 7, 8, Ps. 7, 16, 16, 9, 29, 10, 33, 9, Job 7, 9, 14, 2; or an *Imperfect* (as a *Present*), Ps. 3, 5, 42, 6, Job 4, 5, 14, 10, 1 Sam. 2, 29; or a *Participle* 2 Sam. 19, 2, Amos 9, 6, Nah. 1, 4, Job 12, 4; or after other equivalents of the present, as in Ps. 144, 3, Job 10, 22, Is. 51, 12; v. above No. 1, Rem.;

- b) less frequently to futurity, when preceded by a *Perfect consecutive* or prophetic (in the sense of a *Future*), Is. 5, 15, 16, 9, 10, 13, 22, 7, 8, Joel 2, 23, Mic. 2, 13, Ps. 120, 1; unto Jehovah I call (קראתי) and he hears me (ויעניני), comp. Job 9, 16 if I had called (אם־קראתי) and he had answered me (ויעניני); also joined to a clause without a verb, e. g. Gen. 49, 15, or to an absolute noun, e. g. Is. 9, 11, or to introduce such future events as will result necessarily from facts just described, Is. 2, 9.

In the apodosis after לִינָא *utinam* stand וְיִרְדֵּי Is. 48, 18, 19 ff. *so that were* (=so will be); in a conditional clause וְאָמַר Ps. 139, 11 and (if) I should say (prop. *did I speak in consequence*); Ex. 4, 23 now if I speak to thee (וְאָמַר) and thou refusest (וְתִסָּמָן) behold I shall, etc. comp. § 127, 5.

§ 130.

THE IMPERATIVE.

1. The Imperative expresses not only command in the strict sense, but also exhortation (Hos. 10, 12), entreaty (then with נָא 2 K. 5, 22, Is. 5, 3), wish (with לִי as a more urgent form, instead of the Perf. or Impf. Gen. 23, 13), permission (2 Sam. 18, 23, Is. 45, 11). It is employed especially in assurances, strong promises (comp. *thou shalt have it*, which sounds like a command) Ps. 128, 5 *thou shalt see* (רָאִה) *the prosperity of Jerusalem*, Gen. 45, 18, Is. 37, 30, 65, 18.¹

Rem. Very frequently, the Imperative is enlivened in expression by the addition of the particle נָא *now! pray!* (§ 105); this serves as well to soften a command, and to put it rather in the form of an entreaty

¹ Analogous to these assurances in the form of the imperative is the form of menace in the comic writers, *vapula* Ter. Phorm. V. 6, 10, *vapulare te jubeo* Plaut. Curculio, IV. 4, 12.

(v. above) Gen. 12, 13, 24, 2 as to strengthen an exhortation uttered in the form of rebuke or menace e. g. Num. 16, 26, 20, 10. In the sense of ironical permission we have עֲמַרְיָהּ *only persist!* Is. 47, 12, comp. Job 40, 10.

2. The above mentioned use of the Imperative for the expression of firm assurances occurs especially also in those clauses where an Imperative with ׀ is joined to another, not in a mere coordination (as Is. 56, 1) but rather so that the first one imposes a condition, and the second announces a result of the fulfilled condition (like the Lat. *divide et impera*), e. g. *a*) with assurances Gen. 42, 18 זָאת עֲשׂוּ וְחַיִּי *this do, and (ye shall) live*, Prov. 20, 13 כִּיפֹת עֵינֶיךָ *keep thine eyes open* (be wakeful, active), *have* (i. e. *then shalt thou have*) *plenty of bread*, Ps. 37, 3, 27, Prov. 4, 4, 7, 2, 9, 6, 2 K. 5, 13, Job 22, 21, Is. 36, 16, 45, 22, Amos 5, 4, 6; likewise after an Imperfect (Jussive or Optative) Gen. 20, 7, Job 11, 6, Ruth 1, 9; even after an Imperfect in a deliberative question 2 Sam. 21, 3;— *b*) where, a threat is expressed, the first Imp. ironically permitting an act, while the second denounces the consequences, Is. 8, 9 רָעוּ עַמִּים וְהָתוּ *rage, ye people, and be ye* (i. e. *ye shall surely be*) *dismayed*, Is. 29, 9. Instead of the second Imp. the Impf. stands when the 3d person is introduced Is. 8, 10. *Take counsel and it shall come to nought.*

Rem. 1. How far the *Perf.* and *Impf.* may be employed to express command or prohibition has been shown in § 126, 6, c, § 127, 3, c.

2. It is incorrect to suppose that the Imperative is used, as some grammarians maintain, for the *third* person (*let him kill*). Among the examples adduced of this usage is Gen. 17, 10 לָכֵם כָּל-בָּרִיךְ *every male among you shall he circumcised* (in verse 12, וְיָמוּל is used; but וְיָמוּל here is rather the Infinitive absolute comp. § 131, 4, b); In Ps. 22, 9 (וְיָלֵךְ), Gen. 31, 50, Judg. 9, 28, Is. 45, 21 we have actual Imperatives of the 2nd person.

§ 131.

USE OF THE INFINITIVE ABSOLUTE.

The Infinitive absolute (comp. § 45) is employed, when there is occasion to express the action of the verb by itself, neither connected with something following e. g. with the

genitive nor dependent on a preceding noun or particle.¹ Thus the infinitive absolute stands—

1. When it is governed by a *transitive verb*, and stands in fact as an accusative; Is. 42, 24 לֹא אָבוּ הַלֹּךְ *they would not go*, 1, 17, 7, 15 לִדְעֵתוֹ מֵאֵס בָּרַע וּבָחַר בְּטוֹב *until he learn to refuse the evil and to choose the good*; it is placed emphatically before in Is. 57, 20, Jer. 9, 4. Here, however, the *Inf. constr.* is oftener used, with or without a preposition, always according to the construction of the preceding verb, § 142, 1, 2.

In the same construction is Is. 22, 13 *behold! joy and gladness*, הִרְוֶה פֶקֶד וְשִׁחֹט צֹאן וְגו' *the slaying (prop. to slay) oxen, the slaughtering sheep, the eating flesh, the drinking wine* (where the Infinitives are mere accusatives governed by *behold!*), Is. 5, 5 *I will tell you what I do to my vineyard* (namely) פָּרוֹץ גְּדָרוֹ . . . הָסֵר מִשּׁוֹכְתּוֹ *take away its hedge, tear down its wall*.

2. When it is in the accusative and used *adverbially*² (in Latin as *gerund* in *do*); e. g. הֵיטֵב *well* (*bene faciendo* for *bene*), הַרְבֵּה *much* (*multum faciendo* for *multum*). Job 15, 3 (in Num. 15, 35 such an adverbial *Inf. absol.*—רָגַם, referred by Røediger to 4, *a*,—takes afterwards its subject; v. No. 4, Rem. 1). Hence—

3. When it stands in immediate connection with the corresponding *finite verb*:—

a) It then stands most commonly *before* the finite verb, to which it gives *strength* or *intensity* in various shades, e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 6 נִשְׁאַל נִשְׁאַל מִמֶּנִּי *he urgently besought of me*, Gen. 43, 3 *he strictly charged us* (הֵעִיר הָעִיר). A very clear example is in Amos 9, 8 *I will destroy it from the face of*

¹ After Prepositions the *Inf. constr.* is always used, because as original substantives they govern the genitive. But when several successive infinitives are to have a preposition, it is often written only before the first; and the second, before which it is to be supplied by the mind, stands in the absolute form, as לֶאֱכַל וְלִשְׁתּוֹ *to eat and (to) drink* Ex. 32, 6; comp. 1 Sam. 22, 13, Jer. 7, 18, 44, 17. This case is analogous with that explained in § 121, 3. Comp. also No. 4, *a*, of this section.

² On the accusative as a *casus adverbialis*, see § 118. In Arabic it takes, in this case, the distinctive accusative-ending. In general, the *Inf. absol.* answers in most cases (see Nos. 1, 2, 3, of this section) to the accusative of the Infinitive, to which No. 4 also is to be referred.

the earth, except that I will not utterly destroy (לֹא הִשְׁמִיד הוֹרִישׁ לֹא-הוֹרִישׁוּ) the house of Jacob; Judg. 1, 28: he did not utterly drive them out. Its effect is often merely to give a certain prominence to the thought contained in the finite verb, which effect other languages produce chiefly by the tone of the voice or by particles, as in assurances, questions (such especially as express excitement in view of something strange and improbable), and contrasts, as in Gen. 43, 7 *could we* (then) *know*? 37, 8 *wilt thou* (perhaps) *rule over us*? verse 10, 31, 30 *hadst thou even gone*¹ (הֲלֹךְ הָלַכְתָּ), since thou didst so earnestly long (נִכְסְתָה נִכְסַּפְתָּ) Judg. 15, 13 *we will bind thee, but we will not kill thee*, 1 Sam. 9, 6, *that cometh surely to pass* 2 Sam. 24, 24, Hab. 2, 3.

- b) When the Inf. stands *after* the finite verb, this connection indicates either intensity as in letter *a* (v. Rem. 1; especially with Imperatives, for in this case the *Inf. absol.* always follows, Job 13, 17, 21, 2, 37, 2=*listen attentively*) but especially *continued* or *lasting* action, as Is. 6, 9 שָׁמְעוּ שְׁמוֹעַ *hear ye on continually*, Jer. 23, 17, Gen. 19, 9 יָרֵשׁטוּ וְיִשְׁפֹּט *and he will always be acting the judge!* Two Infinitives absolute may be thus used, 1 Sam. 6, 12 הָלְכוּ הָלוּךְ וְנָעוּ *they went going on and lowing*, i. e. *they kept going on and lowing*, 1 K. 20, 37. Instead of the second Inf., a finite verb is sometimes used (Josh. 6, 13, 2 Sam. 13, 19), or a participle (2 Sam. 16, 5).

Rem. 1. This usage in regard to the position of the Inf. is certainly the *common* one, though not without exceptions. It sometimes follows the finite verb which it strengthens, when the idea of *repetition* or *continuance* is excluded by the connection, Is. 22, 17, Jer. 22, 10, Gen. 31, 15, (the *Inf. absol.* still more strengthened by בָּא, likewise in 46, 4). In Syriac, the Inf. when it expresses intensity stands regularly *before*, and in Arab. always *after*, the finite verb.—When a negative is used it is commonly placed between the *Infin.* and the *finite verb* (Ex. 5, 23), seldom before them both (Gen. 3, 4, Am. 9, 8, Ps. 49, 8).

2. With a finite verb of one of the derived conjugations may be connected not only the *Inf. absol.* of the same conjugation (Gen. 17, 13,

¹ As much as to say, I understand well wherefore thou art *gone*, viz. from earnest longing. The Vulgate renders it, *esto, ad tuos ire cupiebas*.

40, 15), but also and oftener that of *Qāl* as the nearest and most general representation of the verbal idea (e. g. *נָהַר נֹהַר* Gen. 37, 33, Job 6, 2), or at times of another of like signification (Lev. 19, 20, 2 K. 3, 23). Lastly the *Inf. absol.* may no less be replaced by a substantive of the same stem e. g. Hab. 3, 9, Job 27, 12 (differing from the so-called *figura etymologica*, treated in § 138, 1, Rem. 1).

3. In expressing the idea of *continuance* (letter *b*), the verb *הָלַךְ* is frequently employed, with the signification to *go on*, to *continue on*, and thus denotes also *constant increase*. The principal idea is then added either in form of the second *Inf. absol.*, e. g. Gen. 8, 3; *וַיָּשֻׁבוּ הַמַּיִם . . . הַלֹּךְ וְנִשְׁוּב* and the waters flowed off more and more; comp. v. 5, or in form of a *participle* or *verbal adjective*, e. g. 2 Sam. 3, 1, 5, 10; 1 Chron. 11, 9; 1 Sam. 2, 26: *וַיֵּצֵר שְׁמוּאֵל הַקֶּלֶךְ וַיִּגְדַּל וְנָשׁוּב* the child Samuel went on growing bigger and better. 14, 19; 2 Sam. 18, 25 (he came always nearer), Gen. 26, 13 *וַיֵּלֶךְ הַלֹּךְ וַיִּגְדַּל* he became continually greater and greater. However in the last four examples *וְנִגְדַּל* etc. may be construed as *third pers. perf.* A similar mode of expression is found in the French, *le mal va toujours croissant*, *la maladie va toujours en augmentant et en empirant*, i. e. *grows on and gets worse continually*.

4. When it stands in place of the *finite verb*. We must here distinguish the two following cases, viz. —

a) When it is preceded by a *finite verb*. This is frequent, especially in the later writings, in the expression of several successive acts or states, where only the first of the verbs employed takes the required form in respect to *tense* and *person*, the others being simply put in the *Infinitive absolute*. So after several *Perfects*, e. g. Dan. 9, 5 *מִרְדְּנוּ וְסוּר* we have rebelled and (we have) turned away (properly and a turning away took place; but even in this case the *Infinitive* may be construed as an *accusative*, depending on the general idea of *doing* contained in the *finite verb*). 1 Sam. 2, 28, Is. 37, 19, Jer. 14, 5, Hag. 1, 6 (four *Infinitives*), Zech. 3, 4, 7, 5; after *Perf. consec.* Zech. 12, 10; after *Impf. consec.* Gen. 41, 43 he caused him to ride in the second chariot *וַיָּתוֹן אֹתוֹ* and placed him; Ex. 8, 11, Judges 7, 19, 2 Chr. 7, 3, after pure *Impfs.* Lev. 25, 14, 32, 44 (three *infinitives*) they will buy fields for money. On Num. 15, 35, v. above No. 2.

b) It may stand at the beginning of the sentence, without a preceding *finite verb*. The *Infinitive absolute* (as the pure abstract idea of the verb) may serve as a short and

emphatic expression for any tense and person, which the connection requires; e. g. it stands—*α*) for the *Perf.* in lively narration and description, like the Latin *Infinitivus historicus*; Is. 21, 5 *עָרוֹךְ הַשֻּׁלְחָן צָפָה הַצִּמָּת אָכֹל שָׂתָה* *to prepare the table, to set the watch, to eat, to drink* (sc. this they do), for *they prepare*, etc., 59, 4, Ez. 1, 14, Hos. 4, 2, Job 15, 35; also—*β*) for the *Impf.* especially in the sense of a Future, as in 2 K. 4, 43 *אָכֹל וְהוֹתֵר* *to eat and to leave thereof* (sc. ye shall do) Job 42 in a question expressing rebuke; *he wants to contend . . . the faultfinder?* v. Rem. 1);—*γ*) most frequently for the emphatic *Imper.* (as in Greek) e. g. Deut. 5, 12 *שָׁמֹר* *to observe* (sc. thou art to, thou shalt); so Ex. 20, 9 *זָכוֹר* *to remember* (shalt thou do); compare the full form, *שָׁמֹר תִּשְׁמְרוּן* Deut. 6, 17, *זָכֵר תִּזְכֹּר* 7, 18;—*δ*) likewise (as exclamation) for the *Cohortative*, Is. 22, 13 *אָכֹל וְשָׂתוּ* *to eat and to drink!* sc. let us do (these *Infinites* however stand perhaps for the finite verb parallel with the preceding ones; v. No. 1, Rem.) 1 K. 22, 30 *לְהַצְבִּיחַ* *to disguise myself and go* (will I do).

Rem. 1. The *Inf. absol.* instead of the *finite verb* is sometimes found in connection with the subject, as in Gen. 17, 10, Ps. 17, 5, Prov. 17, 12, Eccl. 4, 2, Job 40, 2, comp. Num. 15, 35.

2. In a few examples the *Inf. constr.* is employed instead of the *Inf. absol.* to strengthen the verbal idea; thus Num. 23, 25 *קָם* in attraction with *בָּם*; likewise *שָׁל* Ruth 2, 16 *הָיִיתָ* 50, 21, *הָבֵל* Neh. 1, 7, everywhere in a rapid flow of speech (Ps. 50, 21, perhaps also out of repugnance to the hiatus *הָיָה אֲהִיָּה*).

§ 132.

INFINITIVE CONSTRUCT.

1. The *Inf. constr.* as a verbal substantive is subject to the same relations of case as the noun (§ 117), which are also indicated in the same way. This, it is found,—*a*) in the nominative as the subject of the sentence, Gen. 2, 18 *לֹא טוֹב הָיִיתָ הָאָדָם לְבַדּוֹ* *not good (lit. the being of man in his separation) that man should be alone*;—*b*) in the genitive, Gen. 29, 7 *עַתָּה הָאֵסָה* *tempus colligendi*. Here also belong the cases where the *Infinitive* is dependent on a preposition (as being origin-

ally a noun), see No. 2;—*c*) in the accusative, 1 K. 3, 7 **לֹא יָדַעְתִּי צֵאתָ וְבֹא** *I know not (how) to go out and to come in*; prop. *I know not the going out and coming in*. (In this case the *Inf. absol.* may also be used, § 131, 1.)

2. In translating the Heb. *Inf.* with prepositions (comp. the Greek ἐν τῷ εἶναι), in German and English we generally employ a finite verb with a conjunction, e. g. Num. 35, 19 **בְּפָגְעוֹבוֹ** *when he meets him* (prop. *in his meeting with him*), Jer. 2, 35 **עַל אַמְרֶךָ** *because thou sayest* (prop. *on account of thy saying*), Gen. 27, 1 **מֵרְאוֹתָ** *so that he did not see* (comp. the use of מִן before a noun to express distance from, and the absence or want of a thing).

3. As to relations of time, the Infinitive construct may refer also to the past (comp. on the analogous use of the Participle, § 134, 2), e. g. Gen. 2, 4 **בְּהִבְרָאם** *when they were created* (prop. *in their being created*).

Rem. 1. הָיָה לַעֲשׂוֹת (also לַעֲשׂוֹת with the omission of הָיָה) signifies,—
1) *he is about to do, intends or purposes to do, and he is intent upon, is eager to do* (comp. Eng. *he was to do something*), as in Gen. 15, 12 **וַיְהִי יְהוָה הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ לְבֹא** *and the sun was about to go down*. Hence, it serves (with a secondary idea of a lasting action) for a periphrasis of the *Impf.*
2 Ch. 26, 5 **וַיִּהְיֶה לְדַרְשׁ אֱלֹהִים** *and he was seeking God*; without הָיָה in Is. 38, 20 **לְהוֹשִׁיעַנִי יְהוָה** *the Eternal saveth me* 21, 1, Eccles. 3, 15, **אֲשֶׁר לְהֵיוֹת** *what is future*, Prov. 19, 8, comp. 16, 20.—2) *It is to do for it must be done* (comp. Eng. *I am to give*), Josh. 2, 5 **וַיְהִי הַשַּׁעַר לִסְגּוֹר** *and the gate was to shut for was to be shut* Is. 37, 26. More commonly without הָיָה 2 K. 4, 13 **מָה לַעֲשׂוֹת לָךְ** *what (is) to be done for thee?* 13, 19 **לְהַכּוֹת** (it was) *to smite* i. e. *thou shouldst have smitten*, Is. 5, 4; Ps. 32, 9, Job 30, 6, Hos. 9, 13, Amos 6, 10, 2 Ch. 19, 2. Also—3) *He is able to do* (comp. the Latin *non est solvendo*), Judg. 1, 19 **לֹא לְהוֹרִישׁ** *he could not drive out*.¹

2. Very frequently, almost regularly, these constructions (described in No. 2) of an *Infinitive* with a preposition, are in a further continuation of speech replaced by the finite verb (i. e. an independent clause). The mind must then supply a conjunction answering to the preposition before the Infinitive. Thus, a Perf. follows in Amos 1, 11 **עַל רִדְפוֹ וַשְׁתַּח** *because he pursued him and stifled his compassion*; verse 9; Gen. 27, 45; an *Impf.* with *Wāv consec.* Gen. 39, 18 **וַיִּהְיֶה פְּהַרְיָמִי קוֹלִי יֹאבֶקֶא**

¹ This sense is necessary from the context and the parallel passage Josh. 17, 12 **לֹא יִכְלִי לְהוֹרִישׁ**. Comp. Amos 6, 10 and the formula לִי אֵין *non licet mihi* and the Syr. ܠܝ ܐܝܢ *non est mihi, non possum*.

and it was when I raised my voice and cried, Is. 30, 12, 38, 9; most commonly an Impf. with only ׀ prefixed, as in Is. 5, 24, 10, 2, 13, 9, 14, 25, 30, 26. (Comp. the similar succession of the Participle and finite Verb, § 134, Rem. 2.)

§ 133.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE INFINITIVE CONSTR. WITH SUBJECT AND OBJECT.

1. The Infinitive may be construed with the case of its verb, and hence, in transitive verbs, it takes the *accusative of the object*; e. g. Num. 9, 15 הָקִים אֶת־הַמִּשְׁכָּן *to set up the Tabernacle*, 1 Sam. 19, 1 לְהַמִּית אֶת־דָּוִד *for to kill David*, Gen. 18, 25 לְהַמִּית צַדִּיק *for to kill the righteous*, 1 K. 12, 15, 15, 4, 2 K. 21, 8, Ez. 44, 30, Lev. 26, 15 לְבַלְתִּי עֲשׂוֹת אֶת־כָּל־מִצְוֹתַי *not to do all my commands*, Gen. 19, 29 בַּהֲפֹךְ אֶת־הָעָרִים *when he overthrew the cities*, 48, 11 רְאֵה פָנֶיךָ *to behold thy face*, Prov. 21, 15 עֲשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט *to do judgment*.¹ In like manner it takes the accusative of the pronouns, e. g. הָקִים לְמַעַן הָקִים אֹתָךְ *in order to establish thee* Deut. 29, 12, הַשִּׁיבֵנִי *to bring me back* Jer. 38, 26, לְהַרְגֵנִי *to slay me* Ex. 2, 14, לְבַקֶּשְׁנִי *to seek me* 1 Sam. 27, 1, 28, 9, 1 Ch. 12, 17, Gen. 25, 26 בָּלָדָת אֹתָם *when (the mother) bare them*, לְדַעַת אֹתִי *for to know me* Jer. 24, 7.—If the finite verb governs two accusatives, then they will be employed also with the Infinitive, as אֶחָד־הָיָה אֹתָהּ אֶת־כָּל־זֹאת *after God has shown thee all this* Gen. 41, 39.

This governing power of the word belongs also to such secondary forms of the infinitive (the so-called *nomina verbalia*) as otherwise passed completely as substantives, as דַּעַת אֶת־יְהוָה *knowledge of the Lord* (prop. *the knowing the Lord*) Is. 11, 9, לִירְאָה אֹתִי *for to fear me* Deut. 5, 26, Is. 30, 28, 56, 6.²

¹ In cases like the last, מִשְׁפָּט might be easily regarded as genitive of the object (§ 114, 2), which construction is common in Arabic; but since in other instances אֵת (sign of the definite accusative) is used, and since a form like הָקִים never occurs in such connection, which form would decidedly mark the *constr. state* and also the genitive relation (so also לָרִיץ עֲמִים Is. 3, 13, Ps. 50, 4, not לָרִיץ עַ), we must suppose that the Hebrew considered, at least as a general rule, the object of the Inf. to be in the accusative. Compare Nos. 2 and 3.

² For examples of an accusative of the object with the Inf. passive, see § 143, 1, a.

2. The *subject* of the action is commonly put immediately after the Infinitive, sometimes (where the Inf., according to form and signification, is regarded rather as a substantive) in the *genitive*, but mostly in the *nominative*; e. g. 2 Ch. 7, 3 שָׁבַת אֲחֵים גַּם יַחַד Ps. 133, 1 יָרַדְתָּ הָאֵשׁ the descending of the fire, Ps. 133, 1 שֹׁכֵן אֲחֵים גַּם יַחַד the dwelling of brethren together, Ex. 17, 1 לְשָׁתוֹת הָעָם there was no water for the people to drink (prop. for the drinking of the people). The *genitive* relation of the subject is quite plain after Infinitives of feminine-ending, as in Gen. 19, 16 בְּחַמְלָהּ by the Lord's pity on him, Is. 47, 9 בְּעֶצְמַת חֲבִירוֹתָיָהּ although thy enchantments are very numerous; and also when it is expressed by a suffix, as in בְּקִרְאִי when I call Ps. 4, 2, 4. On the contrary, the *genitive* is excluded, and the subject is to be considered rather in the *nominative*, in such cases as Ps. 46, 3 בְּהִמְיֹר אֶרֶץ (not בְּהִמְיֹר) when the earth moves, Deut. 25, 19 בְּהִנִּיחַ יְהוָה לָּךְ when the Lord gives to thee rest. By the lack of case endings,¹ the difference between the *genitive* and *nominative* construction, could not in very many cases, indeed, be made sensible (e. g. with infinitives like קָטַל etc.); even in cases like הִמְיֹר etc. the pretonic lengthening which belongs to the character of the form, may have maintained itself in spite of the following *genitive* (although with suffixes always הַמִּיתָנִי etc.); but when a prefixed ל with pretonic Qā'mēš stands before the infinitive, a *nominative* of the subject must in all cases be understood, e. g. 2 Sam. 19, 20 לְשׁוֹם הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶל־לִבּוֹ that the king should lay it to heart, also when the Inf. and the subject are separated, as in Judg. 9, 2 הֲמִשַּׁל בָּכֶם שִׁבְעִים אִישׁ אִם־מִשַּׁל בָּכֶם אִישׁ אֶחָד whether seventy men rule over you, or one man rules over you? Job 34, 22 לְהַסְתִּיר שָׁם פְּעֻלֵּי אָוֶן that the evil-doers hide themselves there, Ps. 76, 10. See further in No. 3.

3. When both *subject* and *object* are connected with the Infinitive, the rule is, that the subject should come imme-

¹ In Arabic, where the case endings leave no doubt in regard to the construction, one may say: *qatlu Zaidin* (gen. of subj.) *'Amran* (acc.), literally *the killing of Z. the 'A.* (i. e. *Z. killing the A.*), and also: *qatlu 'Amrin* (gen. of obj.) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.), and even: *el-qatlu* (with article) *Zaidun* (nom. of subj.) *'Amran*.

diately after the Inf., and then the object. When the latter is necessarily in the accusative, the subject is then put, as in No. 2, sometimes in the genitive, but chiefly in the nominative. The genitive (which predominates in Arabic) appears, e. g. in Deut. 1, 27 בְּשִׂנְאָת יְהוָה אֶתָּנִי *in the Lord's hating us*, Deut. 7, 8 מֵאַהֲבַת יְהוָה אֲהֶכֶם *because the Lord loves you*, 1 K. 10, 9, Is. 13, 19 בְּמַהֲפַכַת אֱלֹהִים אֶת־סֹדֶם *as God overthrew Sodom*, Is. 29, 13 יִרְאַתָּם אֶתִּי *their fearing me*, Gen. 39, 18 כִּי־רָמִיתִי קוֹלִי *as I lifted up my voice*. But the nominative seems to stand (v. No. 2 above) in cases like Is. 10, 15 כִּי־יִהְיֶה שֶׁבֶט אֶת־מִרְיָתוֹ *as if the rod could shake them that lift it up* (where we should have כִּי־יִהְיֶה, if שֶׁבֶט were in the genitive), and so probably also in cases like 1 K. 13, 4 כְּשָׁמַע הַמֶּלֶךְ אֶת־דְּבַר אִישׁ הָאֱלֹהִים *as the king heard the word of the man of God*, Is. 32, 7 בְּדַבֵּר לְהַסִּיר מִשְׁפַּט אֲבִיוֹן מִשְׁפַּט *when the needy speaks justice*, Job 33, 17 לְהִסִּיר אָדָם מֵעֲשֹׂה *that man should avoid the deed*, Gen. 13, 10, Josh. 14, 7. In Jer. 21, 1, etc. the subject stands separate from the Inf. and is then necessarily a nominative, v. No. 2 at the end.

Now and then the order of the words is different, the object being put immediately after the Inf., and the nominative of the subject coming next (as an after-thought), e. g. Is. 20, 1 בְּשִׁלַּח אֹתוֹ סַרְגֵּון *when Sargon sent him*, Ezr. 9, 8 לְהַאֲרִיר עֵינֵינוּ אֱלֹהֵינוּ *that our God enlighten our eyes*, Josh. 14, 11, Is. 5, 24, Ps. 56, 1.

§ 134.

USE OF THE PARTICIPLE.

1. The Participle has distinct forms for the *active* and the *passive*, yet not for the different *tenses*, but the Participle of all conjugations can apply to every tense, just as the context may require, as מֵת *dying* (Zech. 11, 9), *he who has died* (*mortuus*), *dead* (very often so used always when a substantive), *he who shall die*, *moriturus* (Gen. 20, 3); נָפַל *he who falls*, *has fallen*, 1 Sam. 5, 3, *will fall* Is. 30, 13; עֹשֶׂה *facturus* (Gen. 41, 25, Is. 5, 5), נֹלֵד *natus* and *nasciturus* (Ps. 22, 32 comp. נִבְרָא *creandus* 102, 19); yet it most frequently stands for our *Present*. Only the passive (קָטוּל) answers nearly always to a Lat. or Greek *Part. perf. pass.*, as כָּתוּב *scriptus*, γεγραμμένος

(but see § 50, Rem. 2).—The *passive* Participles stand sometimes also for the Latin Participle in *-ndus*, e. g. נִרְאָה (metuendus) terrible Ps. 76, 8, נְחָמֵד desirable Ps. 19, 11, מְהֻלָּל (laudandus) worthy to be praised Ps. 18, 4.

2. The Participle, when it stands in place of the finite verb as predicate of the sentence, denotes—

a) Most frequently our *present*,¹ especially in nominal sentences (v. § 144, a) which describe established facts and conditions, e. g. Ecc. 1, 4 הָיָה הַיּוֹם וְהָיָה הַיּוֹם *one generation goes, another comes and the earth stands* (עֲמֵדָה) *for ever* vs. 7 כָּל-הַנְּחָלִים הֹלְכִים *all the rivers go*; or of actually occurring present events Gen. 4, 10. If the subject is a *personal pronoun*, it is either written, in its separate form, in immediate connection with the Participle, as אֲנֹכִי רֹאֶה *I fear him* Gen. 32, 12, אֲנִינִי רֹאֶה *we are afraid* 1 Sam. 23, 3; or it is appended as a suffix to the word יֵשׁ (*is*), as Judg. 6, 36 יֵשׁ אִם יִשָּׁע מִיָּשָׁע *if thou savest*. In the same manner it is appended to אֵין in negative sentences; e. g. אִם אֵינֶךָ *if thou send not away* Gen. 43, 5.

b) Our *future* (conceived of as present, comp. § 126, 4), Is. 55 *I will tell you* אֲנִי עֹשֶׂה אֵת אֲשֶׁר אֶתְּוֹרָה *what I (at once) do, for I will do*, Gen. 15, 14, 19, 13, 41, 25, 1 K. 1, 14.

c) Also the *past*, especially in clauses representing actions or situations which have taken place simultaneously with other past actions Job 1, 16 הָיָה מְדַבֵּר וְהָיָה עוֹד *the one (was) still speaking, and another came*, vs. 17, Gen. 19, 1, 42, 35, Judg. 13, 9, 1 Sam. 17, 23, 1 K. 1, 22. But it is also used in independent nominal sentences; e. g. Deut. 4, 3 עֵינֶיכֶם רָאוּ *your eyes that have seen*.² Gen. 39, 22 (עֵשֶׂה), 23, Ex. 2, 6, 1 K. 1, 5.

With the verb הָיָה it serves to express our Imperfect,³ Job 1, 14 הָיָה הַבָּקָר חֹרֵשׁ *the oxen were ploughing* (again with the secondary idea of an action having *lasted* simultaneously in the past), Gen. 39, 22, Ex. 3, 1, Judg. 1, 7, 16, 21.

Rem. 1. In all the three cases alluded to above, *a, b, c*, הָיָה is employed before the Participle for awakening special attention; e. g. for our *present*, הִנֵּה הָיָה *behold! thou (art) with child* (Gen. 16, 11, 27, 42), for our *future* (Gen. 6, 17, 20, 3, Ex. 31, 11, Is. 3, 1, 7, 14, 17, 1), for the *past* (Gen. 37, 7, 41, 17).

¹ In Aramaic, it is more frequently used for the *Present* than in its proper signification as a Participle.

² For the use of the article here before the predicate, see § 110, 3, Rem.

³ In Syriac the participle with הָיָה (= הָיָה) serves regularly to express the *Impf.*, as the participle with the personal pronoun (lit. *a*) expresses the *present*.

2. By a change of construction, the Participle often passes over immediately to a finite verb; when the pronouns *that*, *who*, etc. (אֲשֶׁר) implied in the Participle, must be mentally supplied before the verb. So *Part. and Perf.* in Is. 14, 17 *that made* (שָׂם) *the world as a wilderness*, and (who) *destroyed* (הָרַס) *the cities thereof*. Also *Part. and Impf.* (*Present*), e. g. Is. 5, 8 בְּבֵית שָׂדֶה בְּשָׂדֶה בְּקִרְיָבוֹ woe to those who connect house with house (and who) join field to field, 1 Sam. 2, 8, Prov. 19, 26. Also with *Wāw consec.* e. g. Gen. 27, 33 הָצֵר צִיד וַיָּבֵא that hunted game and hath brought it, 35, 3, Ps. 18, 33. (The case is strictly analogous when the Inf. is replaced by the finite verb, § 132, Rem. 2).

3. The personal pronoun, which might be expected as the subject of a participial sentence, is often omitted (see above letter *a*) at least the pronoun of the 3d person (הוּא, הִיא, הֵוא); comp. Gen. 39, 22 (עֲשִׂים), Is. 26, 3; 29, 8; 40, 19; Ps. 22, 29; 55, 20; Job 12, 17, 19 ff.; 25, 2; the pronoun of the 2d person (אַתָּה) seems to be omitted in Ps. 7, 10 (with בָּחֵן) and Hab. 2, 10 (with חִיֵּיָא); the pronoun of the 1st person (אֲנִי) Hab. 1, 5 (with פָּעַל) and Zech. 9, 12 (with מְגִיד).

§ 135.

CONSTRUCTION OF THE PARTICIPLE.

1. When Participles are followed by the object of the action which they express, they are construed in two ways; either—*a*) as verbal-adjectives (in the absol. state) with the accusative or a preposition, just as the verbs to which they belong may require, e. g. 1 Sam. 18, 29 אֹיֵב אֶת־דָּוִד David's enemy (prop. one hating David), 1 K. 9, 23 הַיְדֹדִים בָּנִים they who rule the people, Ps. 5, 5 רָשָׁע הַנֶּפֶץ loving wickedness, Ez. 9, 2 לְבוּשׁ בָּדִים clothed with linen garments; or—*b*) as nouns (in const. state) followed by a genitive (§ 112, 2); e. g. Gen. 22, 12 יִרָא אֱלֹהִים one fearing (=a fearer of) God, Ps. 84, 5 יֹשְׁבֵי בֵיתָה inmates of thy house, Ez. 9, 11 לְבוּשׁ הַבָּדִים the one clothed with linen garments, 2 Sam. 13, 31 קָרְעֵי בְגָדִים (lacerati vestibus) those who have rent garments; and with poetic colouring, as in יֹרְדֵי בֹר those who have descended to the pit Is. 38, 18, שֹׁכְבֵי קֶבֶר those who lie in the grave Ps. 88, 6 נְשֹׁוֹר־פָּשַׁע (levatus culpâ) he whose transgression is forgiven Ps. 32, 1; rarely also like אֲתִי מְשָׁרְתִי who serve me Jer. 33, 22 (=מְשָׁרְתִי in preceding verse).

This latter construction with the genitive is properly confined to participles of transitive verbs (§ 138). The Participle of בָּא *to enter in*, is also construed thus, as this verb stands with the accusative (comp. *ingredi portam*); e. g. Gen. 23, 10 בָּאֵי שָׂרֵי those who enter in at the gate. But there are also examples of the Participle taking a genitive (a suff. pron.), even when the verb to which it belongs is construed only with a preposition; e. g. הֹקֵמֵי הָמָר, הָאֵלֵּי those who rise up against him,—against me, for הָאֵלֵּי הָרָעִים לִי Ps. 18, 40, 49, Deut. 33, 11 שָׂרֵי פָשַׁע those who turn from wickedness Is. 59, 20; Micah 2, 8.

2. The distinction explained in No. 1, of verbal and nominal government, holds also in regard to the connection of participles with *suffixes*. After the first method (with accus.) we have עֹשֵׂי he who made me, even with the article הַעֹשֵׂי he who made him, Job 14, 19; after the second (with genit.) עֹשֵׂי my maker, כָּל-מֹצְאִי every one who finds me Gen. 4, 14.

§ 136.

EXPRESSION OF THE OPTATIVE.

Besides the expression of the Optative by the *Impf.* (especially in the form of Jussive or Cohortative, with the particle אָא, § 127, 3, b) it may also be periphrased in the following ways, viz.—

1. By questions expressive of wish, e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 4 מִי יִשְׁמְעֵנִי שֹׁפֵט who will make me judge? i. e. *would that I were made judge!* Judg. 9, 29 הֲיָה בְיָדִי יִתֵּן אֶת־הָעָם הַזֶּה בְּיָדִי would that this people were placed in my hand! Ps. 55, 7, Job 29, 2. In the phrase מִי יִתֵּן the proper force of the verb (*to give*) is often excluded, and nothing more is expressed than *would that!* Lat. *utinam!* In this signification of a particle expressing wish מִי יִתֵּן is construed—*a*) by an accusative, as Deut. 28, 67 מִי יִתֵּן לָרֶב מִיָּרֵחַ would it were evening! prop. *who will give evening?* Ps. 14, 7, Job 11, 5, 31, 35; with suffix Is. 27, 4 etc.—*b*) by an Infinitive, as Ex. 16, 3 מִיִּיתָנוּ מוֹתָנוּ would that we had died!—*c*) by a finite verb (with or without וְ), Deut. 5, 26 מִיִּיתָנוּ וְהָיָה לָבָבָם זֶה לָהֶם would that they had this heart! Perf. without וְ Job 23, 3; Impf. with וְ Job 19, 23; without וְ 6, 8, 13, 5, 14, 13.—With a still greater weakening of its original mean-

ing מִי־יָתֵן stands directly in the sense of a negation e. g. Job 14, 4 *who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?*

2. By the particles אִם, לֹא *if! (si, O si!), would! (utinam)*, especially by the latter. The *Impf.* follows, Ps. 81, 9, 139, 19 (after אִם); Gen. 17, 18 (after לֹא); the *Part.* Ps. 81, 14 (after לֹא); the *Imp.* Gen. 23, 13 only by power of an *anacoluthon* (see § 130, 1). When לֹא is followed by the *Perf.*, it expresses a wish that something had happened (§ 126, 5, *b*), as in Num. 14, 2 לֹא־מָתוּ *would that we had died*, 20, 3 לֹא־נָפְקוּ *would we had expired!* Comp. however Is. 48, 18, 63, 19.

§ 137.

PERSONS OF THE VERB.

1. In the *personal affixes* of the verb frequently an *enallage* (exchange) of gender takes place, the masc. (as the gender lying nearest and more general) being placed in reference to feminines, e. g. יָרַעְתָּם Ez. 23, 49, עָשִׂיתָם Ruth 1, 8, וַתַּכִּירַת and *thou (fem.) hast made* (a league) Is. 57, 8, Judg. 4, 20 (עָמַד for עָמְדִי); comp. Jer. 3, 5, Joel 2, 22, Am. 4, 1, Cant. 2, 7. (See the anomalous uses of the personal pronoun, § 121, Rem. 1.)

2. The third person is often employed impersonally, most commonly in the *masc.*, e. g. וַיְהִי and *it happened*; צָר לוֹ and וַיָּצַר לוֹ (lit. *it was strait to him*) *he was in trouble* 1 Sam. 13, 6, Gen. 32, 8; חָם לָהֶם *it is warm to them*, i. e. *they are warm*, Ec. 4, 11; but also in the *fem.*, e. g. 1 Sam. 30, 6 וַתָּצַר לְדָוִד and *David was in trouble*, Ps. 50, 3, Jer. 10, 7, 19, 5.

The Arabic and Ethiopic commonly use here the *masc.* and the Syriac the *fem.* form.

3. The indeterminate third person (where the Germans use *man*, the French *on*, and we say *they, one*) is expressed,—*a*) by the 3d pers. singular masc., e. g. קָרָא *they (prop. he) called* Gen. 11, 9, 16, 14;—*b*) often by the 3d pers. plural, as Gen. 41, 14 וַיְבִיאוּהוּ and *they brought him in haste*, for *he was brought*, 1 K. 1, 2;—*c*) by the 2d pers. singular masc., e. g. Is. 7, 25 שָׁמָּה לֹא־תָבוֹא (prop. *thou shalt not go*) *there*

shall no one go thither, comp. **עַד בֹּאֵה** or **בֹּאֵה** *until one comes* (prop. *until thy coming*);—*d*) by the passive voice, as Gen. 4, 26 **אָז הִתְחַל לִקְרֹא** *then they began* (prop. *it was begun*) to invoke.¹

Rem. 1. Instead of the simple 3d pers. sing. (letter *a*), **הָאִישׁ** (as we say *men* for *they*) occurs, 1 Sam. 9, 9 **אָמַר הָאִישׁ כֹּה אָמַר בְּיִשְׂרָאֵל כֹּה** *formerly they said thus in Israel*. Sometimes *one* (or rather *someone*) is also expressed by the participle of the same verb; e. g. Is. 16, 10 **לֹא-יִדְרֹךְ הַיִּדְרֹךְ** *the treader shall not tread*, for *one shall not tread*, 28, 4, comp. v. 24, Ez. 33, 4, Amos 9, 1, Num. 6, 9, Deut. 22, 8. So also not uncommonly in Arabic.

2. When the pronoun is to be expressed with emphasis, (*I* spoke) it is written separately *before* the corresponding verbal form; e. g. **אָתָּה** **תָּתַתְּ** *thou, thou hast given* Judg. 15, 18, 1 K. 21, 7, Ps. 2, 6, 139, 2; also *after* the verbal form, Judg. 15, 12; but this occurs in the later writers without any special emphasis, as **הִפְרֹתִי אָנִי** Eccl. 1, 16 (beginning), 2, 11, 12, 13, 15, 20, 8, 15. Comp. *Delitzsch*, Cant. and Eccl.

3. In the poets and prophets, there is often, in the same sentence, the sudden transition from one person to another, Is. 1, 29 **כִּי יִבְשׁוּ מַעְיָלִים** **אֲשֶׁר הִמְדִּיהֶם** *for they shall be ashamed of the groves in which ye delight*, where both the third and second persons are employed with reference to the same subject, Mal. 2, 15, Deut. 32, 15, 17.—In Job 13, 28 the third person is probably employed **δεδιχάτω** for the *first*; compare also 6, 21 (according to the reading **לִי**).

§ 138.

VERBS WITH THE ACCUSATIVE.

All *transitive* verbs in general govern the *accusative* (§ 118). On this rule we remark—

1. There are many verbs which are construed both *without* an object (i. e. absolutely), and *with* one (in this latter case the verb in German and English often takes the prefix *be*); e. g. **בָּכָה** *to weep* and *to be-weep*; **יָשַׁב** and **שָׁכַן** *to dwell*, and *to dwell in, inhabit*; **יָצָא** *to go forth*, and also *depart*, as in *to depart this life*, like the Lat. *egredi* in *egredi urbem* (Gen. 44, 4).

¹ Sometimes, on the contrary, the impersonal active must be understood as strictly the passive, Job 7, 3 *nights of pain have they appointed me*, for *are appointed me* (sc. by God), 4, 19, Prov. 2, 22. So in Aramaic very frequently (Dan. 2, 30, 3, 4, 5, 3), and in Syriac.

Here notice specially:—

Rem. 1. Several verbs of this kind often complete the objective idea by a substantive of the same stem, as פָּתַח פֶּתַח Ps. 14, 5, רָעַץ עֵצָה 1 K. 1, 12, חָטָא חֲטָאָה Lam. 1, 8, like βουλεῦσιν βουλάς Il. x. 147; most frequently with a farther qualification of the idea (as also in Greek), e. g. Gen. 27, 34 וַיִּצְעַק צָעָקָה גְּדֹלָה וַיִּמְרָה he cried a loud and bitter cry, vs. 33, Ez. 32, 31, 2 Sam. 13, 15, 36, 2 K. 13, 14, (acc. w. אֶת־) Jon. 4, 6 וַיִּשְׁמַח שְׂמִיחָה גְּדֹלָה, Zech. 1, 14, 1 Ch. 29, 9. Comp. νοσεῖν νόσον κακήν, ἐχάρησαν χαράν μεγάλην (Matt. 2, 10), *magnam pugnare pugnam, tutiorem vitam vivere, etc.*

2. Verbs which signify *to flow, to stream*, etc. take in the poets an accusative of that with which something flows or overflows Lam. 3, 48 פָּלְגֵי-מַיִם חֲדָר עֵינַי *my eye flows down streams of water*, Joel 4, 18 הַתְּהִלִּים יִשְׁרָר *the hills flow milk*. So נוֹזַל *to run, to flow* Jer. 9, 17; נָטַף *to distil* Joel 4, 18; and שָׁטַף *to gush forth, to flow abundantly* (hence, *to bear along in a torrent*) Is. 10, 22. Similar, but more bold, is Prov. 24, 31 יָהֵא הָאָדָם וַיִּהְיֶה עָלָה כָּלֹו קַמְשֹׁנִים *and behold it (the field) has all gone up in thorns*, Is. 5, 6, 34, 13. Compare in Greek, πορεύειν ὕδωρ; δάκρυα σταῆζεν. The above verbs belong to the *verba abundandi* of which more below, No. 3, b.

3. With verbs like *to speak, to cry, to do, to save* etc. the mode of action is often (especially in poetical speech) more closely defined by naming the instrument or member by means of which the act is performed (*accus. instrumenti*). This is best illustrated when this accus. has an adjective, as in צָעַק כִּיל גְּדוֹל *to cry a loud voice* (comp. Rem. 1), *for to cry with a loud voice* Ez. 11, 13, 2 Sam. 15, 23; or when it has a noun in the genitive (as periphrasis of the adjective; comp. § 106, 1), as in Ps. 12, 3 הֵן יִשְׁפֹּר שְׂפִיתָם חֲלָקִית *with smooth lip; with a lying tongue* לִשְׁוֹן שִׁקָּר Ps. 109, 2, Prov. 10, 4 עֹמֶת רַמְיָהּ *with slack hand* as it were *to work a slack hand* analogous to the German: *eine schöne Stimme singen*, to sing a fine voice; *Schlittschuhe laufen*, to run skates, i. e. to skate; more loose is the connection of the accusative with the verb in cases like Ps. 3, 5 אָמַרָא קוֹלִי *with my (whole) voice I cry*, (i. e. aloud) 27, 7; 142, 2; Is. 10, 30; Ps. 66, 17 פִּי קָרָאֲרִי *with my (open) mouth I cry*: so, *they speak with their mouth* Ps. 17, 10, *help with thy sword* הַרְבֵּה *with thy hand* הֲדָה Ps. 17, 13, 14, 44, 3 *thou with thy hand* יָדָה אָתָּה *hast driven out the nations*, 60, 7 *save with thy right hand* הוֹשִׁיעָה וּמִינָה 108, 7. (On the other hand in 1 Sam. 25, 26, 33, we have יָדָה and יָרִי as subject-nominative to the Inf. הוֹשִׁיעַ, see § 133, 2). In the same cases בִּי *instrumenti* is also used, e. g. *I praise with my mouth* בִּפִּי Ps. 89, 2, 109, 30; *I supplicate him with my mouth* Job 19, 16.¹

¹ The Hebrews used also, on the other hand, the בִּי *instrumenti* where we have the accusative. They used indifferently, as we also may, the constructions *to shake the head* (Ps. 22, 8), and *to shake with the head* (Job 16, 4, Jer.

2. Many verbs govern the accusative by power of their original meaning or in consequence of a peculiar turn given to the latter, when the corresponding verbs in German are construed with other cases or also with the preposition; e. g. **עָנָה** to *reply to* (like ἀμείβουμαι τινα, prop. to answer one); **רִיב** causam alicujus agere (prop. to defend before the court); **בָּשַׂר** to bring good news to one, to cheer him; **נָאָה** to commit adultery with one (comp. adulteras matronam); **עָרַב** to become surety for one (to bail him).

Rem. 1. Also in transitive verbs, and even the passive and reflexive conjugations *Niph.*, *Hoph.*, *Hithp.*, may by a peculiar turn of their original meaning, take the accusative; **הִפִּיעַ** to be favourable, mostly with **בְּ**, but also with the acc. (as if to wish, to will something or somebody) Is. 1, 11, **נָבֵא** to prophesy Jer. 25, 13, **נָסַב** to surround (prop. to place themselves around) Judg. 19, 22, **הִתְנַבֵּל** to plot against Gen. 37, 18, **הִתְבַּיֵּן** to consider Job 37, 14.

2. In very common forms of expression the accusative after such verbs may be omitted without injury to the sense (in elliptical usage), as **כָּרַת** for **כָּרַת בְּרִית** to make a covenant 1 Sam. 20, 16, **שָׁלַח** to stretch forth (i. e. יָד the hand) 2 Sam. 6, 6, Ps. 18, 17. Comp. the German nach etwas langen, to reach after something.

3. Whole classes of verbs which govern the accusative are,

- a) those which signify to clothe and unclothe, as **לָבַשׁ** to put on a garment, **פָּשַׁט** to put off a garment, **עָדָה** to put on as an ornament; also poet. as in **לָבַשׁוּ כָרוֹם הַצֹּאֵן** the pastures are clothed with flocks Ps. 65, 14 (comp. also 14, b), 104, 2, 109, 29;
- b) those which signify fullness or want, as **מָלָא** to be full, **שָׁרַץ** to swarm (Gen. 1, 20, 21), **שָׂבַע** to be satiated, **פָּרַץ** to overflow (Prov. 3, 10, v. above No. 1, Rem. 2), **חָסַר** to want, **שָׁכַל** to lose (children); e. g. **וַתִּמָּלֵא הָאָרֶץ אֹתָם** and the land was filled with them Ex. 1, 7, **וַיִּחְסְרוּן הַמִּשִּׁים הַחֲדָקִים** **חֲמִשָּׁה** lit. perhaps the fifty righteous will want five (i. e.

16, 16); to gnash the teeth (Ps. 35, 16), and to gnash with the teeth (Job 16, 9), where head and teeth may be regarded as the object of the verb and as the instrument. But there is a deviation from our mode of expression in these phrases, viz. **פָּתַח בִּפְיוֹ** to open the mouth Ps. 22, 8, Job 16, 10 (prop. to make an opening with the mouth), **פָּרַשׁ בְּיָדָיו** to spread out the hands Lam. 1, 17 (prop. to make a spreading with the hands), **וַיִּרָם בְּמַטֵּהוּ** he lifted the staff Ex. 7, 20, comp. **נָתַן בְּקוֹל** and **נָתַן קוֹל**.

perhaps there will be lacking five of the fifty) Gen. 18, 28, אֶשְׁבֵּל גַּם שְׁנֵיכֶם (*why*) should I lose even both of you? Gen. 27, 45;

- c) several verbs of *dwelling*, e. g. יָשַׁב, גָּר, שָׁכַן, not merely in a place (Judg. 5, 17, Is. 32, 16, Gen. 4, 20), but also among a people, with any one (Ps. 5, 5, 120, 5);
- d) those which express *going* or *coming* to a place (*petere locum*); hence בָּוא with the accus. of the person, *to come over some one, attack him*. Comp. with this the accus. loci, § 118, 1.

§ 139.

VERBS WITH TWO ACCUSATIVES.

Two accusatives are governed by—

1. The causative conjugations (*Pi'ē'l* and *Hiph'il*) of al verbs which in Qāl govern one accusative; e. g. מִלֵּאתִיו רוּחַ חָכְמָה *I have filled him with the spirit of wisdom* Ex. 28, 3, וַיַּלְבֵּשׁ אֹתוֹ בְּגָדֵי שֵׁשׁ *he clothed him in (caused him to put on) garments of fine linen (byssus)* Gen. 41, 42. And so also אָזַר *to gird one with* Ps. 18, 33, בָּרַךְ *to bless one with* Deut. 15, 14, הָסֵר *to cause one to lack* and עָטַר *to crown one with* Ps. 8, 6.

2. A numerous class of verbs which have even in Qāl a doubly-causative signification; such as, *to cover* or *clothe one with anything* (Ps. 5, 13, Ez. 13, 10; hence also *to sow, to plant* Is. 5, 2, 17, 10, 30, 23, Judg. 9, 45; *to anoint* Ps. 45, 8); *to fill, to bestow, to deprive* (Ez. 8, 17, Gen. 27, 37, Prov. 22, 23); *to do one an injury* (1 Sam. 24, 18); *to make one something* (Gen. 17, 5); e. g. וַעֲשִׂיתָ אֹתוֹ שֶׁמֶן מְשַׁח קֹדֶשׁ *and make thou it a holy anointing oil*¹ Ex. 30, 25.

As in the last example, so also elsewhere, the material out of which something is made frequently stands in the accusative (comp. the German *mache daraus*, *make out of it* holy anointing oil), e. g. 1 K. 18, 32 וַיְבִנֵה אֶת־הָאֲבָנִים מִזֶּבֶחַ *and he built of the stones an altar, prop. built the stones (into)*

¹ On the passives of these verbs. see § 143, 1.

an altar, Lev. 24, 5. Also a bolder construction in which the material is placed last, as Ex. 38, 3 כָּל-כֵּלָיו עָשָׂה נְחֹשֶׁת *all its vessels he made (of) copper* Gen. 2, 7 (in themselves these words could also signify all its vessels he turned into copper).

There is another use of the double accusative containing a closer definition of the first, by naming epexegetically the member or part of the object which is especially affected by the action, e. g. Ps. 3, 8 *thou hast smitten all mine enemies (upon) the cheek-bone* (לְחֵי); comp. Deut. 33, 11, 2 Sam. 3, 27: לֹא נִכְנֶה נַפְשׁוֹ *Let us not kill him*, prop. *Let us not smite him (as to his) life*, Gen. 37, 21; and so too with שָׁוֶה Gen. 3, 15. Comp. the analogous ways of using the accusative § 118, 3.

§ 140.

VERBS WITH PREPOSITIONS.

Those modifications of the verbal idea, which other languages indicate by composition of the verbal stem with prepositions, are expressed in the Hebrew either,—a) by appropriate verbal stems, as בּוֹא *to go-in*, יֵצֵא *to go-out*, שׁוּב *to re-turn*; or—b) by prepositions written after the verb, as in English, e. g. קָרָא *to call*, with לְ *to call to*, with בְּ *to call upon*, with אַחֲרַי *to call after*; נָפַל *to fall*, with עַל *to fall upon* and also *to fall off to*, with לְפָנַי *to fall down before*; הִלֵּךְ *to go*, with אַחֲרַי *to go after, to follow*.

It is the province of the Lexicon to show the use of the several prepositions with each particular verb. Whole classes of words, as construed with this or that particle will be found in § 154, 3.

§ 141.

CONSTRUCTIO PRÆGNANS.

The so-called *constructio prægnaus* occurs in Hebrew particularly when a verb, which in itself does not express motion towards something is nevertheless construed with prepositions (or the accus.) of direction. In such a case for the clearness of sense another verb of motion must be mentally supplied, to form the connection with the preposition; e. g. אֵל תִּמְנֶה *to turn in astonishment to one* Gen. 42, 33, comp. 42, 28

אֶל דָּרַשׁ *to turn questioning towards somebody*. Is. 11, 10, comp. 41, 1 וַיִּמְלֵא לְלֶכֶת אַחֲרַי for וַיִּמְלֵא אַחֲרַי *he filled up to follow me* (i. e. *he obeyed me fully*), Num. 14, 24, Ps. 22, 22 מִקְרָנֵי רָמִים מְנִיחֵנִי *thou hearest (and savest) me from the horns of the buffaloes*, Is. 14, 17 אֲסִירָיו לֹא פָתַח בֵּיתָהּ *his prisoners he did not release (and send) home-wards*, Ps. 89, 40.

§ 142.

CONSTRUCTION OF TWO VERBS TO EXPRESS ONE IDEA.

When one verb which expresses a so-called verbal idea (one that requires an object) is more closely defined by a second verb, the latter is construed as follows, viz.—

1. It stands in the *Inf.*, either the *absol.* (§ 131, 1) or (more commonly) the *constr.*, e. g. Deut. 2, 25, 31 אָחַל תָּתַן *I begin to give*; verse 31. Gen. 37, 5 וַיֹּסֶפֶי עוֹד שָׂנֵא אֹתוֹ *and they added still to hate him (hated him still more)*, Ex. 18, 23 וְיָכַלְתָּ עִמּוֹד *and thou canst endure*, Is. 1, 14 נָלַאֲתִי נָשָׂא *I am weary to bear*.

2. But still more frequently it stands in the *Inf.* preceded by לְ, as Deut. 3, 24 הֵחֵלֹתָ לְהַרְאוֹת *thou hast begun to show*, Gen. 11, 8 וַיַּחֲדְלוּ לְבִנוֹת *and they ceased to build*, 27, 20 מְהֵרָה לְמַצָּא *thou hast hastened to find*, i. e. *thou hast quickly found*, etc.

These two are the usual constructions in prose after verbs signifying *to begin* (הֵחֵל, הוֹאִיל), *to continue* (הוֹסִיק), *to hasten* (מָהֵר), *to cease* (הִדָּל), *to finish* (הִמָּם); so also *to make good* (הִיטִיב), *to make much or many* (הִרְבָּה), and the like modality of action (expressed, for the most part, by Hiph'il); so also with *to be willing* (רָצָה), *to refuse* (מָאֵן), *to seek*, *to strive for* (בָּקַשׁ), *to be able* (יָכַל), *ידע*, the latter signifying *to know how to do*, *to learn* (לָמַד), *to permit* (נָתַן).¹ It is to be remarked, however, that in poetry the לְ is often omitted where it is used in prose, as רָצָה *to be willing* with the לְ Ex. 10, 27, with the mere *Inf.* Job. 30, 9, Is. 28, 12, 30, 9.²

¹ *To permit one to do a thing*, is expressed by נָתַן פ' לַעֲשׂוֹת, and נָתַן פ' עֲשׂוֹת, prop. *to give or grant one to do a thing*; Gen. 20, 6 לֹא נִתְּחַדָּה לְנִגְעַי *I have not permitted thee to touch*.

² So after nouns which include a verbal idea, e. g. אֵין אֵין לְבוֹא *it is not permitted to enter in* Est. 4, 2, אֵין עֲרָה (poet.) *there is nothing to be compared* Ps. 40, 6; עָתִיד *ready, prepared*, commonly with לְ, without in Job 3, 8.

3. Both verbs may be in the finite form; and they are then construed—

a) With ו before the second verb, which then agrees with the first in tense (however see Rem.), gender and number (comp. our expression, *he was pleased and went*, for *he was pleased to go*); Judg. 19, 6 הוּא־לֵיָּא וְלֵין *be pleased now and lodge*, Gen. 26, 18 וַיֵּשֶׁב וַיַּחְפֹּר *and he returned (repeated) and digged* (i. e. *he digged again*), 2 K. 1, 11, 13, Is. 6, 13, 25, 1 *he added and took a wife* (i. e. *he took again*); Cant. 2, 3.

The construction can also begin with the *Impf.* and proceed in the *Perf.* (according to § 126, 6), as in Est. 6, 8, Deut. 31, 12 *that they may learn (Impf.) and fear (Perf.)* for *to fear*, Hos. 2, 11, Dan. 9, 25; or on the contrary, it may begin in the *Perf.* and proceed in the *Impf.* Josh. 7, 7, Job 23, 3, Eccl. 4, 1, 7.

b) Ἀσυνδέτως, i. e. without the ו and so that the union of the two verbs is more an exterior one; they are of the same tense, gender, and number (as under letter a); Deut. 2, 24 רָשׁ הָחֵל *begin and take possession*, Hos. 1, 6 לֹא אוֹסִיף אֲרֵהֶם *I will not go on and have pity* (i. e. *I will no longer pity*), 1 Sam. 2, 3 אַל תִּרְבוּ תְּדַבְּרוּ *do not multiply and speak* (=speak not much), Lam. 4, 14 בָּלֹא יִקְלְוּ יָגֵעוּ *so that they could not touch*, Job 19, 3, Hos. 5, 11, 9, 9.

This last construction (being more lively and bolder) is rather the poetical one, which under letter a, is more usual in prose. Comp. e. g. הוֹסִיף with ו following in Gen. 25, 1, 38, 5; but without ו in Hos. 1, 6, Is. 52, 1. Yet also in prose occur examples of asyndeton as in Neh. 3, 20, Deut. 1, 5, Josh. 3, 16, 1 Ch. 13, 2.

c) Likewise ἀσυνδέτως, but with the second verb in a close subordinate connection in the *Imperfect*, depending on the conjunction *that* implied; Job 32, 22 לֹא יִדְעָתִי אֲכַנֶּה *I know not to flatter*, 1 Sam. 20, 19 וְשָׁלַשְׁתָּ תֵּרֵד *and cause on the third day (that) thou come down* (i. e. *on the third day come down*), Is. 42, 21 חָפֵץ יִגְדִּיל *he desired to make great*, Job 24, 14 יָקוּם רֹצֵחַ יִקְטֹל *the murderer arises to kill*.

Rem. In Arabic and Syriac, this construction is very common;¹ in Hebrew rarer, but at least necessary in those cases where the second

¹ The Arab says *volebat dilaceraret* for *he would rend*; and so the Syrian, *nolebat tolleret* (Luke 18, 13), *he would not lift up*, but oftener with the conjunction *that* inserted. The Latin also may omit the conjunction in this

verb was to be distinguished from the first in person or number; Is. 47, 1 *לֹא תוֹסִיפִי רִקְרְאֵי-לָהּ* *thou shalt not add (that) they shall call thee* (i. e. *thou shalt not continue to be called*), Num. 22, 6 *אִוְלִי אֶחָבֵל נִבְהֵבֹוּ יִאֲהַרְשֵׁנוּ* *perhaps I may be able (that) we shall smite him, and I shall drive him out.*

4. The completion of the verbal idea may finally (as frequently in Syriac) consist also of a *Participle*, Is. 33, 1 *כִּהְתִּימָהּ שׁוֹרֵד*¹ *when thou shalt finish as a destroyer*, i. e. *to be a destroyer*=*to destroy* 1 Sam. 16, 16 (after *Part.*).

Instead of the participle stands the *verbal adjective*, 1 Sam. 3, 2 *הָיָה עֵינָיו כְּהָיָה* *began (to grow) dim*. On the other hand Gen. 9, 20 *אִישׁ הָאָדָמָה* is in apposition to *נֹחַ* and the passage belongs therefore to No. 3, letter *a* (=Noah, the husbandman began to plant, etc.).

Rem. 1. In many of the above examples, the first verb only serves, in effect, to qualify in some manner the second, and hence we translate it by an *adverb*. Comp. further Gen. 31, 27 *לָמָּה נֶחְפָּאתָ לְבָרְחָהּ* *wherefore hast thou secretly fled?* 2 K. 2, 10 *הִקְשִׁיתָ לְשֹׂאֵל* *thou hast made hard to ask* i. e. *hast asked a hard thing*. The verb which qualifies the other may also occupy the second place, but never without special cause; e. g. Is. 53, 11 *הִרְאָה וְשָׂבַע* *he shall see and be satisfied* (with the sight) because the satisfaction follows the enjoyment and 66, 11 *תִּשָּׂא וְשָׂבַע* *that ye may suck and be satisfied* (by that act); Jer. 4, 5 *קְרֹאוּ בְּמֵלֵא* *call ye (and that) with full voice*=*call aloud*.

2. Of another construction are the so-called *verba cordis* (verbs indicating some mental action) which take after them (in place of an accusative) an objective clause introduced by *כִּי* or *אֲשֶׁר* *that*. Here belong especially expressions like *to see* (Gen. 1, 4, 10), *to know* (Gen. 22, 12), *to believe*, *to remember*, *to forget*, *to say*, *to think*, etc. On the omission of the conjunction before such clauses see § 155, 4, *c*.

§ 143.

CONSTRUCTION OF PASSIVE VERBS.

1. When a causative conjugation (*Pī'ē'l*, *Hiph'il*) has two accusatives (§ 139, 1), its passive (*Pu'ā'l*, *Hōph'āl*) retains only one of them (the second or more remote object), taking the other (the nearest object) as the subject in the nominative.

case, *Quid vis faciam?* Ter.; *Volo hoc oratori contingat*, Cic. Brut. 84. So in German, *Ich wollte, es wäre*; *Ich dachte, es ginge* [and in English *I would it were*, *I thought it went*].

¹ For *כִּהְתִּימָהּ* (§ 20, Rem.) *Inf. Hiph.* of *הִתִּימַם*.

This subject nominative may then consist either in an independent noun or pronoun, or (as pronominal subject) be included in the verbal form, e. g. Ps. 80; 11 **כְּסִי הָרִים צִלָּהּ** *the mountains are covered with its (the vine's) shade*, Ex. 25, 40 **אֲשֶׁר־אַתָּה מֵרָאָה** *which was shown thee (prop. which thou wast caused to see)*; Job 7, 3.

Several striking phenomena in the construction of the passive are readily explained, if we regard it as an impersonal active (*dicitur*=*one says, they say*), just as; on the contrary, the impersonal active often supplies the place of the passive (see § 137, Note). This transposition is not merely an expedient, but has its foundation in the spirit of the Semitic syntax. At least according to the Arab, grammarians a purely impersonal passive is inconceivable; in places where such one seems to stand, a hidden agent must be supposed. We may thus explain those cases, in which.—

a) The passive takes the logical subject in the accusative; Gen. 27, 42 יִפָּד לְרִבְקָה אֶת־דִּבְרֵי עֵשָׂו and they made known to Rebecca the words of Esau, 4, 18 וַיֵּלֶד לְחֵנֹךְ אֶת־עִירָד and it was born to Enoch Irad, 17, 5 לֹא יִקְרָא עֵד אֶת־שֵׁם אַבְרָם they shall no more call thy name Abram; Ex. 10, 8 וַיּוֹשֶׁב אֶת־מֹשֶׁה אֶל־פָּרָעֹה and they brought Moses back to Pharaoh; Lev. 16, 27, Num. 32, 5, Josh. 7, 15, 2 K. 18, 30, Jer. 50, 20. So also with the *Inf.* of the passives, as in Gen. 21, 5 אֶת־בְּהֻלָּד לֹהֵ אֶת־יִצְחָק at (the time of) the being born (ἐν τῷ γενεῖν) to him Isaac, 40, 20 יוֹם הֵלֵךְ הַיּוֹם the day when Pharaoh was born.

b) It does not agree (as often happens) in *gender* and *number* with the noun, even when preceded by it (comp. § 147), because the noun is, in this case, regarded not as the subject but as the object of the verb passive, comp., besides the above examples: Is. 21, 2 תָּזוּת הָיְשָׁה הַגִּדְלִי *visionem diram nunciarunt mihi* Dan. 9, 24 *septuaginta septimanas destinaverunt* (נִתְּנָה), 1 K. 2, 21, Is. 14, 3, Gen. 35, 26, Hos. 10, 6, Job 22. 9 (זָרְעוֹת), 30, 15.

2. The efficient cause (the personal originator), after a passive verb, most frequently takes לְ, and is therefore in the dative (as in Greek), as בָּרוּךְ לַאֵל *blessed of God* (τῷ θεῷ) Gen. 14, 19, Prov. 14, 20. More rare, but equally certain, is the same use of מִן (prop. *from*, by which *origin, source*, in general, is often denoted) Gen. 9, 11, Ps. 37, 23, Job 24, 1, 28, 4; מִפְּנֵי *because of* Gen. 6, 13; בְּ *by* Gen. 9, 6, Num. 36, 2, Hosea 14, 4; sometimes there is no preposition, but the *accusati. instrumenti* is used (comp. § 138, 1, Rem. 3), as Is. 1, 20, חֶרֶב תֹּאכְלוּ *by the sword shall ye be devoured*, comp. Ps. 17, 13.

Rem. Many intransitive verbs are sometimes used as passive, in consequence of a peculiar application of their meaning; e. g. יָרַד *to go down* (spoken of a forest), *to be felled* Is. 32, 49; עָלָה *to go up for to be brought up* (on the altar) Lev. 2, 12; *to be entered* (in an account) 1 Ch. 27, 24; אָצַף *to be brought out from* Deut. 14, 22.

CHAPTER IV.

CONNECTION OF THE SUBJECT WITH THE PREDICATE.

§ 144a.

DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE NOMINAL AND VERBAL SENTENCE.

1. Every sentence beginning with an independent subject (noun or separate pronoun) is called a *nominal sentence*. It is *a) simple* when the *predicate* consists also of a *noun* (substantive, adjective or participle); *b) compound* when the predicate is a finite verb. For, as every finite verb (v. below No. 2) bears already its subject itself and forms therefore for itself an independent sentence, therefore a phrase in which a *finite verb*, as predicate, follows the *subject noun*, is a combination of a *subject* with an *independent verbal sentence* (v. below).

Rem. Very frequently, especially in Hebrew, the *predicate* stands first in a *simple nominal phrase*; almost regularly so, when the *predicate* is an adjective, e. g. צָדִיק יְהוָה *Jehovah is just*. If the predicate is a substantive, it stands first, at least when a special stress lies on it, e. g. Job 5, 24, 6, 12 (comp. § 145, 1, b).—On the use of *independent nominal sentences* as predicates in *compound nominal sentences* v. § 145, 2.

2. Every sentence, commencing with a *finite verb*, is called a *verbal sentence*. It contains in all cases its subject already in itself, under the form of a *personal pronoun* which is necessarily connected with the verbal form (as *tu* in *dicis*, *thou sayest*). This is not only true of those cases, where the subject has already been mentioned and thus defined more

closely, but also in cases where the subject has been added afterwards, so to speak, as an *epexegetis* to the subject which is latent in the verb. For where the idea of a neuter or neutral subject (Germ. *es*) is lacking entirely and where every verbal form must be conceived in connection with a personal, or at least with a generically definite subject, a phrase like אָמַר הַמֶּלֶךְ, cannot be conceived, as in German: *es sprach der König*, but: *he spoke*, namely *the king*.

3. This distinction between the nominal and verbal sentence although it may seem quite mechanical, has been pointed out emphatically with good reasons by the Arabic grammarians. For

a) there exists really an essential difference between the predicate of a nominal and of a verbal sentence. The former always represents something *immovable*, a *situation*, a *being*, the latter something *movable*, *flowing*, something *which happens* or *which is doing*.

b) the *simple nominal* sentence, connected by *Wāw* with a verbal sentence, describes a condition or state which is always simultaneous with the chief action (not a *progress* of the action) e. g. Gen. 19, 1; *and the two angels entered into Sodom, whilst Lot was sitting* (וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב), etc.

Also the *compound nominal* sentence, connected by *Wāw*, may serve to bring in afterwards an event that has preceded the principal facts of the narration. E. g. 1 Sam. 28, 3; *and Samuel was* (at that time already) *dead and Saul had driven away*, etc. (not as, e. g. the *Vulgate*: *and Samuel died and Saul drove away*) Job 21, 22. But there exist also examples, where the narrative continues even in form of a compound nominal sentence (comp. Gen. 1, 2, 3, 1). Even then the nominal sentence does not describe a new *occurrence* but a *state* which exists during the continuation of the event.

§ 144b.

MANNER OF EXPRESSING THE COPULA IN THE NOMINAL SENTENCE.

1. The subject and predicate of the simple sentence (v. § 144, a, 1, a) are always placed together without the *copula*; e. g. 1 K. 18, 21 יְהוָה הָאֱלֹהִים *the Eternal (is) the true God*,

Gen. 2, 12 *זָהָב הָאָרֶץ הַהִיא טוֹב* *the gold of that land (is) good*, Is. 31, 2 *גַּם הוּא חָכָם* *also he (is) wise*.—On the union of the subject and predicate by a separate pronoun of the 3d person (repeating and emphasizing more distinctly the subject idea) v. § 121, 2.

2. Less frequently the *copula* is expressed by the substantive verb *הָיָה* *to be, become*, and in that case rises a compound nominal sentence (§ 144, *a*, 1, *b*), e. g. Gen. 1, 2 *וְהָאֲרֶץ הָיְתָה תֹהוֹ וָיָאֵם* *and the earth was waste and empty*, 3, 1 *וְהַנָּחֹשׁ הָיָה חָדָשׁ* *the serpent was crafty*, vs. 20, Judges 1, 7. If on the other hand the union between a pronoun as subject and a participle as predicate is established by *יֵשׁ* or *אֵין* (§ 134, 2, *a*) there arise simple nominal sentences, because *יֵשׁ* and *אֵין* are properly substantives.

Rem. Instead of the adjective, the Hebrew often employs the abstract substantive as a predicate in the nominal phrase (§ 106, 1, Rem. 2); especially when there is no adjective of the required signification (§ 106, 1), e. g. Ez. 41, 22 *קִירוֹתָיו עֵץ* *his walls (are) wood=of wood, wooden*. Sometimes the hardness of such combinations is softened by repeating the subject noun in the *constr. st.* before the predicate (*קִירוֹתָיו קִירוֹתָיו עֵץ*). This full construction occurs Job 6, 12 *אִם כֹּחַ אֲבָנִים בְּחַיִּי* *is my strength the strength of stones?* Ps 45, 7, *b*. Comp. on the other hand the bolder terms in Cant. 1, 15 *עֵינֶיךָ יוֹנִים* *thy eyes (are) doves' eyes* (literally *are doves*) Ezra 10, 13 *זֶמֶן גְּשָׁמִים* *the time (is) the time of showers*. So also especially with *כִּ* of comparison, as Is. 63, 2 *בְּגָדֶיךָ בְּגִית* *thy garments (are) like (the garments of) one treading the wine-press*, Jer. 50, 9 *חֲצִירֵי הַבָּבוֹר* *his arrows as (those of) a hero*.

§ 145.

POSITION OF WORDS IN A SENTENCE. ABSOLUTE CASE.

1. According to what has been remarked § 144, *a*, the natural position of words in the simple nominal sentence is: *Subject, Predicate*; in the compound nominal sentence: *Subject, Verbal Predicate* (i. e. verbal copula with the completing nominal predicate); in the verbal sentence: *Verb*, subsequently the *Subject* (if expressed) and then the *Object*. Adverbial designations (such as those of time or place) may stand either

before or after the verb; a negative stands almost always immediately before it.¹

Exceptions to the above stated natural position of words occur especially when a member of the sentence has to be rendered prominent by giving it the precedence. So stands:—

- a) in verbal sentences sometimes the *object* before the *subject*, e. g. Num. 5, 23, Ps. 34, 22; the *object* before the *verb* Prov. 13, 5: *thing of falsehood hateth a righteous man*; Gen. 47, 21, Ex. 18, 23, Is. 49, 6. Very rare is the position: *Obj.*, *Subj.*, *Verb*, 2 K. 5, 13. Finally, there also occurs, although likewise very seldom, and only poetically the position: *Subj.*, *Obj.*, *Verb*, as Ps. 6, 10 יְהוָה תַּפְלִיטִי יִקַּח; 11, 5, Is. 13, 18 (quite common however in Aram., e. g. Dan. 2, 7, 10. Comp. *Gesen.* Comm. on Is. 42, 24).
- b) in nominal sentences the *Predicate* before the *Subject* and so almost regularly when the *Predicate* consists of an *Adjective* (comp. § 144, a, 1, Rem.), because this one receives then by its quality as a predicate, a special emphasis. Jer. 10, 6 גָּדוֹל אַתָּה וְגָדוֹל שְׁמֶךָ *great thou (art) and great (is) thy name*. The substantive predicate is placed first in Is. 18, 5, *ripening grape becomes the blossom*, Job 6, 12.
- c) The adverbial expression before the verb, especially (as natural) expressions of time, Gen. 1, 1. Some adverbs of time like עַתָּה, אָז, stand almost always at the beginning of the sentence (Josh. 10, 12, Judges 5, 22); others like תָּמִיד, עוֹד as a rule after the verb.

On the absence of inflection in the predicate when put first, see § 147.

2. The strongest emphasis of a substantive (especially when it is the subject, but also when it is the object, or when employed by way of qualification of any kind) is produced by permitting it to stand, *absolutely*, at the beginning of the sentence, and then representing it, in the following independent phrase, by a pronoun (compare Fr. *c'est moi, qu'on a*

¹ Occasionally there is inserted between the negative and the verb the object (Job 22, 7, 34 23, Ec. 10, 10), the subject (Num. 16, 29, 2 K. 5, 26), or an adverbial expression (Ps. 6, 2, 49, 18, Jer. 15, 15).

accusé); e. g. Ps. 18, 31 **הָאֵל תָּמִים דְּרָכָיו** *God, perfect is his way, for God's way is perfect*. The whole forms a compound nominal sentence in which the predicate is not represented by a verbal sentence (§ 144, a, 1, b) but by another independent nominal sentence; likewise Ps. 104, 17, Job 21, 4, whilst in Gen. 24, 27, Ps. 11, 4 the predicate consists of a verbal sentence. Comp. also Ez. 33, 17; also in the examples: Ps. 74, 17 *winter and summer, thou hast made them*, *winter and summer* is not the object but the subject of the compound nominal sentence. The object stands absolutely first in Gen. 47, 21 **אֶת־הָעָם** *the people, he removed them*, 21, 13, comp. Jer. 6, 19.¹ The suffix may also be omitted (so perhaps Ps. 9, 7) and the connection indicated by ׀ (as sign of the apodosis), 2 Sam. 22, 41 (comp. Ps. 18, 41), Job 36, 26 **מִסְפַּר שָׁנָיו וְלֹא חָקַר**, sc. **לָהֶן** *the number of his years, even there is no searching* 4, 6, 23, 12, 25, 5, Gen. 3, 5, Num. 23, 3, Job 6, 14, 15, 17, 21, 6, 1 Sam. 25, 27, 2 Sam. 15, 34.

Sometimes the participle stands first in the above manner in the sense of a conditional sentence e. g. Prov. 23, 24 **יֹדֵד תִּקַּח** *he who begets a wise son* (i. e. *when one begets, etc.*), *then he may rejoice in him*, 1 Sam. 2, 13 **כָּל־אִישׁ וְכֵן יָבֹא זֶעַר הַכֹּהֵן** *when any one brought an offering, then came the priest's servant*, Gen. 4, 15, Job 41, 18.

§ 146.

RELATION OF THE SUBJECT AND PREDICATE AS TO GENDER AND NUMBER.

The predicate, as in other languages, conforms generally to the subject in gender and number. From this rule, common to all languages, there are many deviations, partly occasioned by regard to the sense rather than to the grammatical form of words (*constructio ad sensum*), partly by the position of the predicate before the subject.

In respect to the first cause, we remark that,

1. Collective nouns (singular in form), e. g. **עָם** *people*, **גּוֹי** *nation*, **בֵּית** *family*, and nouns used as collective, as **אִישׁ** *men*

¹ Such a case absolute may also be introduced by ׀ (*in respect to*) before it, Gen. 17, 20, Is. 32, 1; comp. Ps. 16, 3(?), Eccl. 9, 4, 2 Chron. 7, 21.

(see § 108, 1), are apt to be construed, according to the sense, with the plural, as in Judg. 9, 55 וַיִּרְאוּ אִישׁ־יִשְׂרָאֵל and *the men of Israel saw*, 15, 10, 1 K. 20, 20 וַיָּסֹסוּ אָרָם and *Aram (the Syrians) fled*, Is. 16, 4, Prov. 11, 26, 28, 1, Job 8, 19. So when the collective is itself *fem.* but represents only, or at least prevailing, individuals which are of the *masc.* gender: e. g. 2 Sam. 15, 23 כָּל־הָאָרֶץ בּוֹזִים *the whole land* (i. e. its inhabitants) *wept*,¹ Gen. 48, 6, 1 Sam. 2, 33, 17, 46, 1 K. 10, 24, Job 30, 12; and *vice versâ* in Job 1, 14 הֵיךְ הָיָה הַצֹּמֶה *the cattle (cows) were ploughing*. For examples of the predicate in the singular with collectives, see Gen. 35, 11, Is. 2, 4 (comp. Micah 4, 3).

Particular examples of a bolder *Enallage* of number are Gen. 34, 30 נָאֲמִי מִחֵי מִסְפָּר *whilst I (and my people) men of (inferior) number*; Job 29, 15: עֵינַי הָיוּ לְבִלְיָה *eyes I have been to the blind* (comp. Num. 10, 31).

Often the construction begins with the singular (especially when the verb is placed first, § 147, 1, *a*), and then when the collective is introduced, proceeds with the plural; Ex. 33, 4 וַיִּשְׁמַע הָעָם . . . וַיִּתְאַבְּלוּ *and the people heard . . . and they mourned*, 1, 20.

2. On the other hand plural nouns with a singular meaning (§ 108, 2) are often construed with the singular, especially the so-called *pluralis excellentiae*; Gen. 1, 1, 3,² Ex. 21, 29 בְּעֶזְרֵי יוֹמֶת *his owner shall be put to death*. So feminine forms with a masculine signification are construed with the masculine, as in Ec. 12, 9 הָיָה קְהֵלֶת חָכָם *the preacher was wise*.

3. Plurals which designate animals or things, whether they are *masc.* or *fem.* readily take the construction with the

¹ Sallust. Jugurth. 14, *pars in crucem acti, pars bestiis objecti sunt*.

² אֱלֹהִים is here and there construed with the *plur.* but only in the older biblical books, and in certain forms of expression which perhaps may be traced back to original polytheistic ideas, or at least to an adaptation to them, e. g. Gen. 20, 13 (in conversation with a heathen), 35, 7, Ex. 22, 8(?), Josh. 24, 19, Ps. 58, 12. The later writers studiously avoid this construction, as if it were polytheistic; comp. Ex. 32, 4, 8, with Neh. 9, 18, and 2 Sam. 7, 23, with 1 Ch. 17, 21. See the Lexicons.

*fem. sing.*¹ (comp. the feminine form with collective meaning, in § 107, 3, *d*); Joel 1, 20 בְּהֵמוֹת שָׂדֵה תִּעְרֹג *the beasts of the field pine for*—, Job 14, 19 תִּשְׁטַף סִפְיָהָ *its floods wash away*, Jer. 49, 24 חֲבָלִים אֶחֻזָּה *pains have seized upon her*, 2, 15 *Kethibh*, Ps. 37, 31, Job 12, 7. Comp. also 2 K. 3, 3, Is. 35, 7, Jer. 36, 23, Ps. 69, 36 ff., Job 39, 15, in all of which cases the suffix of the *third sing. fem.* is related to plurals of animals or things.

4. Moreover, those plurals also which designate persons are construed with the singular, when, instead of the whole sum of individuals spoken of, the attention is directed to each one of them (comp. כָּל for *omnes* and *omnis*); examples of this distributive singular are Gen. 49, 22 בָּנוֹת צִעְדָּה *the daughters (branches) rise*, Num. 24, 9 בְּרוּךְ וְאָרְכִיָּה אָרֹר *blessed (be every one of) those who bless thee, and cursed (each of) those who curse thee*, Prov. 3, 18 תִּמְכִּיָּה מְאֹשֶׁר *happy (is every one of) those who retain her (the wisdom)* 27, 16, 28, 1, Gen. 27, 29, Ex. 31, 14. Comp. also Job 6, 20: בָּשׂוּ כִּי־בִטָּה; Is. 28, 20.

5. Dual substantives take their predicates in the plural, since verbs, adjectives, and pronouns have no dual form (§ 88, 1); as in Gen. 29, 17 לְאֵה רַכּוֹת וְעֵינֶי לֵאָה *and the eyes of Leah were tender*, Ps. 18, 28, Is. 30, 20, 2 Sam. 24, 3, 1 Sam. 1, 13 שִׁפְתֶּיהָ נִעוֹת רַק *only her lips moving*, 2 Ch. 7, 15 עֵתָה עֵינֵי *my eyes shall see*, Jer. 14, 6, Is. 1, 15, Job 10, 8, 20, 10, 27, 4, Ps. 38, 11. Rarely with the dual does the predicate stand in the singular feminine (v. above No. 3), e. g. 1 Sam. 4, 15, Micah 4, 11.

¹ Perfectly analogous is the Greek construction, τὰ πρόβητα βάλειν, where the Attics admit the plural only when by the neuter persons are designated, as τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐλάβον τὸν ἄρτον. In Arabic, such a plural is called *pluralis inhumanus* (i. e. not used of men), and is construed chiefly with the *fem. sing.* of the attribute or predicate, like all its so-called *pluralia fracta* (collective forms).

§ 147.

SUBJECT AND PREDICATE AS TO GENDER AND NUMBER.

(Continued.)

Very frequently deviations from the general rule (§ 146) occur where the predicate stands first. The subject, to which it would regularly conform, not being yet expressed, it often takes its simplest and readiest form, viz., the *masc. sing.*, even when the subject, which comes after, is *feminine* or *plural*: the predicate in this case is not subject to inflection; e. g. —

- a) The verb; Is. 47, 11 *בָּא עָלֶיךָ רָעָה* *there comes upon thee evil*, Mic. 2, 6 *לֹא יִסֵּן בְּלִמּוֹת* *reproaches do not depart*, Ps. 57, 2, Deut. 32, 35, Est. 9, 23 *קָבַל הַיְּהוּדִים* *the Jews undertook*, 2 K. 3, 26 *חִזַּק הַמִּלְחָמָה* *hard was the battle*, 1 Sam. 25, 27, Ps. 124, 5, Job 42, 15. Often the verb may here be regarded as impersonal. More seldom before the *plur. fem.* we find (at least) the *plur. masc.*; as in Judg. 21, 21 *אִם-יֵצְאוּ בָנוֹת שִׁילֹה* *if the daughters of Shilo come forth*.
- b) The adjective in the nominal sentence (just as in German): Ps. 119, 137 *יָשָׁר מִשְׁפָּטֶיךָ* *righteous (are) thy judgments*, is not inflected, vs. 155 *רָחוֹק . . . יְשׁוּעָה* *far (is) salvation*.

Cases like Job 24, 7, 10 *עֲרֹם הֵלְכוּ* *naked they go*, do not belong here. There *עֲרֹם* is rather an accusative of condition (§ 118, 3) = *in the condition of a naked one*.

- c) The participle as substantive in the nominal sentence Gen. 47, 3 *עֲבָדֶיךָ רֹעִים* *shepherds (are) thy servants*, if not merely an orthographical difference or a mistake for *רָעִי*.
- d) The copula *הָיָה* when it precedes the subject;¹ Is. 18, 5 *בֹּסֵר גִּמְלָה הָיָה* *maturing grapes the blossom becomes*. In Gen. 31, 8 the *הָיָה* after the plural subject may be explained from the attraction towards the following singular predicate.

¹ Independently of this arrangement, the *הָיָה*, standing for the *copula*, is retained between *plur.* and *fem.* unchanged; Josh. 18, 14, *אֲשֵׁר יִרְ . . . תְּהִלָּתוֹ הָיָה* *the offerings of Jah . . . that is his inheritance*. Comp. Jer. 10, 3.

But if this construction is continued after the introduction of the subject, the verb must conform to it in gender and number; Ez. 14, 1 וַיָּבֹאוּ אֵלַי אַנְשִׁים וַיֵּשְׁבוּ לִפְנֵי Gen. 1, 14, Num. 9, 6.

Rem. 1. In general, the language is at times sparing in the use especially of the feminine forms (comp. § 112, 1, Rem. 5), and, when a feminine substantive has more than one predicate, contents itself with giving to the nearest one the appropriate feminine form. The following are instructive examples; Is. 38, 9 אֲבֵל אֶמְלִלָּהּ אֶרֶץ *the land mourneth and languisheth*, 14, 9 עוֹרֵר לָהּ רָפְאִים שְׁאֵל מִתַּחַת הַגִּזָּה *Sheol beneath is moved . . . it stirreth up the shades to thee.* Comp. 1 K. 19, 11 and the striking change of gender in Gen. 32, 9. In Job 20, 26 in the subordinate phrase the masculine appears instead of the feminine: אֵשׁ לֹא-נִפְחָה *a fire not blown*.—Of a different sort are cases like Lev. 2, 1, 5, 1, 20, 6 where נָפֵשׁ (*fem.*) in the continuation of speech is changed into a male person.

Suffixes in a (distributive) singular are related to preceding plurals, e. g. Job 38, 32, Deut. 21, 10; 28, 48, 1 K. 6, 23, Is. 5, 26.

2. The cases in which the predicate follows the subject, without conforming to it in gender and number, are based partly on the construction of passives with the accusative (§ 143, 1, Rem.) and partly the predicate is a participle used as a substantive; e. g. Gen. 4, 7 לִפְתָּח דַּלְתוֹת הַשָּׁעָרָה רֹבֵץ *at the door (is) sin a lurker (i. e. a lurking lion)*.—Ec. 2, 7 וַיִּלְכְּשָׁה הָיָה לִי *vernæ mihi erant.* Similar is Gen. 15, 17 וַיִּלְכְּשָׁה הָיָה *and darkness, there was*) where the verb remains in the indefinite gender (*masc.*) although the noun precedes for the sake of emphasis.

§ 148.

CONSTRUCTION OF COMPOUND SUBJECTS.

1. When the subject is composed of a nominative and genitive, the verb sometimes conforms in gender and number to the genitive (or the second noun), instead of the governing (or the first) noun, viz., when the word in the genitive expresses the principal idea. Sometimes however the agreement of the predicate with the genitive seems to have been caused merely by their juxtaposition, e. g. Job 32, 7 יְבִי חֲכָמָה יְדִיעֵי חֲכָמָה *the multitude of years (i. e. many years) shall teach wisdom*, 1 Sam. 2, 4: קֶשֶׁת חֲזָקִים הִתֵּם *the bow of the strong is broken*; 2 Sam. 10, 9 (with the predicate preceding), הָיְתָה אֵלָיו פְּנֵי הַמִּלְחָמָה *there was the battle-front against him*,

i. e. *the battle was turned against him*, Is. 2, 11, Job 15, 20, 21, 21, 29, 10, 38, 21. On the other hand, in Gen. 4, 10, Is. 52, 8, Jer. 10, 22 and others קֹל cannot be understood as subject, but as exclamation, so e. g. Gen. 4, 10: Voice of thy brother's blood which cries . . . ! as much as: *hearken! the blood of thy brother cries*, etc.

With the substantive כֹּל (prop. *totality*) *the whole*, this construction is almost universal; e. g. Gen. 5, 5 וַיְהִי כָל־יְמֵי אָדָם *and all the days of Adam were*, Ex. 15, 20; likewise with the singular abstracts of the numbers 3 to 10, 100 and 1000.

2. When *several* subjects are connected by *and*, their common predicate usually takes the plural form, e. g. Job 3, 5, Gen. 40, 1, especially when it follows them; Gen. 8, 22 וְשָׁבוּ זֶרַע וְקָצִיר וְקָרָה וְחֹם . . . *seed-time and harvest, and cold and heat . . . shall not cease*; and in the *masc.* even with subjects of different genders, as in Gen. 18, 11 וְשָׂרָה זָקֵנָה *Abraham and Sarah (were) old*, Deut. 28, 32. When the predicate precedes, it often conforms in gender and number to the first (as being the nearest) subject; as in Gen. 7, 7 וַיָּבֹאוּ נֹחַ וּבָנָיו *and there went in Noah and his sons*, Ex. 15, 1, Num. 12, 1 וַתְּדַבֵּר מִרְיָם וְאַהֲרֹן *and there spoke Miriam and Aaron*, Gen. 33, 7, 44, 14, Judg. 5, 1, 2 Sam. 5, 21. The singular is more rare, when the predicate follows the subject; Prov. 27, 9 שָׁמֶן וְקֹטְרֶת יִשְׂמְחֵה לֵב *unguent and perfume rejoice the heart* (where at the same time the masculine has the preference). If the construction is continued, the plural of the predicate always follows, e. g. Gen. 21, 32, 24, 61, 31, 14, 33, 7.

CHAPTER V.

USE OF THE PARTICLES.

§ 149.

Of the particles, as connected with the system of forms and inflections (§§ 99—105), we have already treated in their etymological relation to the other parts of speech. We are now to consider the signification and use of these words. As elsewhere, so also in Hebrew they compose as it were the most delicate and subtle portions of the language and are of the highest importance for a clear perception of the sense and a deeper penetration into the spirit of the language. We shall present, in a general view, their most important peculiarities, leaving the more complete representation, and specially the fuller examples, to the Lexicons.

§ 150.

OF THE ADVERBS.

The most important adverbs, classed according to their signification, are—

1. Adverbs of *place*; שָׁם *there*; כֹּה, כֵּן, וְכֵן and הֵנָּה *hic, here*; עַד-כֹּה *thither*, וְכֵן *hither and thither*; הֵלֵם and הֵנָּה *here, hither*; הֵלָּא *thither, farther on*, hence וְהֵנָּה מִמֶּנּוּ (away from thee and hither) *on this side of thee*, and מִמֶּנּוּ וְהֵלָּא (away from thee and farther on) *beyond thee*, 1 Sam. 20, 21, 22, Is. 18, 2; עַל, מֵעַל more commonly מֵמַעַל *above*, לְ מֵמַעַל *above*, over something, מִתַּחַת *below*, מֵעֵלָּה *upwards*, but also *above*, מֵצָה *downwards*, but also *below* beneath, חוּץ *outside*, מִחוּץ *on the outside*, מִבִּיט *within*, בְּיָמֶיךָ *within*, בְּפָנֶיךָ *before*, מִפְּנֵיךָ *before*, מִמֶּנּוּ *on the east*, אַחֲרֵי *behind*, מֵאַחֲרֵי *backwards*, נֶגֶד *coram, over against*, יָמִין *to the right*, מִיָּמִין *on the right*, מִזֶּם *on the west* (prop. from the sea), סָבִיב and מְסָבִיב *around*, קוֹמְמִינָה *upright*.

To many of these adverbs מִן is prefixed, or the accusative-ending הַ— appended, indicating respectively *whence* and *whither* e. g. שָׁם *there*, מִשָּׁם *thence*, שָׁמָּה *thither*; חוּץ *outside*, חוּצָה *outwards*; several adverbs never occur without the appended הַ—, e. g. הֵלָּא *thither*. Both these additions, however, sometimes express also the relation of *rest in*

a place, as מִיָּמִינָה there (not merely thither), מִיְּמִינָה on the right (not from the right). The הַ— is in both cases the accusative-ending (§ 90, 2), and הַ properly denotes *starting from* or *depending on* an object, like ἐκ δεξιᾶς, a dextra, a sinistra, a latere, a tergo, and in French dessus, dessous, dedans, dehors.¹

2. Adverbs of time; these are in part the same with those of place (above mentioned), which are transferred to relations of time; as שָׁם then (cf. ἐκεῖ); עַד-עַתָּה till now; הָלָאָה onward, henceforth; עַד הַעַתָּה and contracted עַדְהָא, הֵנָּה hitherto.

Exclusively adverbs of time are עַתָּה at the time, hence at this time, at present, now (also expressing consequence and transition, like νῦν, νῦν, (νῦν), and at times, then, soon; הַיּוֹם (this day, to-day; בַּיּוֹם, פְּהַיּוֹם at the time, now; הַמּוֹל, אֶתְמוֹל formerly, yesterday; אָמֶשׁ yester-evening, last night; שֶׁלְּמָחָר day before yesterday (almost always in the expression שֶׁלְּמָחָר yesterday and the day before); מָחָר to-morrow (cras), in the future, מִמָּחָר on the morrow; יוֹמִים by day; לַיְלָה by night; בֹּקֶר and הַשְּׁבָח in the morning, early; כָּל-הַיּוֹם the whole day, then all the time, always; הַמִּיר continually, always; עוֹלָם, לְעוֹלָם, for ever; לְעַתָּה perpetually; אָז then, with reference to both past and future (§ 127, 4, a), מֵאָז long since, formerly; לְפָנִים formerly; כָּרֹךְ long since; עוֹד again, repeatedly, commonly yet, with a negative, no more; כְּאַחַד (as one) at once, together; יַחְדָּה together; רִאשׁוֹנָה at first; כֵּן אַחֲרָיו (after so) afterwards, מְהֵרָה speedily, פֶּתָאם instantly.

3. Adverbs for other modal ideas, as—*a*) Of quality; כָּכָה, כֵּן (from כֹּחַ כֹּחַ) and כֵּן so; מְאֹד very; יוֹתֵר exceedingly, very; מְאֹד יוֹתֵר more, too much; כֻּלָּה wholly; כִּמְעַט, כִּמְאֹן (about or near nothing, about or within a little=wanting little) almost; כֵּן, כֵּן אֲפֹא so, so then (Job 9, 24), hence often used intensively in questions (see § 153, 2, last Rem.); טוֹב and הַיָּטִיב well.

b) Of quantity; הַרְבֵּה much, לָרֹב abundantly, הוֹן (riches) enough, הֵרַב followed by the genitive (prop. sufficiency) enough, as הֵרַב לְךָ what is enough for thee, רַבָּה, usually רַבָּה much, enough; לְבַד, בְּדָד, לְבַדָּה (in separation) alone, the first also with suffixes, as לְבַדִּי I alone; יַחַד together.

c) Of asseveration; אָמֵן, אָמֵן truly, אָן, אָכֵן certainly, indeed, אָכֵל yes, certainly, also rather, imo, Gen. 17, 19, 1 K. 1, 43; אֲיֵלִי perhaps.²

The expression of asseveration may easily pass over into that of opposition (comp. verum, vero) and of limitation; and hence the above-

¹ Cant. 4, 1 גִּלְעָד מִיָּדָה הֵם לִישְׁבֵּי הַגִּלְעָד they lie along the declivity of Mount Gilead, i. e. as if hanging from the side. Comp. Virg. Ecl. 1, 77; Soph. Antig., 411, καὶ θήμεθ' ἄκραν ἐκ πάγων; Odyss. xxi, 420, ἐκ δίφποιο καὶ θήμενος.

² Probably אֲיֵלִי is compounded of 'א and 'ל=לֹא, comp. Aram. אֵלֵמָא whether not, perhaps, μὴ ποτε. It is once employed in the sense of לֹא if not, in Num. 22, 33, then whether not (who knows whether not), consequently perhaps, expressing doubt, solicitude, and also hope.

mentioned affirmative particles are partly *adversative* and *restrictive*, as **אֲזַל** *only*, **אֲבָל**, **אֲכֵן** (both especially in later usage) *but*; **אֲיִלָּם** *on the contrary* (the Sept. οὐ μὴ ἀλλὰ) is strongly *adversative*, used almost exclusively in the Pentateuch and Job. *Restrictive* also is **רַק** (like **אֲדָה**) *merely*, i. e. *only*.

d) *Of reason, cause*; **לָכֵן**, **לָהֵךְ**, *therefore*.—e) *Of addition*; **גַּם** *also*, and (more poetical, and expressive of increase) **אֲדָה** (*adeo*) *yea more, even*, both which, however, often pass over into conjunctions.

4. *Adverbs of negation*; on these see § 152.

5. *Adverbs of interrogation* include all the former classes. On the pure interrogative particles **הֲ**, **אֵם**, see § 153; the question relating to *place* is asked by **אֵי אֶרֶץ** *where?* the first with *suff.* **אֵי** *where (is) he?* so **זֶה** *אֵי*, **אֵינָה**, **אֵיפֹה**, **אֵיכָּה** *where?* **אֵי מִזֶּה** *whence?* **מֵאַיִן** *whence?* **אֵינָה** (from **מִזֶּה**) *whither?*—to *time*, by **מָתַי** *when?* **עַד מָתַי** *until when?* **כַּמָּוֶל** *how long?* **עַד אֵנָה** *how long?*—to *quality*, by **אֵיכָּה**, **אֵיךָ**, **אֵיכָּה** *how?*—to *number* by **כַּמָּוֶל** *how much?* **כַּמָּוֶל** *how often?*—to *cause*, by **מִזֶּה** (§ 102, 2, d) and **מִדּוּעַ** (§ 99, 3) *why, wherefore?*

Most of these interrogative particles are formed by prefixing **אֵי**, **אֵי**, which in itself signifies *where* (comp. Germ. *wovon?* *wohin?*), but by usage becomes also a mere sign of interrogation before particles of *place*, *time*, etc.

In this manner, and by the application of the ending **—ה**, of the prep. **מִן**, and of the relative **אֲשֶׁר**, are formed whole classes of correlative adverbs, as **זֶה** *here*, **מִזֶּה** *hence*, **אֵי זֶה** *where?* **אֵי מִזֶּה** *whence?* **אֲשֶׁר מִזֶּה** *whence* (relative); **שָׁם** *there*, **שָׁמָּה** *thither*, **כִּשְׁם** *thence*, **אֲשֶׁר שָׁם** *where*, **אֲשֶׁר שָׁמָּה** *whither*, **אֲשֶׁר מִשָּׁם** *whence* (see § 123, 1).

§ 151.

CONSTRUCTION OF ADVERBS.

1. Adverbs not only serve to qualify the verb, but also the adjective, **טוֹב מְאֹד** *very good*, and even substantives (like ῥῆ χυθὲς ῥῆμέρα); in the latter case they stand either,—a) in apposition after it, as **אֲנָשִׁים מְעַט** *a few men* (prop. *men in fewness*) Neh. 2, 12; **חֲכָמָה רַבָּה מְאֹד** *very much wisdom* 1 K. 5, 9; or—b) in the genitive, as **קָלָלַת הַנֶּחֱם** *a curse uttered without a cause* Prov. 26, 2; **עֵד הַנֶּחֱם** *a witness without a cause* Prov. 24, 28, where the adverb is treated *substantively*.

The adverbs also appear in the nature of substantives, when, as in the later writers, they take a preposition; e. g. **בְּבֶן** *in the so=* Est. 4, 16, **אֶל-הֵנָּה** prop. *for in vain*, Ez. 8, 10 (comp. *in* or *ad irritum*).

2. The repetition of an adverb sometimes denotes stress or intensity, and sometimes continual accession; e. g. מְאֹד מְאֹד *exceedingly* Gen. 7, 19, Num. 14, 7; מֵטָה מֵטָה *lower and lower* Deut. 28, 43; מְעַט מְעַט *by little and little* (*peu à peu*) Ex. 23, 30.

On the periphrasis of adverbial ideas by verbs, see § 142, Rem. 1.

3. In reference to the restrictive particles אֵךְ, כִּי, as well as to the augmentative גַּם, אַף we should remark that they frequently affect (especially after interrogative particles) not the next following word, but the whole next following sentence, sometimes even (by skipping the antecedent) its consequent clause. Comp., as to גַּם 1 Sam. 22, 7, Zech. 9, 11, Job 2, 10; for אֵךְ Job 14, 3; for אֵךְ 16, 7, 23, 6; for כִּי Ps. 32, 6, Prov. 13, 10.—On a similar use of interrogative particles v. § 153, 2.

§ 152.

OF THE WORDS WHICH EXPRESS NEGATION.

1. The most important adverbs of negation are לֹא (*subst.* Job 6, 21)=וֹ *not*, אַל=אֵין *that not*, אֵין (the opposite of יֵשׁ) *there is not*, טַרֵם *not yet*, אֶפֶס *no more*. Almost exclusively poetic are בִּלְי, בְּלִי, בִּלְתִּי *not*; negative conjunctions, אֶל, פֶּן, בִּלְתִּי, לְבִלְתִּי *that not, lest*.

We subjoin a more complete view of the use of these words:—

לֹא (like וֹ, אֹ, אֶ) is used principally for the *objective, unconditional* negation, and hence it is commonly connected with the *Perfect* or *Imperfect* (as *Indicative*), on its connection with the *Imperfect* to express *prohibition* see § 127, 3, c.—In connection with בִּלְ, when the latter is not followed by the article and therefore means *any one, any thing*, it expresses the Lat. *nullus, none* (comp. Fr. *ne . . personne, ne . . rien*); Ex. 12, 16 כָּל-מְלָאכָה לֹא-תַעֲשֶׂה *no labour shall be done*, Job 33, 13, usually in the position of בִּלְ . . . לֹא, Ex. 10, 15, 20, 4, 2 Ch. 32, 15, Prov. 12, 21, 30, 30. So also אֵין with בִּלְ, Ec. 1, 9 אֵין כָּל-חֵדָּשׁ *there is nothing new*. But the case is different when בִּלְ is definite, where it means *all, the whole*, as in Num. 23, 13 כָּל־לֹא תִרְאֶה *all of him (his whole) thou shalt not see* (but only a part). Comp. also cases like Gen. 3, 1 *You shall not eat of all the trees of the garden*, as much as to say *of no tree at all*. On the use of לֹא in interrogative sentences, see § 153, 1.—לֹא serves also absolutely for negative answer, *no!* Gen. 19, 2, Josh. 5, 14, Job 23, 6.

לֹא put before a noun, either substantive or adjective, forms with it sometimes a kind of compound, as לֹא-אֱל a no-God (Germ. *Ungott*), i. e. who is no God at all Deut. 32, 21, לֹא דָבָר a nothing (Germ. *Unding*) Am. 6, 13, חָסִיד לֹא הָסִיד Ps. 43, 1.

On the position of לֹא in the clause, see § 145, 1, Note.¹

אַל (like μὴ, Lat. *ne*) for the *subjective* and *dependent* negation is connected with the *Imperfect* (as *Jussive*); hence the phrase אַל יָבֹא *ne veniat* means *may he not come*, or *let him not come*. See above, § 128, 2.

Sometimes אַל stands like לֹא absolutely, without the verb (like μὴ for μὴ τοῦτο εἰσὶν ἔνεκα), nay I pray, not so, i. e. *let it not be*; e. g. Ruth 1, 13 אַל בָּנָתִי not so, my daughters, Gen. 19, 18 (אַל-נָא).—On the interrogative use of it, see § 153, 1.

אֵין (prop. constr. st. of אֵין non-entity) is the negative of הִשׁ (*he, she, it*) is, and includes the verb *to be* in all its tenses; e. g. Num. 14, 42 אֵין-יְהוָה בְּקִרְבָּם the Lord is not among you, Gen. 37, 29 אֵין-יְהוָה בְּבֵר יוֹסֵף Joseph was not in the pit. The same formulas are expressed positively with הִשׁ, and negatively with אֵין, as Gen. 31, 29 הִשׁ-לִּי רִדָּה it is in my power (prop. it is i. e. it belongs to the power of my hand), Neh. 5, 5 אֵין לָנוּ הִשׁ it is not in our power.—It follows, moreover,—α) that the personal pronouns, when they are the subject of the sentence, are appended to אֵין as suffixes; as אֵינִי I am not, I was not, I shall not be; אֵינִי, etc.—β) When the predicate is a verb, it almost universally takes the form of a participle, the verb substantive being implied in אֵין; Ex. 5, 16 אֵין נָתַן straw is not given, vs. 10 אֵינִי נָתַן I do not give, 8, 17, Deut. 1, 32.—γ) As הִשׁ sometimes signifies *to be present*, *to be near* or *at hand*; so אֵין is used in the contrary sense, *to be not present* or *at hand*; אֵין הִשׁ he was not present=was no more Gen. 5, 24. Quite anomalous stands אֵין Job 35, 15 before the perfect as an emphatic negation. Comp. *Delitzsch in loc.*

From אֵין (or אֵין 1 Sam. 21, 9) is formed by abbreviation the negative syllable אֵי, employed in a few compounds; as in Job 22, 30 אֵי-נֶקִי not-guiltless. In Ethiopic it is the most common form of negation, and is there used even as a prefix to verbs.

לֹבֶלֶת (prop. constr. st. with the ending לֹבֶלֶת, § 90, 3, a) from לָבַל *want, non-existence* (from verb לָבַל) is most frequently employed before the *Inf.* when it is to be expressed negatively with a preposition; as לֹבֶלֶת לֶאֱכַל to eat, לֹבֶלֶת אֲכַל not to eat Gen. 3, 11. Rarely with a finite verb for *that not* Jer. 23, 14, or *without that* Ez. 13, 3.

פָּנָה a removing, an averting (from the stem פָּנָה *to turn*) is the same as *lest*, *that not* (=L. *ne forte*), at the beginning of sentences indicating fear or apprehension, therefore especially after verbs signifying *to fear*, *to beware* (like εἰδῶ μὴ, *vereor ne*) Gen. 31, 24, 31; but the expression of apprehension may have resulted already from the connection of speech, comp. Gen. 11, 4; 19, 5, and even Gen. 3, 22 וְעַתָּה פָּנֵה-יָשְׁלַח יָדָא and now, lest he stretch forth his hand.

2. Two negatives in the same sentence, instead of destroying each other, as in Latin and English, make the negation stronger, as in Greek¹ οὐδὲν οὐδὲν, οὐδὲν οὐδὲν αὐτῶν; 1 K. 10, 21 *לֹא נִחְשָׁב לְמִאֲמָרָה אֵין כָּסֶה לֹא* *silver was not at all regarded for any thing* (in the parallel passage, 2 Ch. 9, 20, *לֹא* is wanting), Ex. 14, 11.—In Zeph. 2, 2 *בְּטָרָם לֹא יָבוֹאוּ* lit. *before there shall not come*, where we drop the negative in Eng. and say *before it shall come*, Is. 5, 9 *מֵאֵין יוֹשֵׁב* prop. *without no inhabitant* (i. e. *so that there is no inhabitant*).²

3. When one negative sentence follows another, especially in the poetic parallelism, the negation is often expressed only in the first, while its influence extends also to the second; 1 Sam. 2, 3 *multiply not words of pride,—let (not) that which is arrogant come forth from your mouth* Ps. 9, 19, 35, 19, 38, 2, Job 28, 17, Is. 23, 4.

§ 153.

OF INTERROGATIVE WORDS AND SENTENCES.

1. Interrogation may be indicated simply by the *tone* of voice in which the words or sentences are uttered; e. g. 2 Sam. 18, 29 *לְפָנַי שְׁלוֹם* *is it well with the young man?* Gen. 27, 24 *אַתָּה זֶה בְּנִי עֵשָׂו* *art thou now my son Esau?* 1 K. 1, 24. This is more frequent when the sentence is connected with a previous one by וְ; Jon. 4, 11 *וְאֵינִי לֹא אֶחָיוֹם* *and should I not spare?* Judg. 11, 23, 14, 16, Job 2, 10; and also after the particles גַּם (Zech. 8, 6). But negative sentences can still more readily be uttered, with the interrogative tone; e. g. with *לֹא*, when an affirmative answer is expected (*nonne?*), Ex. 8, 22, 2 Sam. 23, 5, Lam. 3, 38; once with *אֵל* in expectation of a negative answer, 1 Sam. 27, 10 *אֵל-פִּשְׁטָתָם הַיּוֹם* *ye have not then made an incursion at this time?* (see however below).³

¹ Also in Welsh, as in *nid oes dim* (*there is nothing*, prop. *there is not nothing*).—Tr.

² See more on this use of two negatives, in *Ewald's Ausf. Lehrbuch d. Heb. Sprache*, § 323, a.—Tr.

³ In the same manner are used οὐκ (*nonne?*) and μὴ; the former (Hom. Il. x, 165, iv, 242) in expectation of an affirmative, the latter (Odyss. vi, 200)

2. Most commonly the simple question begins with *He interrogative* ה (Lat. *num?*)¹—the disjunctive question with ה (Lat. *num? utrum?*) followed in the second clause by אם, Lat. *an?* אם—ה (= *utrum—an?*), as in 1 K. 22, 15 אִם-יִחָדָל . . . הֲיִלָּךְ *whether shall we go . . . or shall we forbear?*

To be more particular:—

The ה is strictly a sign of the simple and pure question, when the inquirer is uncertain what answer to expect; as Job 2, 3 *hast thou considered* (הֲשָׁמַעְתָּ לְבָבְךָ אֶל-עַבְדִּי) *my servant?* Often he may expect a negative answer (*num?*), which he may express in his very tone; Gen. 4, 9 הֲשֹׁמֵר אָחִי אֲדָמָה *am I the keeper of my brother?* Job 14, 14 *if a man die, הֲיִחְיֶה shall he live again?* Such a question may have precisely the force of a negative assertion; 2 Sam. 7, 5 הֲבִנֵּה לִי בַיִת *shalt thou build a house for me?* (in the parallel passage, 1 Ch. 17, 4 לֹא אֶבְנֶה וְגו' *thou shalt not build a house for me*) and, *vice versâ*, the negative form of the question has the effect of an affirmation, הֲלֵא *nonne? is it not so?* for הִנֵּה *behold!* 2 K. 15, 21, 20, 20, comp. 2 Ch. 27, 7, 32, 32.² On the other hand, the question may be so uttered as to show that the speaker expects affirmation and assent, when it corresponds, in effect, with the negative form of the question in English; compare the use of ἢ γάρ and ἢ γάρ οὐ for *is not?* and of the Latin, *-ne* for *nonne?* Job 20, 4 הֲיָדָעָה יְדֹעָה *dost thou (not) know this?*—The rare instances in which a *simple* question seems to be introduced by אם are based in truth on the suppression of the first member of a double question, as we say *or perhaps* (German *oder etwa*), Lat. *an*, as in Is. 29, 16, 1 K. 1, 27, Job 6, 12.

The *disjunctive* question (*whether—or?*) is usually expressed under the form אם—ה, also אם—ה, Job 21, 4; with emphasis on the first question אם—ה, 34, 17, 40, 8, 9; yet also, with או before the second clause, Job 16, 3, Eccl. 2, 19. The use of this combination אם—ה does not, however, always require opposition between the clauses, but often stands in poetic parallelisms and in other sentences (Gen. 37, 8), where the same question is merely repeated in different words in the second clause, and thus made more emphatic, as in Job 4, 17

of a negative answer. But this analogy is not sufficient to gain a sense in the question 1 Sam. 27, 10 in connection with David's answer. But probably for אל in 1 Sam. 27, 10 we should read על after the Sept. ἐπὶ τίνα=עַל-כֵּן.

¹ The omission of the ה occurs especially before a following guttural (so plainly before ה Job 38, 18) to avoid the hiatus.

² In a similar manner, מָה *what? [why?]*, spoken with indignation expresses prohibition under the form of reproach or expostulation; Cant. 8, 4 מָה תִּעֲרִיר *why do ye rouse?* Job 16, 6, 31, 1. This negative force of מָה is very frequent in Arabic.

is man just more than God, or (אֲדָמָה) is a man pure more than his Maker? 6, 5, 6, 8, 3, 10, 4, 5, 11, 2, 7, 22, 3; hence וְ also stands before the second clause in such cases (instead of אֲדָמָה), Job 13, 7, 15, 7, 8, or there is no particle at all to connect the clauses, as in Job 22, 4.—Now and then וְ stands again in the second member, as in Judg. 14, 15 (where there is actual opposition); but more usually in a continued, double question, as in 1 Sam. 23, 11; where however not a disjunction but connecting of two simple questions takes place. In Job 6, 12 אֲדָמָה stands already in the first member of a double questions; followed by אֲדָמָה (v. 13) in the third question.

In the so-called *indirect*¹ questions, after verbs of inquiring, doubting, examining, the simple question takes either וְ (*whether*) Gen. 8, 8, or אֲדָמָה Cant. 7, 13, 2 K. 1, 2; the disjunctive question (*whether—or*) אֲדָמָה—וְ Gen. 27, 21, Ex. 16, 4, and also וְ—וְ Num. 13, 18 upon which again אֲדָמָה—וְ follows.—The formula אֲדָמָה מִי יוֹדֵעַ (*who knows if*, i. e. *whether or not*) is also used affirmatively like the Latin *nescio an*, Est. 4, 14.

For interrogative adverbs of place, time, etc., see § 150, 5.

The words וְ (§ 122, 2) and אֲדָמָה *now, then*, (§ 150, 3), serve to give animation or intensity to a question (like ποτέ, *tandem*, Eng. *then, now*); as אֲדָמָה מַה־לָּךְ אֲדָמָה *what aileth thee now? quid tibi tandem est?* Is. 22, 1; אֲדָמָה אֲדָמָה *where then?* Job 17, 15.

As the other particles (§ 151, 3) so also the interrogatives affect sometimes, not the next following but only the second one of two co-ordinate sentences; so וְ Job 4, 2, אֲדָמָה 4, 21, מַה־לָּךְ Is. 5, 4; 50, 2.

3. The affirmative answer is given, as in Latin, by repeating the emphatic word of the interrogative sentence (the second person becomes the first in Gen. 27, 24, Judg. 13, 11) Gen. 29, 6, 1 Sam. 23, 11; the negative answer is לֹא *no* Gen. 19, 2, see § 152, 1.

§ 154.

THE PREPOSITIONS.

1. The *simple*² prepositions, like the adverbs, originally denote for the most part physical relations, viz. those of

¹ It should be remarked that the difference between the direct and indirect question could not have been as clear to the Hebrews as it is, for instance, to the Latins or Germans. In Hebrew this discrimination was not made either by a change of mood or by the position of the words (as in German).

² Among these we reckon such forms as לְפָנַי, לְפָנֶיךָ, which in themselves are indeed compound words, but as prepositions they express only one idea, and are thus distinguished from the compounds under No. 2, e. g. מִלְפָּנֶיךָ *from before*.

space, and are then used for intellectual relations, as those of time, cause, etc. The prepositions of place originally denote either *rest* in a place, or *motion* from or to a place.

a) The most important prepositions of *place* are:—

α) Of *state* or *rest*, בּ *in, at, by*, עַל *upon and over*, תַּחַת *under, instead of*, אַחֲרֵי *behind, after*, לְפָנֵי *before*, לְבָרֵךְ, מוֹל, *before, opposite to* (אַחֲרֵי) *with, by*, אֶצֶל *on the side, by, near*, בְּעֵד, בְּעֵד (prop. *in proximity to*) *behind, about* (אַחֲרֵי), בֵּין *between*, בְּעֵבֶר *on the other side, beyond*.

β) Of *motion*, מִן *from*, אֶל *and לְ to, towards*, עַד *unto, as far as*; and also (from the former class) בּ *into*, עַל *upon, towards*.

b) Very many of the above-mentioned prepositions express also relations of *time*, as בּ *in, within*, מִן, אֶל, עַד, etc.

c) Of those which denote other relations we may mention, כִּי, (Lat. *instar*) *as*, כְּדֵר *as often as*, כַּפִּי *according to*, עִם *together with, with*, זִוְיָה, בְּלִעְדֵּי *without, besides*, לְמַעַן *on account of*, עֲקָב (prop. *as a reward*) *for, because*.

2. The Hebrew language develops a great degree of dexterity and accuracy of discrimination in the *compounding* of prepositions. Thus, those of motion are combined with others denoting rest, so as to express not only a *change* of relation, but also the state which was existing before the change, or which is to follow as the result of it, as in French *de chez, d'auprès*.¹ So—

a) with מִן: מֵאַחֵר *from behind*, מִבֵּין *from between*, מֵעַל *from upon or above*, מֵעִם, מֵאֵת *from with* (Fr. *de chez quelqu'un*), מֵתַחַת *from under*.

b) with אֶל (not so often): אֶל אַחֲרֵי *to behind or after*; אֶל־מִן (prop. *to out from*) *even out from* Job 5, 5; לְ מִחוּץ *without, i. e. on the outside of*, לְ אֶל מִחוּץ *forth without* Num. 5, 3.

Adverbs also compounded with prepositions, take after them לְ (more seldom מִן), and again become prepositions; e. g. מֵעַל (adv.) *above*, לְ מֵעַל (prep.) *above, over*, מֵתַחַת (adv.)

¹ When the Hebrew says, Is. 6, 6: *he took the live coal מֵעַל הַמִּזְבֵּחַ* (away from the top of the altar), he presents the idea fully; while it is but half expressed in the Fr. *il prend le chapeau sur la table*, the Germ. *er nimmt den Hut vom Tische weg* = the Eng. *he takes his hat away from the table*, the Fr. omitting one relation, the Germ. and Eng. another.

below, לְמִתַּחַת (prep.) *below, under*, לְמַחוץ (prep.) *without, below*, לְבַד־לְבַד *separately, aside*, מִן לְבַד *aside from, besides*.

This accessory preposition may also precede the adverbial form; e. g. מִן לְבַד מִלְכָּדִי *besides, without*, Syr. ¹ ܠܠܬܝܢ; rarely it is wholly wanting, as מִתַּחַת (for לְמִתַּחַת) Job 26, 5.

3. We will now present a few prepositions (such as occur most frequently and have the greatest variety of meaning), with their principal significations, in order to explain their construction with verbs (§ 140), and the most important idioms connected with them.

a) לְ, which, of all the prepositions, has the greatest variety of significations, denotes,—1) prop. rest in a place (ἐν), hence in with reference to time, and to state or condition, as בְּשִׁלּוֹם, בְּרֵאשִׁית, בְּבִיטָה, with reference to a company, or number of individuals, among, e. g. בְּעֵינֵינוּ, with reference to bounds or limits, within, as בְּעֵינֵינוּ *within the gates*, בְּעֵינֵינוּ in the eyes, i. e. in the reach of the eyes (ἐν ὁφθαλμοῖς Iliad I, 587);—of high objects, upon, as בְּסוּסֵיהֶם *upon horses* Is. 66, 20 (at the same time transition to the idea of *clinging to* something v. below); but it has rarely all these significations after verbs of motion= εἰς (like *ponere in loco*).² The Hebrew says,—α) to drink in a cup (because a part of the face is in it) Gen. 44, 5 (so in Arabic and Aram., Dan. 5, 2, ἐν ποτηρίοις, ἐν χρυσώμασι πίνειν Xen. Anab. vi. 1, 4, 3 Ezr. 3, 6, in ossibus bibere in Florus, French boire dans une tasse);—β) in the manner, in the model or rule, for after the manner or model (comp. ἐν τῷ σόφῳ, hunc in modum), as בְּדִבְרֵי פ' *according to the command of*, בְּצִלְמֵנוּ *according to the counsel of any one*, בְּצִלְמֵנוּ *in (after) our image, after our likeness* Gen. 1, 26, (comp. vs. 27, and 5, 1) 5, 3 *Adam begat a son* בְּצִלְמוֹ. Also in these examples the idea of *clinging to, attaching to* a model is mingled with that of being in a sphere; comp. also Gen. 21, 12 *in Isaac* (בְּיִצְחָק) *thy seed shall be called*, i. e. it shall be attached to Isaac when Abraham's descendants are spoken of.—To the same category (of sphere, norm, etc.) belongs finally the so-called לְ instrumentale e. g. בְּשֵׁבֶט *with the staff* (Micah 4, 14); even of a person בְּךָ *by thee* (Ps. 18, 30). A kind of לְ instrumentale is the so-called לְ pretii (the price being considered a means of obtaining

¹ In the Syr. ܠܠܬܝܢ means *over*, as preposition, but ܠܠܬܝܢ *above* as adverb (see Hoffmanni, Gram. Syr. p. 280). The Hebrew in like manner says לְמִן *from* (a starting point) *onward*, for לְ, precisely the Lat. usque a, usque ex, comp. also inde.

² When the לְ seems to stand for *motion* (אֵל), like ἐν for εἰς or Lat. in (as in the above example), the idea of *rest* (in which the *motion* ends) really predominates in the mind, e. g. בְּיָדָיו *Tr.*

a thing). On the periphrasing of the object with the so-called *ב* *objecti* v. § 138, 1, Rem. 3, Note. Especial attention is due to the passages, where we have,—*γ*) *ב* *essentiae* of the grammarians, which everywhere means, as, *tanquam* (Fr. *en*), Ex. 6, 3 *I appeared to Abraham אֱלֹהִים אֲבִרָהָם as God Almighty*; Is. 40, 10 *the Lord will come בָּחֲזֶק as a strong one*; Ps. 35, 2; 37, 20; 68, 5, *יְהוָה שְׁמוֹ Jah is his name* (comp. Is. 26, 4).—Job 23, 13 *הוּא בְּאֶחָד he is an only one* (i. e. unique). In Arabic this idiom is frequent; see *Gesenii* Thes. Ling. Heb. p. 174, *Delitzsch* on Ps. 35, 2.—2) Nearness *at, by, on*; *בְּיָהֳרָה* *ἐν ποταμῷ on the river* Ez. 10, 15. In this sense it more frequently indicates motion *unto*; it differs, however, both from *אֶל to, towards* (where the aim need not be attained necessarily) and *עַד as far as to* (where the aim is reached). Thus it is used to express *touching at, joining, reaching as far as*, (therefore as above, *clinging to*); Gen. 11, 4 *a tower בְּשָׁמַיִם רָאשׁוֹ whose top shall be in* (i. e. reach to) *heaven*. Hence, after transitive verbs *ב* serves frequently to introduce the object where in Latin and German compounds with *ad, in* and *an* are used e. g. *ב* *אָחַז to take hold in* (*anfassen*), *ב* *נָגַע to touch on* (*anrühren*), *ב* *שָׁאַל to ask at, to consult* (*anfragen*), *ב* *קָרָא to call upon* (*anrufen*), *ב* *רָאָה to look upon* (*ansehen*), *ב* *שָׁמַע to hearken to* (*anhören*). The last two, often include the idea of sympathy, pleasure or (seldom) pain with which one sees or hears anything; comp. *ב* *רָאָה to see ones joy at something*, and Gen. 21, 16 *אֶל-אֶרְצָהּ בְּמוֹת הַיֶּלֶד let me not look on the death of the child!* The same fundamental idea of *clinging to* shows itself also in the construction of certain *verba cordis* with *ב*, e. g. *ב* *בָּטַח to trust, to believe in*, *ב* *שָׂמַח to rejoice in something*, etc.—Finally belongs here also the *partitive* use of the *ב*, as *ב* *נָשָׂא to help to carry* (an *etwas mittragen*) Num. 11, 17, Job 7, 13; 21, 25; 39, 17, Neh. 4, 4 *ב* *שָׂמַח to rejoice in something* etc.

With the idea of *nearness*, that of *society, accompaniment*, readily connects itself; Gen. 32, 11 *with my staff (בְּמִקְלִי) I passed over this Jordan*. It should be remarked that verbs of *coming* and *going*, with *ב* (to come, or go, *with*) express the idea of *bringing of coming with something*; e. g. Judg. 15, 1 *Samson visited his wife with a kid*, i. e. brought her a kid, Deut. 23, 5.

ב *עַל* signifies *upon* (*ἐπί*) and *over* (*ὑπέρ*, L. *super*); very frequently used of motion (down) *upon* or *over*—(up) *upon* or *over* a thing. In the sense of (resting) *upon* (coming) *upon*, it is used after verbs signifying to be heavy, i. e. *burdensome, afflictive* (prop. *to lie heavily upon*) Is. 1, 14, Job 7, 20, 23, 2,—*to set or appoint over* (to *commission*), as *בְּעָרָהּ*—*to pity, to spare*, as *עַל חַסֵּד* (prop. *to look tenderly upon*). With the primary idea is connected that of *accession* (conceived as a *laying upon*) and of *conformity, after, according to* (with reference to the rule or pattern, *upon* which a thing is laid to be measured or modelled), and of *cause* (*ob quam*), *on account of* (prop. *upon something as ground or motive*), *although*. In the signification *over*, it is often used with

verbs of *covering, protecting*, כָּסָה עַל, גָּנַן עַל (prop. *to place a covering, a shield, over*); and so also with those of kindred meaning, as נִלָּחֵם עַל *to contend for one* (i. e. *to protect one*), Judg. 9, 17. It is used for *at, by, before, near*, in cases where there is an actual elevation of one of the related objects above the other, conceived as an impending *over* as for instance the standing person reaching over the sitting persons (Job 1, 6). the tree *on* the brook reaching over the surface of the water (Ps. 1, 3) etc.; comp. also עַל-יָדָיו, עַל-יָדָיו (Job 1, 14) *near*, עַל רֶגֶל, *on the side*. Hence, it expresses the relation of motion to the object *at* which it terminates, *to, towards* (especially with hostile intent) so that in the later Hebrew style and in poetry it is often used for אֶל and לְ; see Lex.

c) מִן (§ 102) indicates *motion, removal, away from* anything. Its fundamental signification is that of *separation from a whole, derivation, descent*. As *constr. st.* of a noun מִן *part*, it properly means *part of*, hence *off, from*, used at first with reference to the part which is taken from the whole, e. g. to give, to take *part of=from*. This fundamental signification appears plainest, when it expresses *some* (more rarely *one*) *of*, before the whole from which a part is taken, e. g. מִן-פְּרִי יִשְׂרָאֵל *some of the princes of Israel* 2 Ch. 21, 4, מִן-דָּמָם *some blood* (Fr. *du sang*). It has the same signification when (apparently pleonastic) it is connected with the words *one, none*, in the so often misapprehended idiom of the Hebrew and Arabic *non ab uno*, i. e. *not any one, not the least*, prop. *not even a part, a piece, the least portion, of one*; and so in Heb. without negation=Lat. *ab uno* for *ullus*, Lev. 4, 2, Deut. 15, 7, Ez. 18, 10.¹

In its most ordinary use, with reference to motion *away from* (*from out of* something, *e numero*, 2 K. 10, 24 and even absolutely: *far, rid of*, Job 19, 26) it forms the opposite of אֶל, עַד, and is employed not merely after verbs which express actual motion, as to depart (*from*), to flee (*from*), but also those of kindred signification, as to be afraid, to hide, to beware; comp. in Gr. and Lat. καλῦπτω ἀπό, *custodire ab*. In its tropical use with reference to time, it may mean either *from* (a time) *on*, in which case the reckoning is to be made from the *beginning*, not from the end of the period specified (like ἀπὸ νυκτός, *de nocte*, *from the setting in of night*), as מִן-בֹּקֶר Job 38, 12 *from the beginning of thy days onward*; or it may mean (counted from the expiration of a term) *next from*, i. e. *immediately after* (ἐξ ἀπίστου, *ab itinere*), as מִן-חֲרִישׁ (Ps. 73, 20) *immediately after awaking*, Gen. 38, 24 *about after the expiration of three months*, Hos. 6, 2; very often in the same way מִן-סוֹף *from the end*, i. e. *after the expiration of*.—On the idea of *going out from* is based finally the very frequent *causative* use, *for, on account of, in consequence of* (comp. the English *that comes from* ...).

¹ See Gesenii Thesaurus, II, p. 801.

For the use of it to denote *rest on the side* of an object, where the idea is that of near distance, of being just *off from* (the Lat. *prope abesse ab*, *pendere ex aliqua re*), see § 150, 1. For the use of ׀ for expressing the comparative, see § 119, 1.

d) אֶל, אֶלֶּי (prop. *region, direction*, hence *towards*) denotes *motion*, and also merely *direction towards* (with reference both to physical and to intellectual objects) whether that towards which the motion is directed is reached or not. In the former case it is equivalent to עַד, e. g. אֶל-פִּי־הוּא even unto his mouth Job 40, 23; when it means entering into a thing, it is equivalent to אֶל-תּוֹךְ, e. g. בּוֹא אֶל-הַתֵּבָה to go into the ark.

Rarely, and only by power of pregnancy in the expression, regarding the motion which leads to the end instead of the end itself, אֶל is sometimes employed to denote rest in a place at which one has arrived; Jer. 41, 12 they found him אֶל-בְּיָם רַבִּים by great waters. אֶל-הַמָּקוֹם at the place Deut. 16, 6, 1 K. 8, 30. Compare the Gr. εἰς, ἐς, for εἰν, e. g. δόμους μένειν Soph. Ajax, 80; so too in Acts 8, 40 εὐρέθη εἰς Ἀζωπον. The German use of zu in zu Hause, zu Leipzig, is quite analogous.

e) ל is distinguished from אֶל, of which it is an abbreviation, by the fact that it expresses *direction* (not *movement*) towards something in a more general way,¹ as well as by being more commonly used in the metaphoric senses.—From its fundamental idea of *inclining towards*, *direction towards*, may be explained both the use of ל as *nota dativi* and as periphrasis of the *genetivus possessoris*, or *auctoris* § 115, 2 (the idea of belonging to) as well as its signification *with respect to*, *on account of*, *in behalf of*. The *dativus commodi* is used pleonastically (especially in the language of common intercourse and in the later style) after verbs of motion, as *to go*, *to flee*, especially in the *Imperative*, e. g. הָלֵךְ-לְךָ go, get thee away, בָּרַח-לְךָ flee (for thy safety); but also after other verbs, as הָמַח-לְךָ be thou like Cant. 2, 17.—It is a solecism of the *later time* (common in Aram. and Ethiop.) when active verbs are construed with ל instead of the accusative, as שָׁלַח ל in Ezr. 8, 16, 2 Ch. 17, 7.

Very often also, it denotes *rest*, hence *at*, or *in*, with reference to place and time; as לִי-יְמִינָה on thy right, לְעָרֶב at eventide.—On its use after passive and other verbs to denote the efficient cause or author, see § 143, 2.

f) כִּי (prop. substantive, Lat. *instar*, as an adverb *about*, *nearly*), as a prep. *as*, *like to*; for denoting similarity it is doubled כִּי—כִּי as—so Gen. 18, 25, and also so—as in Gen. 44, 18, in later authors כִּי—כִּי; according to, after, from the idea of conformity to a model or rule; as a designation of time *at* (not *about*, especially Gen. 18, 10 כִּי־עַתָּה at this

¹ Comp. Giesebrecht, Die hebr. Praepos. Lamed (Halle 1876), S. 4 ff.

time=at the same time), the supposition of so-called *Kāph veritatis* is justified if only the correct idea is connected with it. According to the older grammarians such a *Kāph veritatis* stands pleonastically not to indicate similarity but the thing itself, in cases like Neh. 2, 7 *for he was אִישׁ אֱמִתּוֹ*; this is however not merely predicate=*a faithful man* but *as a faithful man* must be; 1 Sam. 10, 27; 25, 26, Is. 1, 7, Job 27, 7.—Comp. also כְּמִעֵט in places like Ps. 105, 12=*very little* (elsewhere *almost easily*).

4. In the poetic parallelism, a preposition which stands in the first member may be omitted in the corresponding place in the second member; e. g. ב, Is. 48, 14 *he will do his pleasure on Babylon (בְּבָבֶל)*, and *his power on the Chaldeans (בְּכַשְׁדִּים for כְּשָׁדִים)*, Hab. 3, 15, Job 15, 3. So also ל Job 34, 10, Is. 28, 6, עַד 15, 8, לְמַעַן 48, 9, מִן Is. 30, 1, תַּחַת Is. 61, 7. Comp. § 152, 3.

§ 155.

THE CONJUNCTIONS.

1. The Hebrew language, considered with regard to its conjunctions, and especially its ability to form them from most of the prepositions by the addition of *אֲשֶׁר* and *כִּי* (§ 104, 1, c), exhibits no small copiousness and flexibility, compared with its usual simplicity. But the writers have often neglected the means, which it furnishes for accurately expressing the relations of sentences and members of a sentence, contenting themselves with less perfect modes of connection¹; hence the various significations which certain conjunctions in frequent use (particularly *כִּי*, *אֲשֶׁר*) either actually have, or at least seem to require when translated into our Western languages, as these do not always permit us (see No. 3) to retain such a loose and indefinite connection.

Of the most extensive application is *כִּי*, *אֲשֶׁר* (§ 104, 2),² it stands:

a) Properly and usually *copulative* (our *and*), connecting single words as well as whole sentences. When three or more words stand in connection, it is used either before every one after the first (2 K.

¹ Comp. a similar case in § 107, 1, Rem., § 147, Rem. 1.

² See fuller particulars on the use of *Wāw copulative*, in Gesenii The-saurus I, p. 393 *et seqq.*

23, 5), or before the last only (Gen. 13, 2); rarely after the first only (Ps. 45, 9). In certain set-phrases it is commonly omitted, as *yesterday* (and) *the day before* Ex. 5, 8. The tone of animated description or narration may also occasion the omission of it (*constructio asyndeta*); as Judg. 5, 2 *at her feet he bowed, fell, lay*, Job 20, 19, Cant. 2, 11, 5, 6.

As connecting words, it is often *explicative* (like *isque, et—quidem*=Germ. *und zwar*; so-called *Wāw explicativum*), 1 Sam. 28, 3 בָּרָחָהּ וּבְעִירוֹ *in Ramah and* (that is) *in his own city*, 17, 4 (and in truth with the bear) 2 Sam. 13, 20, Amos 3, 11, 4, 10; also in a manner that the second idea could be subordinate as the genitive (the אֵלֶּיךָ אֲנִי מֵבִיא of the grammarians), e. g. Gen. 3, 16 יָצְבוֹתֶיךָ וְהֵרָקֶיךָ *thy pain and thy conception*=the pain of thy conception (unless the ו has an emphatic sense=and especially thy conception); perhaps also Job 10, 17 2 Ch. 16, 14 בְּשָׂמִים וְזָרִים *spices and sorts*, in the sense of *all sorts of spices*. A sure example of the so-called *Wāw concomitantiæ* is Job 41, 12: *a boiling pot* יֵאָמֵן *with* (fire of) *rushes*. In Arabic this *Wāw concom.* is followed by the accusative.

As connecting *clauses* or *sentences*, it denotes either *continuation* (for *then* or *that*), hence before the apodosis (like German *da, so*) and after absolute designations of time (see Gen. 3, 5, 27, 30, Ex. 16, 6, Josh. 2, 8, Prov. 24, 27 וּבַיּוֹם בִּיהָךְ אַחֵר *afterwards, then build thy house*) comp. § 145, 2; or *enhancement*, as in Job 5, 19 *in six troubles he will deliver thee, yea, in seven no evil shall befall thee*; וְשֹׁאֲלִי *rather ask immediately . . .* 1 K. 2, 22; or *comparison*, especially in the proverbial poetry when facts of the moral world are put in comparison with facts of the physical world. Compare Job 5, 7 *man is born to trouble, and so the sons of the flame fly on high*, for *just as these* (sparks, acc. to their nature) *fly high, so is, etc.*, 12, 11, 34, 3; Prov. 17, 3; 25, 3; 12, 25. But the *Wāw* is also—

b) To introduce the subject of sentences expressing a *state* or *circumstance* (comp. on this kind of *nominal sentence* § 144, a, 3, b)=*while* e. g. 2 Sam. 4, 7 *they came into the house and* (=while) *he lay on his bed*, Gen. 19, 1, Judg. 13, 9; also if the circumstantial clause is *at the same time adversative* (e. g. *and yet, since however, while yet*), Judg. 16, 15 *how canst thou say I love thee* אֵין אֶחָי וְלִבִּי אֵין *and* (yet) *thy heart is not with me* (i. e. *while yet*)? Gen. 15, 2; 18, 13; 20, 3, Ps. 28, 3 *who speak peace with their fellows* בְּלִבָּבָם וְרָעָה *and* (=while yet) *mischief is in their heart*, Jer. 14, 15 *who prophesy in my name* לֹא-שִׁלַּחְתִּים *and yet I have not sent them*.

c) To introduce a causal clause Ps. 60, 13: *give us help from trouble and* (because) *vain is the help of man*, Job 23, 12.

d) *Inferential* (then, so then, therefore); Ex. 18, 32 *I delight not in the death of him that dieth—יִהְיֶיבֹ, therefore turn ye*. In this sense it may stand even *at the beginning of a sentence*, when it implies an inference of some kind from circumstances already mentioned; 2 K. 4, 41

and he said יִקְחוּ-לָמַח then take meal, Ps. 4, 4 יָדְעוּ then know ye, 2, 10, 2 Sam. 24, 3.

e) before phrases indicating a purpose or aim *in order that, so that*, in this sense chiefly with the *Perf. consec.* (126, b) *cohortative or jussive* (§ 128).

Of scarcely less extensive application are the two relative conjunctions אֲשֶׁר and כִּי (=ὅτι, *quod, quum, that, because*) which run almost parallel with each other in their significations, except that כִּי occurs as a conjunction far more frequently and in a great variety of senses, while אֲשֶׁר serves at the same time as *nota relationis* and often directly as a relative pronoun, and takes prefixes.

Both are prefixed (like *quod*) to a whole clause, standing as an accusative, governed by the preceding active verb as its object. אֲשֶׁר is even preceded in such a case by the accusative particle אֶת; Josh. 2, 10 אֲשֶׁר-הוֹבִישׁ יְהוָה אֶת אֲשֶׁר-שָׁמַעְנוּ we have heard (id *quod exsiccavit*) that *Jehovah hath dried up*, (for which elsewhere simply אֲשֶׁר and still oftener כִּי), 1 Sam. 24, 11, 19. Hence the following uses of כִּי:—*a*) it is employed especially before words of a *quotation*, like the Gr. ὅτι (very seldom אֲשֶׁר 1 Sam. 15, 20);—*b*) as a *temporal* conjunction=ὅτε, prop. (at the time) *that*, (at the time) *where, therefore as when*, sometimes sharply distinguished by the signification *ut, supposing that*, from the conditional אם *when* (v. Ex. chap. 21, which is very instructive in this regard) at other times passing over to the conditional power of אם *when=if*, Job 38, 5, comp. vs. 4 and 18 (seldom אֲשֶׁר, Lev. 4, 22, Deut. 11, 28);—*c*) *causal, eo quod, because*, fully כִּי, לָכֵן אֲשֶׁר, לְפָנֶיךָ, *propterea quod*, also *for=γάρ*. Often the causal signification of כִּי passes over into that of a particle of assurance (*certain it is, that; yes, to be sure*), especially after other particles of this kind;—*d*) *adversative* (in which sense כִּי only is used) either,—*α*) after a negative, *but*, prop. *because*, e. g. thou shalt *not* take a wife for my son from the daughters of the Canaanites—*but* a Hebrewess, i. e. *because* thou shalt take a Hebrewess, the former being prohibited *because* the latter is to be done Gen. 24, 3; or,—*β*) where negation is only implied, e. g. after a question which involves denial (§ 153, 1, 2), when it may be rendered *no but, but no, for surely* (ἀλλὰ, γάρ), Mic. 6, 3 what (injury) have I done to thee? . . . *for surely* I brought thee up, etc. Job 31, 18 (*rather*). See on אם כִּי below in No. 2, i,—*e*) also *final* (in which sense אֲשֶׁר alone is used)=*in order that*, (usually אֲשֶׁר לְמַעַן v. No. 2, e) e. g. Gen. 11, 7. Deut. 4, 40, etc.

2. We now arrange the remaining conjunctions according to their significations, and in the case of those (very many in number) that have a variety of senses, exhibit together the different uses of each as it first occurs. We must, however, confine ourselves here to a brief general

notice, leaving the more complete view, with the references and proofs, to the Lexicons.

a) *Copulative*: besides the *Wāw*, the properly adverbial forms **גַּם** also, and intensive **אַף**, there is added, wholly, even, once combined **גַּם וְאַף־גַּם** and even also Lev. 26, 44. **גַּם** is often used with a number to include all, e. g. **גַּם שְׁנֵימָם** both the two, **כָּל גַּם** all together. It also merely gives emphasis to the following word; Gen. 29, 30 and he loved **בְּמֵאֵדֶרֶךְ** *Rachel* (not, also Rachel) more than Leah, 1 Sam. 24, 12.—**אֵת כִּי־** is prop. add that, hence not to mention, or according to the connection, much more, much less.

b) *Disjunctive*: **אוֹ** or (etym. free will, choice, hence prop. Lat. *vel*, but also *aut* with an exclusive antithesis 2 K. 2, 16). Sometimes it stands elliptically for **כִּי אוֹ** or (be it) that, or (it must be) that, when it may be rendered unless that, e. g. Is. 27, 5;—hence the transition to the conditional sense, if, but if, Ex. 21, 36 (the Sept. ἐὰν ὅτι, Vulg. *sin autem*), comp. also **אִלּוּ** in **אִלּוּי**, § 150, 3, Note. Repeated, **אוֹ—אוֹ** (*sive—sive*), it is the same as **אִם—אִם**, or **וְאִם—וְאִם**.

c) *Temporal*: **כִּי** **אֲשֶׁר**=**ὅτε**, *quum* (see above), for which more rarely is used the conditional particle **אִם** (Is. 4, 4, 24, 13); **עַד כִּי**, **עַד אֲשֶׁר**, *until that*, also **אִם עַד אֲשֶׁר**, *until that when*, **עַד** also *during*, so long as, **אַחֲרֵי אֲשֶׁר** after that, **מֵאֲזַי** (for **מֵאֲזַי אֲשֶׁר**) since that, **בְּתוֹכָם** and **קִדְמָתָא** *before*, **קִדְמָתָא אֲשֶׁר** before (Ps. 129, 6).

d) *Causal* (besides **כִּי** **אֲשֶׁר**, No. 1, e): **עַל כֵּן אֲשֶׁר** because, but **כִּי־עַל־כֵּן** (Gen. 18, 5, 19, 8, 2 Sam. 18, 20 *Qerî*) and **אֲשֶׁר עַל־כֵּן** (Job 34, 27) signify everywhere for therefore, see Ges. W. B. 8th ed. under **כִּי**; **עַל אֲדֹתָא אֲשֶׁר**, *prop. for the circumstances that=for this cause that*, and emphatically **עַל־כֵּן־אֲדֹתָא אֲשֶׁר** for the very cause that, **עַל־כֵּן אֲשֶׁר** on the account, that, and **תַּחַת כִּי** therefore that, and **כִּי יִקָּבֵל** like the preceding (prop. as a reward that).

e) *Final*: **לְמַעַן אֲשֶׁר** to the end that, **בְּעֵבֶר אֲשֶׁר** in order that (also causal), **י** that=in order that (see above), **לִי** (like the Arab. *lî*) according to the present reading 1 K. 6, 19. With a negative force: **אֵל כִּי** that not, less (§ 152).

f) *Conditional*: principally **אִם** and **לִי** (for which in the later books rarely **אִם לִי=אִלּוּ**) if. The first (which is also a particle of interrogation, § 153, 2) is purely conditional, leaving it uncertain whether what is expressed by the verb is actually doing or actually done, or not, yet rather the former (as, if I do—have done—shall do): on the contrary, **לִי** expressly implies that it is not so, is not done (if I should do—had done), at least that it is very uncertain and even improbable.¹ Hence

¹ Hence **לִי** serves also to express a wish, as in **לִי יִהְיֶה** would! we had died Num. 14, 2, **לִי יִהְיֶה** would! he may live Gen. 17, 18, even with the Imper. (§ 130, 1, § 136, 2). On **לִי** comp. Kohler in Geiger's Ztschr. f. Wissensch. u. Leben, VI (1868), p. 21, ff. (where however a good deal, especially the etymology should be modified).

אם may properly stand where לִי more accurately (Ps. 50, 12, 139, 8, Hos. 9, 12); but לִי cannot be used for אם. Especially in solemn asseveration, conditional imprecation, אם is used; Ps. 7, 4—6 אֶם-עָשִׂיתִי יָגוּ' וְיָרִידוּם יָגוּ'—אִם if I have done this—(then) let the enemy persecute my soul, etc. One supposes as possible or real that one has committed something or other and demands the most fearful punishment if it is really so; Ps. 137, 5; comp. also Ps. 44, 21; 73, 15.

NB. What has been said of אם and לִי holds good, also, when they are connected with the negative, as in לֹא אם, לֹא לִי, and לֹא לִי. It must be observed further, that אם, after forms of swearing, e. g. הִי יְהוָה as the Lord lives stands as a negative (and consequently לֹא אם as affirmative), 2 Sam. 11, 11, 20, 20. This may be explained simply by the omission of the imprecation as principal clause to which the clause introduced by אם or לֹא אם is subordinate. Sometimes this form is found complete e. g. 1 Sam. 25, 22; בְּהִרְעֵשָׂה אֱלֹהִים לְאַבְנֵי דָוִד וְכֹה יִסִּיף אִם—אִם אֲשָׁאֵר יִגוּ' so and more also do God unto the enemies of David if I leave, etc. (but instead of אם stands after this form also אִם e. g. 2 Sam. 8, 35 אִם אִם בִּי אִם so may God do to me and more also if).—But אם and לֹא אם do not stand simply in such forms as these after verbs of swearing and adjuring(=not Cant. 2, 7; 3, 5) but also absolutely as strong negations (אם Judges 5, 8, Is. 22, 14) or solemn asseveration (לֹא אם truly e. g. Job 22, 20). On אִם, אִם, as passing over into conditional particles, see above.

g) *Concessive*: אם, with the *Perf.* even if (=though) I am Job 9, 15, with the *Impf.* (though I were) Is. 1, 18, 10, 22; עַל (for אֲשֶׁר) although Is. 53, 9, Job 16, 17 really add to this that=notwithstanding that); כִּי even when, although (also inverted כִּי עַל or עַל alone).

h) *Comparative*: כַּאֲשֶׁר as (quemadmodum), often with כֵּן in the second member, as—so, Is. 13, 4, 52, 14, 15; but כַּאֲשֶׁר may be omitted in the protasis, Is. 55, 9, Ps. 48, 6, and כֵּן in the apodosis, Obad. 15. Exact conformity is expressed by כֵּן-כָּל-זֶמֶן שֶׁ. Ec. 5, 15.

i) *Adversative*: (see on the adverbs). Decidedly here belong כִּי אִם only that—but, nevertheless, and the difficult combination כִּי אם, prop. that if, for if, but if. In these cases both particles belong in reality to different clauses (כִּי to the principal, אם to the conditional). Elsewhere both form together an inseparable idea, either but (especially after negations, or their equivalents, comp. כִּי above No. 1 at the end), prop. but when, as may be clearly seen for instance Ps. 1, 2—or except when, except. In both significations כִּי אם may stand before a verb as well as before a noun. Sometimes the clause to which כִּי אם states an exception must be completed from the connection, e. g. Gen. 40, 14: (else I do not demand anything) except that thou remember me=only thou mayest etc. Micah 6, 8, Job 42, 8.

k) On the interrogative particles, see § 153.

l) On the *optative* particles, see on כִּי above, under letter *f*, Note¹; on כִּי—in § 105, 2, Note,² and § 126, 4, Note¹.

3. A certain brevity and incompleteness of expression (see No. 1) appears,¹ among other things, in this, that instead of the whole compound conjunction, by which the relation is fully expressed, sometimes the one and sometimes the other component part may be used. Thus, instead of the full form יַעַן אֲשֶׁר *on the account, that=because*, we have shorter יַעַן or אֲשֶׁר; instead of כֹּאֲשֶׁר *as (conj.)* we find simply אֲשֶׁר Ex. 14, 13, 1 K. 8, 24.

4. This brevity is carried still farther, when the conjunction which is required to show the relation of one sentence or clause to another, is omitted altogether. This is the case—

- a) In conditional clauses; Gen. 33, 13 *drive they them (the sheep) hard, then they will die*, for, *if they drive them hard etc.*, Gen. 42, 38. (In both cases however, the conditional relation of the first sentence to the second is sufficiently expressed to the Hebrew conception by the succession of two *consecutive perfects*.) Job 7, 20 (*if (well now) I have sinned* — prop. *what could I do unto thee?* Job 19, 4.
- b) In expressions of comparison; Ps. 14, 4 אֲכָלִי עַמִּי אֲכָלָם *who devour my people (as) they would eat bread*, prop. *eating my people, they eat bread*, Job 24, 19 *drought and heat carry off the snow-water* שְׁאוֹל הַטָּהוּר (so) *She'ol (carries off those who) have sinned* Jer. 17, 11.
- c) In members which are usually dependent on the relative conjunctions (*oratio obliqua*); Gen. 12, 13 *say* אַתָּה אַחֲרַי

¹ The cases where, on the contrary, a pleonasm (in the sense of an unnecessary accumulation of particles) was supposed, may be explained by more close observation. Thus for instance אִם כִּי Ex. 22, 22 stands by no means pleonastically for אִם; for with אִם כִּי the discourse is abruptly interrupted and the particles signify also here *for when* (comp. Ger. *ja wenn*). There may be rather the question of a certain pleonasm in the Chaldee; e. g. כִּלְקַבְלֵיהִי (Germ. *alldieweil*) *wholly—for—that=because*, כִּלְקַבְלֵיהִי *wholly for this=therefore*. Emphatic, not pleonastic, is the repetition of the conjunction in יַעַן יִבְיָעַן *because, even because* Lev. 26, 43; like the German *sintemal und alldieweil*.

thou art my sister, commonly אַתָּה אֶחָדָה לִי, Gen. 41, 15, Ps. 9, 21 *that they may learn, they are men*, Is. 48, 8 *for I knew, thou art quite faithless*, Ps. 50, 21. In all these cases, the dependent clause stands properly for the accusative of the object; comp. § 142, 4, Rem. 2.

§ 156.

OF THE INTERJECTIONS.

The interjections which correspond to our *ah! oh! alas! woe!* expressing denunciation as well as lamentation (אָהָה, הוּי, אֹי; the latter two are really substantives), are connected with the object of the threatening or lamentation, by the particles עַל, אֵל, לֵ, or they stand in the absolute, the object of lamentation standing in the vocative or rather in the *accusative of exclamation*. The former construction is found throughout with cries of woe (*væ tibi*) the latter with lament (comp. *væ te* in *Plautus*); as אֹי לָנוּ *woe to us!* הוּי גֹרִי *woe to the people!* Is. 1, 4, אָהָה הוּי אָחִי *alas, my brother!* 1 K. 13, 30.

On the construction of הִנֵּה with the *suffixes*, see § 100, 5.

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